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Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Where anarchy has slain its
 hundreds, despotism has sacri-
 ficed millions upon millions,
 with this only effect, to per-
 petuate the ignorance, the vices,
 and the misery of mankind."
 —WILLIAM GODWIN.

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Threepence

MAO'S BRINKMANSHIP

Mao Tse-Tung, it is possible that John Foster Dulles has met his match at brinkmanship.

For too long Dulles has been able to put the world in a state of jitters leading America to the brink of peeping down into the abyss and then drawing back with or without a diplomatic victory. It is a game rather on a par with one played in London streets called 'Last Cross' in which children dash across the road in front of a car and the winner is the last one over. A terrible game, but it has at least the virtue that it is their own lives with which the kids gamble. Dulles' brinkmanship involves the lives of countless millions.

And here is where Mao can win. In a recent article in the *New Statesman* a writer pointed out that Mao is the one leader of a great country today who can afford to be unshattered by the Hydrogen bomb. Countries don't come any greater than China, with its three million square miles—about 33 times the size of Britain—and its 600 million population—12 times that of Britain.

In calm and measured sentences the *New Statesman* writer argues that because of the colossal area of China and its tremendous population it could weather nuclear war better than any other State. If 400 or 500 million Chinese were destroyed in war it would still leave 100 or 200 million survivors who might be able to start again. In a world nuclear war no other country could survive to that extent.

Chance for Survival

For one thing the major contestants—presumably Russia, America and Britain—would have to concentrate on each other (and little Britain wouldn't last long) and for all the size of the first two they would be made virtually uninhabitable. Although vast areas of China would be contaminated chances for millions to survive there might be better than anywhere else.

For this reason a leader as careless of human life as Mao Tse-Tung may be prepared to go nearer to the brink, or even jump into the abyss, than any of the statesmen who have trodden that path before.

The question is: Why would Mao do such a thing? On the face of it there is no issue before China which could possibly justify the sanguine contemplation of the destruction of 400 million of her people. Yet in the rarefied atmosphere of world power politics some issues assume strange importances.

Mao Tse-Tung is clearly growing very impatient at being kept out of the gatherings of the great—the United Nations. It was he who put his foot down on Krushchev's happy little schemes for a summit conference, for it was after a flying visit to Mao that Mr. K. withdrew all his various suggestions. What Mao obviously said was that there were to be no more summit talks without him; that arrangements of world importance in which representatives of a quarter of the world's population could not take part should not be condoned or taken part in by his Russian friends.

America's stubborn refusal to recognise that the effective government of China is seated in Peking and not in Formosa makes her look stupid in the eyes of the world. And

her ready recognition of the rebel government in Iraq makes her look hypocritical when she claims it is the violent means used by the Chinese Communists which govern her principled refusal to recognise them.

Pride at Stake

America is committed to the defence of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa; China is growing impatient at being kept out of the United Nations. Pride and loss of face are at stake on both sides.

To draw attention to himself, Mao orders the guns to start barking across the straits of Amoy, pouring thousands of shells into the Nationalist-held islands of Quemoy and Little Quemoy. It is all built up into a preparation for the invasion of Formosa and the settling of accounts with Chiang Kai-shek once and for all. Concentrations of planes appear at bases along the mainland shores of the Formosa Straits, while the U.S. Seventh Fleet steams into position and Chiang's air bases stack up with planes also.

In this situation anything can happen. A false move, an over-zealous airman, and the balloon can go up. We hardly think that Mao would risk a world war over For-

mosa, an island which was under Japanese rule from 1895 to 1945. The islands off-shore from Amoy, however, were always Chinese. The smallest of them, Tatan and Erhtan, are 2½ miles from the mouth of Amoy harbour, but are held by Chiang's forces, to the evident embarrassment of the Peking government.

These smaller islands, together with the Quemoy and perhaps even Matsu, might be taken by Peking's forces without any real intervention by the United States, leaving Formosa in Chiang's hands.

Thus might honour be satisfied for all sides and costing the death of only a few thousand fighting men and the uprooting of only a few civilians. A trifling cost for governments.

But for the Chinese people? How many of them approve of Mao's brinkmanship—or even know what is going on? How many of them care whether Chou En-lai can or cannot go to United Nations conferences? What can it matter in terms of the satisfaction of their real needs?

But then, they are only the expendable millions, providing the backing for Mao's negotiation from strength.

LETTER FROM FRANCE

Paratrooper's Eyevue

SINCE the success of the military rebellion in Algeria, the corps of French paratroops, which has been responsible for many of the excesses and most of the tortures committed there, has become one of the most influential bodies in the political life of the country.

A few days ago, I happened to meet, at some friends of mine, an ex-paratrooper, who had been trained by the British in 1943, had fought against the Germans, then in Indo-China, and had only been kept away from Algeria by an attack of T.B.

As he had not taken part in the Algerian war, he did not speak of what was happening there; but what he told of his past experience was interesting in that it gave one a glimpse of the paratrooper's typical mentality.

When asked, in the course of a harmless conversation, what he thought of the paratroopers' behaviour in Algeria, he immediately smelled a rat: "Ah! I know your type! You read *L'Express* too much! You don't know what you are talking about. I do, and I'll tell you something. These people, the Algerians, are just like the Indo-Chinese, they only respect brute force. If we had taught them a lesson in the beginning, we wouldn't

have all this trouble now." He went on to speak about his own experience of guerilla-fighting in Indo-China, where he had been taken prisoner and tortured ["Needless to say I put what they taught me to good use, later on, and 'gave it back' to them with interest, and improvements."], then proceeded to explain what he meant by "a lesson".

"One day, I found three of my men, nice young lads, murdered in a gutter. Their hearts had been ripped out, their eyelids sewn together and their testicles shoved into their mouths. What would you have done? In a case like this, there was only one thing to do. I warned the population of the village that I had ordered it to be burnt down. Some of the women (the men had gone over to the Nationalists anyway) took their children and fled. The rest did not believe me and stayed. There were 200 dead. There was no helping it. I acted on my own responsibility. I would do it again to-day, and if we had done the same in Algeria in the beginning, there would be peace by now."

The horror of this tale still haunts me to-day. What is perhaps strangest of all, however, and most disquieting for the future, is the perfectly clear conscience this man continues to enjoy.

He had nothing of the pathological "killer" about him. He had, of course, that aggressive virility which often goes with moral narrow-mindedness, and recalled with nostalgia, in front of his girl-friend, the happy times when mothers, in Indo-China, came to offer him their virgin daughters for sale—while remaining himself all the while violently opposed to any degree of sexual freedom for white women, and above all to any inter-racial marriages. Yet, as far as one could judge, he was quite a sincere and even upright man within his own terms of reference, very friendly and apparently likeable to many people.

He had enlisted during the war, "because in my family we couldn't stand the Boches", and fought for what he probably thought was a just cause. After the war, having learnt no trade, he went on fighting in Indo-China, simply because fighting had, it seems, become his job.

It may be that German and Asian atrocities, and the necessities of modern warfare in general, have suppressed or completely transformed whatever military "code of hon-

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REFLECTIONS ON

The 'Riots' - and a Suggestion

AT East London Juvenile Court last week a fifteen-year-old boy pleaded guilty to wilfully interfering with a passenger's comfort and to behaving in a disorderly manner. He was alleged to have approached a coloured man in a railway compartment at Liverpool Street Station and shouted: "Here's one of them—you black knave. We have complained to the Government about you people. You come here, you take our women and do all sorts of things free of charge. They won't hang you so we will have to do it."

"We have complained to the government", "you take our women",—coming from the lips of a fifteen-year-old, can hardly be taken as an expression of personal opinion or as fact. Where did this boy learn his hymn of hate and prejudice to be chanted at the sight of a coloured man? Where indeed has the man-in-the-street gathered his "facts" to be able to say with monotonous regularity to the news-hounds, whether in Nottingham or Notting Hill, that the major causes of the recent "riots" were the exploitation of vice by coloured immigrants?

Obviously some "whites" in Notting Hill have seen with their own eyes white girls carrying on their trade as prostitutes from houses run by coloured people; obviously some "whites" have been forced out of their houses by coloured landlords. But these isolated facts have now been passed on, elaborated and exaggerated through gossip and by certain sections of the press, until it is believed throughout the length and breadth of the country that "vice" is a monopoly of the coloured people! And the next step is that whilst most people will disagree with the violence, the flick-knives and the milk-bottles, they nevertheless temper their disapproval with almost sympathetic under-

standing for the Teddy Boys turned crusaders against vice! (Note: Soho in the past thirty years has changed from a residential area into one big brothel. There are a few coloured pimps there too exploiting our girls, but why no Teddy Boy crusade to clean up Soho?)

★

MOST people of course dislike pimps, but they also consider that a coloured pimp living on the earnings of a white prostitute is much worse than a white pimp exploiting "his own flesh and blood". (The coloured prostitutes in the Bayswater Road and in Hyde Park: is it possible that some of them are run by white pimps? And is that, by this strange scale of morals, considered as bad or not quite so bad?). Apart from the fact that most people seem to think that "foreigners" living in this country should possess all the qualities of saints or keep out, they make a distinction between white and black pimps not because the latter are any more cruel or demanding than the former, but because everybody here believes in racial equality except where the sexes are concerned. The exploitation of white prostitutes by white pimps is bad but their exploitation by black pimps is that much worse.

It is not only male jealousy which is manifesting itself but the ingrained prejudice that a black skin is the sign of biological inferiority as well as of a degenerate and backward people. After all, male jealousy has been in evidence here in regard to Polish and Italian immigrant workers and American (white) servicemen stationed in this country, but as between equals and the offspring from these liaisons are "normal" even if illegitimate. The coloured baby of a white mother is a permanent stigma on the woman* and

which is often even more strongly felt by her family. As one white grandmother said to her daughter's "two little brown-skinned babies": "Sweet they are but I can't bear to look at them."

How irrational and deeply rooted is the colour prejudice is revealed in the following letter published in the *Manchester Guardian* last week.

Sir,—Although I share a flat with a coloured friend on a strictly fifty-fifty basis, I cannot say, that because of this fact, I am any less colour prejudiced than the inhabitants of Notting Hill. Because of the class into which I was born, the education I received, and the work in which I am engaged, my prejudices, or (I sincerely hope), lack of them, have never been put to the test.

Yet I wonder how I should react if I had to compete with coloured people in my job; to be forced, through circumstances, to live side by side with them and perhaps because of them feel myself obliged to remove to another residential district. I do not think then that I should feel kindly disposed towards the flood of West Indian immigrants, many of whom arrive in this country without so much as a winter coat, without prospects, money, or any means of livelihood.

Lastly, I feel bound to state that sexual jealousy, sexual fear of coloured people, is a very real thing. For two and a half years I worked as a policeman in Africa and I know something of the

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*The *Manchester Guardian's* special correspondent from Nottingham quoted a white woman married to a West Indian on the subject of local prejudice against mixed marriages. She had eight children. "If you are married to a black man everybody treats you like you were a common prostitute." She showed me the dress which had been torn almost in half, she alleged, by a police dog on Saturday night. It also bit her. As we were talking, two respectable looking white women who were passing cried, "Good job!" when they saw the dress. "You see," Mrs. Dinn said, tears starting, "They're all the same."

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THIRD OF THE L.A.G. SUMMER SCHOOL LECTURES ON WAR AND PEACE

TO-DAY we live in an era in which rationalists, humanists and pacifists have suffered a sad defeat. They can no longer be optimistic about the future, in fact they can have no faith in the future at all. Twenty years ago, that is before the last war with Germany, this was not the case, and such humanists could still hope that somehow the most powerful Nation-States of the world would, as it were, grow up and although they might remain far short of the humanist ideal of civilized behaviour they would at least renounce the absurdity of inter-State warfare. Once warfare had been finally renounced, then other lesser barbaric usages in their foreign and domestic lives could be remedied and so a truly civilized, happy and secure life might be attained by all the peoples of the world by peaceful reformism.

War was looked upon as a sickness of the Nation-States, something extraneous to their essential nature of which they must be cured, just as the human organism may be cured of disease without affecting the essential nature of the organism itself. In the 1930's and before, great intellectuals met and discussed or corresponded on the question of discovering the cure, the medicine that would rid the Nation-States of the disease of war. For in the more distant past it had been held that although war was very reprehensible, and uncivilized and so forth, yet it did confer certain material benefits upon a go-ahead Nation-State. Britain, France, Prussia and other States were proud of their war exploits. However, the 1914-1918 war had shown that the progress of modern technology had made war too dangerous and destructive a game; even the victors were likely to lose more than they gained from it. War fell into very low repute between 1918 and 1939; the prevailing mood of the man in the street, let alone the intellectuals, was pacifist. We convinced ourselves that though imperial States might bully their colonies with gunboats and regiments of soldiers, and that the army was always there as a strike-breaking weapon of the ruling class, we had seen the last of the big wars between Nation-States. It seemed evident that the powerful cliques which

ruled the different political divisions of the world, although they might be ruthless, greedy and dishonest, at least they were not insane, and hence international war was a thing of the past. That is where we made our mistake in attributing sanity to the ruling cliques of the world. By objective criteria these rulers are insane. We make a grave miscalculation if we try to interpret their actions in terms of ordinary sane, human motivation. The existence of their power in the modern context is the expression of a type of social organization that does not work and cannot work in the world as it is to-day.

Those humanist intellectuals who have looked upon war as a disease of the Nation-States and painstakingly sought for its cure, were fundamentally mistaken in their basic premises. War is not a disease of the Nation-States and hence there can be no cure for it. The concept of disease implies something extraneous to the organism, a condition which is foreign to the true functioning of the organism. Now the political divisions of the earth and hence the very existence of the Nation-States are almost wholly the result of warfare. War is integral to the existence of the Nation-States; it is in no sense a disease. If you abolish war you abolish the existence of the Nation-States. There is no peace between the Nation-States; there is only an armed truce of a greater or less duration.

Realization of this fact has of course led to the campaign for World Government. The advocates of World Government say that the only way to secure a lasting peace is the establishment of a World State. The over-riding authority is to have the power to crush any local resistance in the same way that the over-riding authority governing Eastern Europe crushed some local resistance in Hungary two years ago. Whether or not one likes the idea of an all-powerful World State ruling the Earth in this manner is quite beside the point. We must consider first, is it a practical proposition in the circumstances which prevail in the world? How would such a State come about? Is there any powerful Nation-State in the world to-day that would voluntarily give up its complete sovereignty? We know the answer; three of the Nation-States already possess weapons which if used may make the world uninhabitable, and they propose to use them simply in defence of their own sovereignty. The power cliques as such would prefer to risk the annihilation of humanity rather than face the destruction of their own power; they would prefer suicide as individuals to "suicide", if I may use the term, of their rôle of undisputed rulers in their own domains. I have referred to them as being insane by objective standards, and I use the word with due care.

Is the campaign for World Govern-

ment an entirely unrealistic business appealing to the governments of the World to do that which is utterly opposed to their intentions? On the contrary the campaign has had a strong backing in the U.S.A. by many influential people connected with the United States government. I have here a book which has been most influential in the World Government movement; it is *The Anatomy of Peace* by Emery Reeves, originally published in the U.S.A. in 1945. It later ran into I don't know how many hundreds of thousands of copies in the subsequent editions and sales were promoted in about fifteen other countries. It is worth reading; it contains some valuable criticisms of a world divided into separate, warring Nation-States. The sting comes at the end of the book. I quote:

"Until to-day throughout its entire history, the world was too vast to be conquered by a single man or by a single power. Technical means have always lagged behind the objective. The world was always too large to be conquered entirely, even by the greatest force. The planet was too elastic; it seemed to grow constantly. Alexander, Caesar, Ghenghis Kahn, the Spaniards, the English, Napoleon—all failed. They all conquered a large part of the world but never the entire world.

Now only, for the first time in history, the conquest of the world by a single power is a geographical, technical and military possibility.

The world cannot grow any more, it is a known quantity.

As discoveries ended, the growth of the world was suddenly brought to a standstill. Technical developments rapidly caught up and made the globe smaller and smaller. To-day the world is completely engulfed by modern industrialism. From a technical and military point of view, the world of to-day is considerably smaller than was the territory held by any one of the major empires of the past centuries. It is infinitely easier and quicker for the United States to wage war on the Far East than it was for Caesar to do so in Anglia or Egypt.

Modern science has made war a highly mechanized art which can be mastered only by the major industrial powers. Only three of these are left. Any one of the three, by defeating the other two, would conquer and rule the world.

If we cannot attain universalism and create union by common consent and democratic methods as a result of rational thinking—then, rather than retard the process, let us precipitate unification by conquest. It serves no reasonable purpose to prolong the death-throes of our decrepit institutions and to postpone inevitable events only to make the changes more painful and more costly in blood and suffering. It would be better to have done with this operation as quickly as possible so that the fight for the re-conquest of lost human liberties can start within the universal state without too much loss of time."

We see then that the campaign for World Government is in fact the campaign for world conquest, the United States of America being designated as the conquering power. Hitler might equally well have claimed to be an advocate of World Government, and naturally he saw his own political institutions as the most fitting for the whole world.

The Bolsheviks put forward a similar ideal, and we know where the seat of the supra-national authority is to be. That a supra-national authority came into being by the joint action of the sovereign Nation-States we know from the experience of the League of Nations and the less ambitious project of U.N.O. Those who believe in the League, finding that in practice it was impotent, set about the task of sponsoring research into the cause of war in the hope that it could be averted even if States stuck to their guns literally as well as figuratively. This of course was part of the fruitless search for a "cure" for war, treating it as a disease which afflicted the otherwise healthy Nation-States. In the summer of 1939 the League of Nations International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation proposed that Prof. Einstein should invite a person, chosen by himself, to a free exchange of views on any problem which he might select. The problem chosen was: "Is there any way of delivering mankind from the menace of war?" His reply to Einstein's letter Freud is in effect, that there was no way of delivering mankind from the menace of war. Freud gave a little lecture on his psychoanalytic theory of aggressive instincts, and there was a good deal of common sense in his reply, but he made one great howling error in his essay, assumed that because mankind has a powerful predisposition to aggression which can be aroused in appropriate circumstances, such latent aggression of the average citizen was the actual cause of wars between the Nation-States.

TONY GIBSON
(To be continued)

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BOOK REVIEW

Adventure in Teddy-boy Land

TEDDY BOYS' PICNIC, by Elizabeth Stucley. Blond, 16s.

THE humorous-sounding expression "Teddy Boy" has become charged with fear for many people. The cover of this book shows "teddies" in their native costume, armed with their national weapons, the knife, the razor and the bicycle chain. But Elizabeth Stucley has a much less alarming tale to tell than *Journey into a Fog*, a powerful book published a couple of years ago and dealing with a similar theme.

The authoress took over the care of a seventeenth century house in one of the non-U districts of London. She let out part of it to lodgers, retaining the ground floor for herself and son. Not long after she had established herself a boy named Beckley was stabbed to death in a fight nearby. Some local boys, attracted by her friendly nature and a yellow motor caravan she drove, wanted her to found a club. She felt that she

should do something to help these young people and agreed.

The Adventurers' Club, as it was aptly named, lasted several years. The boys remained wild and undisciplined to the end. Elizabeth Stucley has no special theories about self-regulation and so on. She clouted and threw out those who got too rowdy. (She is over six feet tall and strong in proportion). It was effective. She got on well with the boys, there were no girls to begin with, in spite of the fights.

Their first camping trip, in the yellow van of course, it is almost one of the characters in the book, ended rather disastrously. The boys had never been to camp before, they despised the Boy Scouts too much to join. They had no sense of co-operation, scarcely any idea of eating a meal together in peace, left the tents half put up, fought with sticks and sheath-knives till these were confiscated, and finally, to crown all, spent the whole of the night fooling about, making a noise and talking. Usually children in camp tend to go to sleep late, but it is most unusual for them to keep it up till dawn. Their leader got no sleep, and was so exhausted that at six a.m. she routed them out, just as they were beginning to get drowsy, and took them home, in spite of protests. Originally they had been intending to have another day in camp. They were most angry to be taken home so early.

Later on things got better. But she never tamed them. It was exciting but exhausting. She took them to the Tate Gallery, and they used the polished floors as slides. The whole party was pursued round the building by irate officials, who incomprehensibly did not turn them out. Art they barely appreciated at this stage.

As time went on they came to a better understanding of painting and architecture and drama. But it must be admitted that they really did not reach a very high level. They were however full of high spirits, with very little malice, apart from an exceptional case.

The dark colours of *Journey into a Fog*, despite the murder in the first chapter, are not repeated here. The knives are brandished, but are not plunged again. The children, when we first meet them they are mostly pre-adolescent, explore a beach and find a prehistoric monster, a new coelecanth they hope, but it turns out to be a skate, fall off barges and climb cliffs. The famous van comes to a disastrous end, but no one is seriously hurt.

They camp on an old motor-torpedo-boat, which had been roughly converted into a houseboat. (The boat oddly enough was attacked by country roughs, armed with shotguns. The children were away, but the owner drove them off with his own gun. A local girl was badly hurt, being struck in the breast by shot, but the boys were not punished. There

being no actual proof that they were firing on the houseboat).

As time went on, and the boys grew older, they introduced their girls into the club. Some of these girls also carried arms. Generally though it was the rowdy ones who were to be preferred. The well-brought-up prim little things were often more naughty and malicious in a quiet way.

Eventually running the club became too exhausting, and it had to be closed. Its founder had married, and began to yearn for a more domestic life, without children all over the place. Still more so did her husband. She offered the club to the local curate, who seemed to be a man of energy.

"The Church is always saying it wants to attract the young," I said, "well here's your chance. About thirty teenagers, and all yours. A club that is a going concern."

The curate blanched and turned pale. "No, no," he cried, "I wouldn't touch them. I know your crowd. Besides, I've got plenty to do already. Why can't they join the scouts or a proper club?"

"They don't want to. They don't like rules and regulations."

"Nobody," said the curate sarcastically, "would allow them to—well would put up with what you do."

So the club came to an end. But it has probably done some good. It gave the young people something to do. It gave them happiness. A feeling of being wanted somewhere. Of having status and somewhere to go where they could do as they liked, short of absolutely wrecking the place. The authoress is convinced that she has helped most of them, and it is certain that few of them will degenerate into the more violent kind of "teddy". There was only one real failure, if "failure" is the right word in a club where there was no attempt made at reforming anyone, except for the teaching of a little etiquette. In this case there was evidently some deep psychological problem involved. The boy joined up with a gang of real toughs.

The truth seems to be, as one might have guessed, that most of the "teddies" are pretty harmless if well treated. They come from sordid or at least drab and uninteresting surroundings, from overcrowded flats and dull streets. Their gangs and national costume are ways of bringing colour into a colourless world, but the puritanical English have come to regard bright clothes with suspicion. It seems extremely wrong to condemn people who try to bring a little gaiety into their lives, but I think it likely that it is the costume as much as the daggers and bicycle chains that arouses the hostility. Of course hostility once aroused in turn arouses more. And there is always the tough minority to make trouble.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH

Smile and the Advertising World Smiles with You

EVEN those of us without television are aware of the trends in advertising. The game of happy families still goes on. What seems to be a bad half hour of our time at the cinema is occupied by a *danse macabre* of consumers of peanuts, ice-lollies, milk-shakes, furniture, wallpaper, cars, perms, cornflakes, all madly smiling in technicolor. Many of them have little jingles which unfortunately have crept into our repertoire. 'Arsenic cocktails on a stick' and 'there's always time for cyanide' creep far from subliminally into our minds.

Henry Morgan, an American TV comic, has this to say in the *Saturday Review of Literature*:

This is the best of all possible electronic worlds, doc, and don't be dissuaded. Happiness is a thing called Dough, and with a smidgen of moo, you, too, can reach the euphoric Tor. On any channel, these fetid nights, one can learn the art of exchanging a few pennies for delirium. There are at least two brands of cigarettes which promise unalloyed Nirvana. On the screen appear mindless teen-agers who inhale, then turn and display their teeth to one another in transports of delight. Automobiles are alleged to "thrill" you with their tail-lights, refrigerators have the power to make whole families quiver with pleasure at their enlarged freezer compartments,

and gents bust out all over in smiles when shaving, looking at bottles of beer, and eating wonderful TV snacks made of pressed milk. Oh, the lip-smacking, the yum-yumming! The delighted tots cramming their tiny pussies with bowlsful of Sawd Ust and plenty of cream and sugar! Happy Mommies washing the fallout from pinafores in gentle-acting machines designed by captured Germans! And the boob-faced girls chortling as they use superior hair sprays that—poof!—cement their coiffures into lasting monuments!

These indeed are the truly halcyon days. Smile at the bread that nourishes twelve ways; grin at the toothpaste containing DC-7B, the only ingredient made of real atoms; snigger along with happy "Dads" as he loses his vile headache with a compound that rips through his gastro-intestinal tract like an aspirin in orbit.

If you still feel a mite sulky, friend, consider: there is a coffee which claims it has "The most happy flavour in the USA." And the actors who drink it on TV laugh right in one another's faces.

Good night, ladies and gentlemen, and remember our slogan . . . "The night shall be filled with people grinning at our product, and the cares that infest the day are for the poor." That should bring the roses back into your deep-pore clean cheeks.

So smile, darn you, smile!
J.R.

Reflections on the Riots - and a Suggestion

Continued from p. 1
ness, the frustration that sex can does cause among the races of that happy continent.—Yours &c.

What in fact has the colour of a man's skin to do with competition in his job or with the pleasantness or unpleasantness of one's neighbours? After all, does not the writer of the letter admit to sharing his flat with a coloured friend, so obviously it's not the person inside the skin that he is talking about. That West Indians arrive in this country penniless is surely an indication of the miserable economic conditions in the British-controlled territories from which they have escaped. It is a responsibility we cannot shirk if we have a grain of honesty in us.

As to sexual fear of coloured people, the writer has got the wrong end of the stick. In no report we have seen so far has it been suggested that white women in Nottingham or Nottingham Hill fear the coloured man, but many of them clearly prefer them to white men, to the annoyance of the latter, and this gives rise to the quite different problem of racial jealousy.

★
THAT a handful of Teddy Boys can stir up the trouble they are is less a reflection on the efficiency of the police force to "keep order" than a sad commentary on the general public's confused feelings on the problems of colour prejudice, which amount to a kind of passive support of the riots. In some cases it is more than passive. The chairman of the Nottingham Magistrates' court, for instance, commented that

It is despicable that, when the police are handling a desperate situation, the public can do no better than to obstruct them and actually take sides with the rowdies.

Like so many social problems of the day there is no easy solution. The *New Statesman* suggests that

This is one of those rare instances where exemplary fines and sentences can act as an effective deterrent. Youths who regard colour-baiting as a new and cheap form of entertainment should be made to realise that they indulge in it at their peril. Those who consciously encourage and exploit such behaviour must be treated even more severely. We have cited evidence that the British Fascists are at work in the Nottingham districts. Such activities will undoubtedly spread to other danger areas unless these political hooligans are quickly taught that incitement to riot is a serious offence.

Perhaps the *N.S.* pins its hopes on the deterrent value of imprisonment on this occasion (and for the rest of the year publishes documented articles to show that prisons breed criminals) because it also believes that "virtually all educated people in this country deplore colour prejudice". But whatever they may feel intellectually are they free from colour prejudice when it comes to the point? The letter we reported above came from an educated man. Lord Salisbury is an educated man as is Mr. Rogers, Labour M.P. for Kensington North.† Do they strike one as being free from colour prejudice?

★
PERHAPS this is an occasion when a public demonstration by individuals who neither feel nor think in terms of colour under any circumstances, could be of value.

†Mr. Rogers after his meeting with Mr. Renton, the Joint Under-Secretary at the Home Office, said that he had told Mr. Renton that it was wrong to say this trouble had been started by hooligans. It was the reaction of people, very sorely tried by some sections of the coloured population.

Mr. Rogers objected to the unrestricted

These reflections on the psychology of political motivation are quoted from a long article by Robin Marris in the September issue of *Encounter*, under the title "Socialist Thoughts Out of Season".

★
THE basic problem of the radical in any society is to find enough allies to be politically effective. Social psychologists have long been aware of a general personality trait which may be described loosely as "radicalism," to be contrasted with small-c "conservatism," varying from individual to individual and seeming to govern his complex of political attitudes. In other words, a person who holds radical views in one field, say penology, is likely to hold them in others, such as socialism-versus-capitalism, religion-versus-free thought, or sex. In addition, such a person is likely to be less ethnocentric than other persons, which means that he is less likely to be anti-Semitic, colour-prejudiced, or nationalistic (quiet pride in national achievement is not a form of ethnocentricity). All this, of course, accords pretty well with common observation, but the replies to questionnaires which have been devised to measure individual radicalism have shown something which is not quite so obvious—that most people are pretty conservative. It has been found that the only significant group of natural radicals in this country, apart from Communists and other eccentrics, are the middle-class people who vote Labour. This is the only group in which the "radical" reply was received from at least 50 per cent of the respondents to all of a wide range of questions covering race prejudice, nationalism, hanging, flogging, corporal punishment for children, religion, religious education, Sunday observance, divorce, trial marriage, abortion and private property. But these people, who, needless to say, I regard as the backbone of the country, apparently represent no more than about one twentieth of the total electorate: a statistic whose implications remain virtually unaffected by the appearance of a minute group of radical Tories.

Of the conservative majority, the most conservative of all, as is well known, are the working-class Tories. They are in

But such a demonstration must not be organised (not allowed to be "captured") by the political parties nor by the opportunists of the Left. To be effective it must stem from small beginnings and take its time to grow. There is, after all, no desperate hurry; the problem of colour prejudice has been with us a long time and in spite of recent statements from Downing Street and Bournemouth will be with us for some time yet!

The objectives of such a demonstration must be clear and unequivocal. We must not fall into the error of encouraging a colour prejudice in reverse which creates as many new problems as it solves. We must express our solidarity with the coloured immigrants of this country as ordinary human beings with the same rights as the other 50 million inhabitants of this island; we must help them to help themselves by suggesting methods of defence against the racists and Teddy Boys which avoid the violence used by their would-be persecutors. We must encourage them to respect the rights of the "minority" in those districts where they are in a majority. And, finally, we must encourage in them a healthy distrust of the sharks and exploiters in their midst.

What do you think of the proposal?

ted licensing of derelict basements as clubs, which he said were used for vice. . . . Action should be taken, he added, to limit the number of coloured people who settled in an overcrowded area such as this.

Mr. Rogers thought the British Government should find out before people left the West Indies whether they had criminal records, and whether they had jobs and accommodation waiting for them in Britain. He wanted the Government to take power to deport immigrants who had committed crimes in this country. Mr. Rogers also protested that when he had tried two days earlier to see Mr. Butler he had been told that the Home Secretary was not available.

general the greatest floggers, hangers, beaters of children, fearers of Jews, repressors of sex, despisers of black men, and protectors of the rights of private property in the whole nation. However, the qualification, "in general" is important, for as we shall see, on some of these questions they appear to be outdone in nasty-mindedness by their fellow voters in the middle classes. (An example in point is colour prejudice: Mr. John Profumo knew what he was talking about when he lamented that colonial students coming to Britain seemed to make more friends among Labour people than among Conservatives.) Another thing about working-class Conservatives, perhaps the most interesting, is that they are apparently more religious than any other group, even more so than middle-class Conservatives. Religion apart, however, the attitudes displayed by working-class Conservatives are—let us face it—very much what one would expect from the facts of the working-class environment, especially before the war. Ethnocentricity is essentially a childish attribute, needing a positive educational stimulus to remove it: many manual workers, even to-day, have received insufficient education for the purpose. Similarly, crude methods of disciplining children are the natural response of overworked parents in overcrowded homes, and these in turn lead directly to crude retributory views about adult penology. The latter are reinforced by the fact that the disputed punishments (hanging and flogging) relate specifically to crimes against the person, to which the working classes are more exposed than to crimes against property.

★
IT is not surprising that, given their environment, some sections of the working classes are ethnocentric and generally nasty-minded, and presumably there is inevitably a time lag between any improvement of the environment and change of attitudes. But it is surprising that the Labour Party should have persuaded so many others to adopt non-conservative attitudes towards a number of important issues, not all of which arise from direct economic class interest. It is also surprising (or would be to a man from Mars) to find that despite their educational and material advantages, the great bulk of the middle classes are little less nasty-minded than their working-class brethren. Not only do the middle classes overwhelmingly vote Conservative, but they are as a whole almost as hot on hanging, flogging, discriminating against Jews and black men as the Conservative working classes, and only a little less religious. Mr. H. J. Eysenck's* now ten-year-old data on these points are annually reconfirmed by the sounds which emanate from the conference of Conservative Women; also by the unpopularity which Conservative M.P.s who supported the abolition of capital punishment experienced in their constitu-

encies: to have been an abolitionist is almost as bad as to have been an anti-Suez, and to have been both together leads to Bournemouth West. Presumably the radical potentialities of the middle-class material environment are suppressed by a cultural environment born of vested interest in the status quo: child-rearing practices and educational institutions are specifically developed to militate against radical tendencies which might otherwise endanger class survival. This all sounds rather crude and Marxian but I know of no other explanation, and presumably it is the characteristic of top-dog classes through the ages, though there is some indication that things are different in America.

★
THE combination of environmentally-produced conservatism in the lower orders, with culturally-produced conservatism in the upper, inevitably attenuates the possibility of effective radical politics. To succeed in becoming an effective force, radicals must persuade a frustrated class that its interests and aspirations can only be achieved by radical changes: hence the theory of the Party of Protest. This is precisely what the Labour Party did for the British working classes. Middle-class radicals, allied with powerful personalities of working-class origin who by fighting their way up the educational ladder rid themselves of some of their natural conservatism, persuaded a large section of the working-class electorate to support not only a programme of self-interested economical radicalism but also to repress their conservative attitudes in other fields as well. Thus by 1945, working-class socialists, besides voting Labour and being laudably irreligious, were also, at least in principle, less anti-Semitic and less anti-black than were Conservatives. Since then the colour question has become a more real issue in the home country, but nevertheless a considerable divergence of working-class feeling evidently persists,

*H. J. Eysenck, *The Psychology of Politics*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1954.

Paratroopers Eyeview

Continued from p. 1
our" might have survived until the last war. The fact is that, confronted with the enemy's ruthlessness, his business had become the business of killing, his brutality being justified, and his conscience cleared, by the enemy's own cruelty. True enough, he was aware of the corruption of French administration and quoted himself many examples of it*. But that was a completely different matter, and of no concern to him, who at the time was there to fight—to hit back and hit harder.

The conditions of war had thus gradually transformed what could have been a normal young "citizen" into a kind of unquestioning, self-righteous, blue-eyed murderer.

The tragic thing is that this same process, which seems to be irresistible, is constantly at work in Algeria—where any youth can be changed into a killer by the sheer logic of a policy of reprisals, and by the intense brain-washing of the Army's psychological services. This type of man will no longer be, as now, a rarity in France within a few months' time. More dangerous still is the neo-fascist aggressiveness of those who come back. The main political activity of this ex-paratrooper was, in his own words, "foutre le bordel dans les réunions de gauche" (violent obstruction of Left-wing public meetings)—just as the Nazis did before 1933. So that there are potentially as many S.S. in the French population today as there were in Germany 25 years ago.

Whatever hopes might have been entertained that the prolongation of the war would open the eyes of the para-troopers, as well as of the rank-and-file, appear now to be completely dashed: far from leading them to question the aims and methods of the war, to realize its absurdity, the stagnation of the conflict has driven the majority to resent the constant hesitations of the French government and its political defeats as humiliations inflicted on the army. The success of the Algiers rebellion, last May, and de Gaulle's return to power have shown but too clearly to what dictatorial purpose this discontent can and will be exploited. Now, the paratroopers have become, according to the Right-wing press, the new élite of the nation, the strong arm and torch-bearer of our "regenerated" State: the gloomy shadow which they cast threatens to expand all over the political life of the country—and soon, perhaps, over our personal lives as well. C.D.

*To-day he is even in favour of independence for Algeria: "It's their country. Let them have it."

A Reminder on Racial Prejudice

Just a year ago the following paragraphs appeared in a *FREEDOM* editorial on the Roots of Racism (now reprinted in Volume 7 of "Freedom Selections") which are a reminder that whatever may be said of the official line regarding the absence of racial prejudice, in practice it operates every day without much protest from the top—or the bottom for that matter.

★
ON the cross-channel steamer from Boulogne to Folkestone last Thursday week the "Class" system, which is so rigidly adhered to even when the boat is loaded to capacity, and a thousand second-class passengers are squeezed into the rear half of the ship, while the 300 "Firsts" enjoy the spacious lounges and the padded seats of the other half—last Thursday, the "Class" system was dropped though less than five hundred travellers boarded the ship.

The reason was not far to seek. On that Thursday there was a third class: some hundreds of West Indian immigrants who had arrived on an earlier

train from Genoa were in occupation of the rear end of the ship, and British Railways, normally so zealous in extracting the excess fifteen shillings from those who dare to cross the line which divides their ships as obviously as the paint line divides a newly decorated semi-detached house from its shabby neighbour, felt unable to insist that we second class whites be herded with these third class citizens who are British, yes, but BLACK! So for a brief hour and a half (white) mankind was united as one . . . against the black invasion. The "class" line was replaced by a "race" line, an invisible but effective barrier to fraternization. And as the ship tied up at Folkestone the loudspeakers told the "West Indian party" that they should remain on board until the other passengers had disembarked as "special arrangements have been made for your journey to London." It mattered little to British Transport that our train was three parts empty when it left Folkestone. What mattered was to make clear to all, that there are only two classes in Britain . . . except when there are three!

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STOP THIS CRUELTY!

THERE ought to be a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Rulers. Look at poor old Strydom, dying off just like that at the early age of 52, worn out by the heavy responsibilities of defending the white against the wog. See poor Sir Anthony, prematurely aged by internal rebellion against the demands of high office. Regard Pandit Nehru, thin and drawn and anxious to retire, but compelled to work on by the pleas of his followers and his own stern sense of duty. On a minor scale, shed a tear for poor little Princess Margaret, unable (or unwilling) to be relieved of the burdens of her station to marry her heart's desire.

For us lesser mortals, such devotion at such a personal price, is a source of inspiration. But should we not also have pity in our hearts for the great ones who sacrifice so much for our sakes? Have any of us never felt moved, as we see films of the Queen, pinched and cold on a windy railway station or aerodrome, to be prepared, no matter what the loss, to release this mere girl from the irksome and awesome responsibilities to which she is by Destiny condemned?

Have we not felt moved by pity to put our arms around her slender shoulders and say gently, in the name of the kindly and understanding British People: 'Go home, my dear, you are released. Chuck it, Liz.'

Save Them from Themselves

If we had an S.P.C.R., this would clearly be its main function: to save our rulers from their own stern sense of duty, which keeps them loyally serving the people beyond their strength. And one of the first rulers to receive the care and attention of our Society should undoubtedly be President Dwight D. Eisenhower of the United States.

Ike is clearly flogging himself to death in the interests of the people of America—and that means the whole free world. We all know how he has had to have two operations to remove parts of his intestine—sure sign of the appalling strain to which he is subjected for all our sakes. Now, however, there seems to be increasing evidence that the rot is spreading. We won't go so far as to say that President Eisenhower is getting actually weak in the head, but at his recent press conference he certainly showed signs of some mental confusion.

Only 90 minutes before he met the pressmen Mr. Eisenhower had discussed the thorny question of desegregation with the American Solicitor General, Mr. J. Lee Rankin, whose view was that the decisions of the Supreme Court could not be flouted and that there had to be a start (*everywhere*, even though in some places school integration will take longer than others) towards the implementation of desegregation. Mr. Eisenhower had given his unqualified approval to Mr. Rankin's position.

But 90 minutes later Ike appeared to be not so sure. When asked about reports that he had told

friends he thought desegregation should proceed more slowly, the President replied: "It might have been that I said something about slower, but I do believe that we should—because I do say, as I did yesterday or last week, we have got to have reason and sense and education . . . if this process is going to have any real acceptance."

Which is about as clear as mud. Clear enough anyhow for the New York *World Telegram* to carry a headline the same day claiming **IKE FOR SLOWER INTEGRATION**, which is not what he has ever said before nor what he could possibly say as President with regard to the Supreme Court's decisions.

The Important Thing in His Life

However, a more disturbing example of a lack of grip on affairs was provided later in the press conference. *Time* (8/9/58) reports:

At his press conference the President naturally was asked about Communist China's invasion threats against Nationalist-held Quemoy and Matsu. And in that sequence he was asked about the discretion of U.S. field commanders in using nuclear weapons. The President hesitated, stumbled, laboured his way through 120 rambling words, finally ended by saying: "I would have to make certain. My memory is not quite that good this morning."

In short, it was clear that after his wearing, crisis-packed summer, President Eisenhower both wanted and needed a vacation. At week's end he flew off to Newport, R.I., for the second straight year, packing 135 still-unsigned congressional bills in his baggage. Stepping from *Columbine III*, he squinted at the

sun-spangled Rhode Island sky, smiled like a new man: "I hope my golf is as good as the weather."

And we hope that his golf is better than his memory, for it would seem that the really important thing in Ike's life is chasing a little white pill around the greens. If he were an ordinary citizen he could be put out to grass and forgotten by all but his intimates. But unfortunately Ike is an ordinary man in an extraordinary job. He can take decisions and can say things which can have shattering effects upon the lives of millions. Yet he is clearly a sick man with a failing memory and a slipping grasp upon affairs, hanging on to his job because he is not allowed to retire. And that creates a dangerous situation for the rest of us.

As Harry Truman (who wisely retired to enjoy his old age) once said of somebody else, Eisenhower is a two-ulcer man in a four-ulcer job. In the name of human kindness we should create the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Rulers and commission it right away to ensure the retirement of the President. He has devoted his life to the service of his country, nobody has the right to compel this ailing man to carry his burden to the grave.

Let him get down to the serious business of playing golf without having to bother his addled head about anything more troublesome than a fifteen-foot putt. He has earned his rest from government. And by Heck so have we; but we won't get it so easily.

Letter from Sweden

THE 25-year jubilee of the Scandinavian Gynaecological Society was marked by an article from one of the leading experts in this field, Professor Axel Westman, of the Karolinska hospital, Stockholm, heralding a new era in gynaecology, the psycho-somatic one.

The conclusions reached through research on animals were that the vegetative centres in the brain controlled the production of a hormone which stimulated the growth of ova. If the connection between the brain and the glandular system is interfered with, then the production of ova will also become maladjusted and a whole series of illnesses may follow. Dr. Westman (quoted in *Dagens Nyheter* 27/8/58) gave as the most striking illustration the example of sterility. About 10-15% of marriages are involuntarily childless and in a very high proportion of these the causes are purely psychological. Many times his hospital had simply had to discharge women who had come for help, because it could find absolutely nothing wrong with them, and in 15% of these cases the women concerned later reported that their problems had resolved themselves, which indicated that the nervous problems were only temporarily so grave as to induce sterility. Apart from this, problems of menstruation, haemorrhages and irritation were also often due to psychological stress.

It would be expected that with the particular stresses of modern life about which so much is written, the frequency of these problems would have increased, but Dr. Westman said that was in fact not the case, and remarked that perhaps

after all, women were the stronger sex! However, it is possible to look at that from another angle and instead of being pleased that these illnesses have not increased, notice that they have always been frequent, at least in West European society.

Concerning the work of the Karolinska hospital, Professor Westman's own chief interest lay in the hormone laboratory, and he was able to say that far from presenting a doleful picture, the problem of women's disease was looking brighter as quite a lot of cases were amenable to treatment by hormone injection. On the other hand, a particularly interesting development was that the hospital had the services of Dr. Gunnar of Geijerstam who was both a gynaecologist and a psychiatrist, and who could supervise all cases where it was felt that mental factors predominated.

In the *D.N.* article, and also in an interview with the syndicalist weekly *Arbetaren*, Dr. Westman pointed particularly to some of the factors which generate the mental difficulties; unpleasant work, severe studying, involuntary separation of partners, but in neither case was there any suggestion of examining the social roots of these problems, far less of trying to reshape society so as to eliminate them.

The relations between mental difficulties and physical maladjustment has been intuitively realised by various people almost from the beginning of medical history. It was brought forward particularly during the 1920's and 30's by Wilhelm Reich, who attempted to demonstrate the truth of his ideas by experiment, and has perhaps also been pressed by revolutionary groups, including the anarchist movement, who although not being in such a position to know authoritatively the scientific facts of each case, realised from its own everyday experience that lack of freedom was, if not the root of all evil, at least a very large factor in it.

Within more recent times the question of psychological and somatic relationships has been receiving far more attention from within the "orthodox" medical movement. In particular much work has been done, without much acknowledgement, in exploring one of the topics to which Reich devoted so much work, the effect of sexual difficulties on

ERRATA

"The Story of a Love Affair", p. 4, col. 2, (*FREEDOM* 6/9/58), the sentence beginning on line 33 should read, "You felt open and free. Prices were low, although everything had to be transported up from the coast along winding endless mountain roads."

The Illusion of World Government

THE multiplication of laws and of law-making bodies has long been a favourite answer to political reformists to the various evils of authoritarianism. It is not surprising, therefore, that many who believe in authority think that a world government would bring peace to mankind. Their view is based on the assumption that a government, *per se*, is a guarantee of peace for the people who are subjected to it. By subordinating the nations of the world to a supreme authority, they argue, the same result will be achieved as has been amongst the citizens of national states: *i.e.* 'order', 'law' and 'peace'.

A glance at recent history is all that is needed to show how false is this assumption. The existence of a federal government in the U.S.A. did not prevent the outbreak of the Civil War. The existence of a democratically elected government in Spain did not prevent the rebellion of Franco and his generals. Russia, China, and the republics of Central and South America provide other examples. Indeed, there are few, if any, states where histories do not include accounts of the use of organized violence

the development of cancer. More recently an investigation in England into the occurrence of coronary thrombosis in different occupation groups found that it was much more frequent among the respected non-manual workers, and that the occupation which was least affected by it was that of scrap-iron collector. Although that particular case perhaps involved the physical nature of the work rather than mental questions, it nevertheless raises clear social problems, and similar investigations regarding admission to mental hospitals and unhappiness in marriage show that these problems are a direct consequence of the type of society in which we live, and that in some way or other, everyone suffers from it.

From the point of view of a layman, the most striking feature of all these problems is that no-one knows what to do about them. The doctors are sincerely disturbed and try to ameliorate the difficulties caused, and if one reads between the lines there is even a slight feeling of guilt that our society is producing as many new forms of illness as it is eliminating, and churning all the more grist into the medical mill, but the very idea of a radical change in society is so remote as not even to be given serious consideration.

The English report referred to above even concluded by mentioning a few palliative reforms which could be effected without, as it explicitly said, needing such an impossible reorganisation. Perhaps by such means as this, and by the hormone injections which are being investigated, it may be possible to knock one or two per cent. off the frequency of particular problems, but only when they have been almost completely eliminated, will people be able to live free from the fear that perhaps they might be the next victim.

Is there anything that can be done? One of the most important reforms might be to assert that questions like these are not only the concern of doctors, but should be tackled by everyone. It is just one more of the symptoms of the fear and concern for authority that such barriers exist between some of the learned professions and the people whom they, in theory, "serve".

The greatest need in this field to-day is for more people, laymen included, to confidently assert that it is not at all necessary for life to carry on in an authoritarian pattern, that there is an alternative, and one which will give the possibility of a free, happy and satisfactory life to everyone who wants it, and in which the factors which are now being located as being the most important in causing unhappiness can be eliminated. Medical research is taking an important step in recognising the effects of mental problems on physical ones, but the history of the last century and a half has shown that progress in academic research can never by itself lead automatically to a freer and happier society. Progressive-thinking people should no longer shelter behind it and feel that their aims will be achieved in some mystical way without the exertion of the slightest bit of effort, while the more enlightened of the intellectuals should be noticing that their deeper aims in such realms as education and health are never being realised in a state-dominated society, which only picks their brains for its own benefit. If the prospects of achieving freedom look dull at times it is certain that the only way towards it is to work for it.

P.H.

on the part of groups desiring or desiring power. The 'order' of government is not a product of the free agreement of their subjects. It is the product of forcible suppression of any opposition which threatened, or appeared to threaten, the existence of the state. The only type of peace which is original to governments is the 'peace' of the victor or of the massacred. By its very nature government is both an effect and a cause of aggression, of the struggle for power.

The case for a world government sounds rather hollow when one considers the means by which such a government would try to maintain 'peace'. It is evident that as long as antagonistic groups and interests exist in human society there will be attempts to secure victory for one or other group or interest by means of violence. This is inherent in the power struggle. It may well be that the camouflaged violence of parliamentary government will be sufficient for this purpose, but it may equally well be that resort will be had to the more violence of civil war. A world government could only deal with such a situation if it had a superiority of force at its disposal. Since the world would, *de jure*, be 'one' it would be longer possible to speak of such a conflict as an 'inter-national war'. Nevertheless, the less, war it would still be, though it was now termed a 'rebellion' which had to be 'quelled' by 'international action'. The fact and the horror of war would remain; the terminology and excuses would be changed. To the historian and the student of 'newspaper' this development might, from their different angles, be of considerable interest. To the victims it would be no consolation.

We live in a time in which The Bomb has become the symbol of the lunacy of war, of the delinquency of rulers and of the somnambulant indifference of the mass. Many who sincerely desire to end to this nightmarish state of affairs find it difficult not to take 'short cuts' to peace which are really cut de la guerre. To these the illusion of world government may prove irresistible. That means of securing 'peace' would, in the last resort, be the means of war, and that for the promise of peace they would have to renounce even more of the little individual liberty they are still allowed, are facts of which they are ignorant or perhaps do not wish to recognise. The path to peace does not lie along the route of increasing the power of governments. It lies in the direction of developing an attitude which owes no allegiance to any government or form of authority. To develop this attitude, to refuse to support war or the preparations for it, and to act directly to bring about those fundamental changes in human relationships which can alone destroy the roots of war—there are things which make for peace. And these things are the creation of individuals in free co-operation, not of the citizens of governments.

S. E. PARKER.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Owing to the expiry of lease at the Malatesta Club no L.A.G. meetings will be held till further notice. New premises are being sought for the winter series of Lecture-Discussions.

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