

Freedom

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STUDENTS DISCOVER THE H-BOMB

CONSERVATIVE ministers are said to be somewhat disturbed by the sudden, intense interest now taken in the hydrogen bomb by university students. It would be better, they think, if students were just shut up and get on with their studies and leave the affairs of the world to their elders. Unless of course they want to approve; then they can be regarded as respon-

On the whole, British students are very little to be desired by the authorities in this respect. They are certainly not an influence in political or social affairs as they seem to be in some countries. The British Government has little to fear from the British student, except at election time, when individual ministers are not always shown the respect they think is their due.

There is evidence, however, that certain sections of the Labour Party, the university students of this country have suddenly learned about the hydrogen bomb. At least, those in Oxford have, where the varsity paper *Isis* devoted the bulk of one issue to nuclear warfare. The paper sold out and had to be reprinted to meet demand.

Now a nuclear disarmament campaign has been started by men and women undergraduates in Oxford and they are co-operating with the Labour Party's committee of the National Campaign for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons. As one of the chairmen said: 'After all, we are a generation who will have to face the live in the nuclear age, and it is time we thought about it.'

Seven Questions

It is indeed time, and we shall watch with interest the development of the campaign, one of the main features of which is a questionnaire which is being circulated in Oxford and has now reached London. Other anti-H-bomb campaign committees are also being formed in Cambridge,

French Scorch Earth on Tunis-Algeria Border

FRENCH Forces in Algeria, undeterred by world disapproval of the Sakiet air-raid, are perpetrating further cruelty along the Algerian-Tunisian border.

They are practising a scorched earth policy, clearing a strip of land along the border, burning, destroying and driving out the Algerian villagers.

President Bourguiba of Tunisia has written to President Eisenhower accusing France of genocide and stating that refugees, coming over the border in their thousands have brought tales of massacre, rape and arson.

The *Observer's* correspondent in Washington says that there is little disposition there to doubt the accuracy of President Bourguiba's letter. This latest episode, in Washington's view, has all but doomed the Anglo-American conciliation effort, following the Sakiet bombing.

The Tunisian Government is claiming that about 4,000 refugees have arrived in the Sbeitla area in the past three days. It officially denies the Paris statement that the French forces in Algeria would "only" displace 35-40,000 Algerians in the course of their scorched-earth programme, and claims that double the number will be affected.

According to National Liberation Front sources there are already nearly 150,000 Algerian refugees in Tunisia, but the Red Cross Society puts this figure at half.

Birmingham, Leeds and North Staffordshire.*

The questionnaire has seven questions. They ask:

Whether our possession of the H-bomb decreases the risk of total war;

Whether the argument that the bomb gives us greater influence, is sufficient reason for retaining it;

Whether we should ask for agreement without linking it with general disarmament;

Whether we should stop tests unconditionally or until attempts have been made to reach agreement with Russia;

Whether we should reject missile bases here unconditionally or until we have tried to reach agreement with the Soviets;

Whether patrol flights with nuclear weapons over Britain should be suspended even at the risk of straining the Anglo-American alliance;

Whether we should do all we can, including renunciation of our own nuclear arms, to stop any more countries getting or developing them.

Now these questions are all very well in their way, in that they demonstrate an interest in affairs of considerable importance, but to us they are bitterly disappointing in that they are dead-end questions as far as the students are concerned.

A Petition

What is going to be the purpose of the questionnaire? Apparently, if the students come out in favour of banning the H-bomb, a petition

*We shall be glad of first-hand information about the progress of these committees at all universities from our readers there.

will be sent to the Prime Minister. And if it is accompanied by all the questionnaire forms, Mr. Macmillan stands to make a few bob on waste paper. And that will be the end of that.

The disappointment one feels on reading the above seven questions lies precisely in the fact that they are questions about action or non-action to be taken at government level. What about a series of questions asking the students what they are prepared to do at a personal level about banning the H-bomb?

In the universities at this moment are the atomic scientists of the future. And it is atomic scientists who have produced the hydrogen bomb, not Mr. Macmillan nor Mr. Eisenhower nor Mr. Khrushchev. These figure-heads would have no power to set the world on fire if they were not handed the match by the scientists, nor justified and excused by the political economists, boosted by the journalists, and their victims conditioned by the teachers and the lawyers.

Identified with the Status Quo

Most of these props of the State are the products of our universities, very important functions of which are to produce the managers and leaders of our society and inculcate in them an identification with the status quo. The success of this process is indicated in the H-bomb questionnaire: 'our' possession of the H-bomb, which gives 'us' greater influence, and so on.

This students' questionnaire is set in political, statist, terms. What is needed is one set in human, personal terms, to make the individual realise his responsibility for the H-bomb

horror. Answering foreign-policy questions and presenting petitions to Prime Ministers might give students a second-hand sense of importance, but it won't affect the larger lunacy one bit.

What will affect that is the determination of students not to lend themselves to the State's murderous schemes. And that sort of unilateral responsibility would very soon communicate itself to the students of other countries.

As it is, members of the Government are said to be slightly worried by the H-bomb campaign. They are worried, if at all, not by the thought of receiving a monster petition, but of what it could lead to.

They are said to fear the campaign because it might attract as much attention as the famous Oxford Union debate of 1936 which declared 'That this House will not fight for King and Country', and that the Government's negotiating strength might be weakened!

Private Determination

But surely the Government's experience has taught it not to worry about such public demonstrations. When war came in 1939, the young men of the universities flocked into uniform, just as most of those who signed the Peace Pledge forgot all about it.

A marriage is not held together by the public vow, but by the love in the heart. The sincerity and strength of a student's revulsion against nuclear terror is to be measured by his personal expression of his responsibility, not by 'Yes', 'No' or 'Don't Know' on a questionnaire or a signature on a petition.

Prerequisites for a 'Victory for Socialism'

WRITING in the Daily Mirror on the morrow of the Rochdale bye-election (in which the Conservatives not only lost their seat but came last in a three cornered contest), Mr. Richard Crossman, Labour M.P., far from being elated by the result, viewed it with "dis-may"! He explained his reaction in these terms

when the electors begin to distrust the leaders on both sides, there is a danger not only to the electoral prospects of the two big parties, but to Parliament itself.

Unless confidence can be restored, democracy itself may well be poisoned.

In other words, Parliament and the political leaders, are the barometer of democracy. Since when, in fact, have the public trusted political leaders? They may express the fatalistic approach, that we cannot carry on without them any more than we can carry on without the police or the brass-hats, but such an approach is more the expression of a feeling of helplessness to manage their own lives and/or a lack of confidence in the basic decency of their fellow beings, than a positive, enthusiastic approval of politicians and Parliament as the symbols of democracy.

Indeed, let us face it: the public have been conditioned to accept authority, but not democracy. They fear democracy more than they re-

sent the high-handed attitude of politicians and governments. As we have so often attempted to show, democracy cannot even start to function in a society divided by social and economic classes for, by definition, democracy is

the political system in which government is directly exercised or controlled by the people collectively; government by the people, as distinguished from aristocracy.

It is clear, to us at least, that the fundamental tenet of democracy is that all men are born equal. It is equally clear to us, that they are not! Some are born in nursing homes and their arrival announced in the columns of the *Times* and their place in society ensured by a note to the headmaster of one of our "famous" public schools even before the "influential" god-parents-to-be have been informed of the

Spanish Sailor Refused Political Asylum

Mr. Butler, the Home Secretary, has announced that a Spanish sailor, Joaquin Perez-Selles, now in Brixton Prison, cannot be granted asylum in Britain as a political refugee, and that the proper course is to return him to Spain. Mr. Butler states that Perez-Selles's troubles in Spain arise not from any personal political background, but from his refusal to comply with normal Spanish obligations for National Service. *Manchester Guardian* 28/2/58.

happy event; others instead are born in the public hospitals or overcrowded council houses without the trimmings or the silver spoons. Quite apart from these far from insignificant social distinctions, are the genetic aspects of birth, about which more could be done to reduce the misery of the physically handicapped if men and women were less influenced by Church morality and more informed on questions of birth control, as well as having just a little imagination to put themselves in the shoes of their off-spring.

However physically and intellectually unequal we may start life or become, all other things being equal, there is no reason why society should even think of discriminating between its members. People do, because they are born, and grow up, in a society which even before they can start thinking for themselves, has stamped them with its values.

HOW effectively, was shown by a report, recently published in Oxford, the result of a research project carried out to measure people's access to sources of information and ideas, and the way in which these various sources combined to influence their attitudes. It was found that of the population sample representing a fair cross-section, 45

Continued on p. 3

"Law and discipline seem to be made so that the exceptional person may oppose them and thus change the stultifying rhythm of habit."

—JEAN COCTEAU.

LOURDES LOLLIES

A HUNDRED years ago a vision of the Virgin Mary was seen by a child in the now famous grotto at Lourdes. This vision has brought economic prosperity to a city now materialistically engaged in preparation for what promises to be a boom year; 8,000,000 pilgrims are expected to visit Lourdes this year.

The 600 hotels in Lourdes are booked up from April to November, and the 400 shops are well stocked with religious souvenirs and such commodities as bags of lozenges made from 'Genuine Lourdes Water'.

The names on the shop fronts are aimed at special loyalties: *The Infant Jesus of Prague, St. Lawrence O'Toole* (proprietors Walsh and Douly). These highly competitive private enterprises have helped the city to an estimated income of 10 billion francs a year, a figure that may well triple in 1958.

Time 24/2/1958.

In case readers are under the impression that this irreligious commercialism is the only part of the holy celebrations let it be noted that nothing is sold inside the grounds of the grotto—except candles!

Many people will no doubt be spiritually uplifted by their visit to Lourdes and numbers may find relief from physical suffering as a result of their faith (hundreds of crutches have been left behind by people who found relief at Lourdes, although officially the Vatican only recognises 54 miraculous cures). But such a form of religious belief is generally blinding and therefore the materialistic aspect of this centenary year at Lourdes will perhaps only be noticed by objective observers. Even if observed by the less devout visitor it is unlikely to be condemned, as the Church is apparently encouraging it, because of course such prosperity can only increase the wealth and power of the Church.

Celebrating mass on the anniversary last week, Cardinal Gerlier described Lourdes as a place "where an avalanche of grace takes place—it is a real hospital for souls". But above all it is a commercial city made prosperous by the exploitation of religious belief.

What's French for Blasphemy?

The Lord Chamberlain has refused a licence for public performance of Samuel Beckett's new play "End Game," which the English Stage Company planned to present at the Royal Court Theatre, London, in the spring. A statement issued on behalf of the company said:

"The Lord Chamberlain's decision is made the more surprising by the fact that he gave the play a licence for production in French when the company presented it last spring in Sloane Square, London, with a French cast in the presence of the French Ambassador. The principal objection by the censor is to a scene of about thirty lines in which three of the characters are seen in prayer. The official view is that this scene is blasphemous."

Have you Renewed your Subscription to FREEDOM?

THE GOOD SHEPHERD-2

(Continued from previous issue)

The Healers

I HAVE dealt with the brainwashing of p.o.w.'s at length because here the change is apparently striking. A body of men set out at the risk of their lives to defend country A and destroy the forces of country B, yet can be made to reverse their purpose and continue to risk their lives for country B against A. However, it is the civil aspects of brainwashing which are really more important in the development of the modern State. Strangely enough, this technique which in its extreme forms can involve the destruction of human personality, is bound up with the more "progressive" forces in the modern State.

In tracing the history of the legal treatment of criminals we find that elements of retribution, deterrence and reform have always entered into the methods of penology. In the early 19th century penal law was largely retributive and deterrent; the man who stole a sheep was hanged as retribution and to deter other hungry men. But with the further development of the State and its wider control over society, reform began to take a larger place in penology. The Czarist State of Russia was more humane than the British in some respects. Robbers, murderers and political plotters were being sent to reformatory labour in Siberia, while in this country they were simply hanged. The Bolshevik pioneers carried on this reformatory trend in penology quite sincerely, until it later became a mere racket in the hands of the O.G.P.U. for recruiting slave labour.

The reformatory methods in this country were first applied to child offenders, and the scope has steadily widened so that now with all classes of criminals, except those in Preventive Detention and on the gallows, the regime is supposed to be reformatory. However crude and ludicrous most of the reformatory efforts of our prison system are in fact, the intention to change the character of the prisoner is there, and there is a growing body of opinion in the administration in favour of more psychotherapy with prisoners. Advanced criminologists are tending to abandon the view that the criminal is "wicked" in favour of the view that he is "sick". The growth of the concept of the psychopathic personality is a trend in this direction. If a man is "sick" he is not to be punished and then set free, as under the older type

of penology, but to be detained for an indefinite period until he is "cured". This attitude is at once more humane but more sinister. Who is to be the judge of mental sickness and mental health?

The trouble is that there can be no absolute standard of mental health. Conduct which passes for sane and healthy in one part of the world is condemned as morbid in their parts. It is useless to talk about what is "normal" in society, for in a complex society such as ours there is not one norm but many. The particular social stratum from which magistrates, lawyers, doctors and clergymen come, and to which schoolteachers hopefully aspire, has theoretical standards of conduct which many of these practitioners would like to proclaim as the only decent standard. Psychiatrists (fortunately) disagree a good deal over the classification of mental illness, but there is a strong tendency to-day to regard the man who runs foul of the law, or who flouts conventional middle-class morality, as being "psychopathic". In some cases eccentric individuals are even certified as "mentally defective" if they prove to be exceptionally illiterate, and they are then incarcerated in mental deficiency colonies, in spite of the fact that on a reasonable psychometric test they show themselves to be of above average intelligence.

Most certainly some of my comrades whose voices have cheered the hearts and awoken the aspirations of their listeners at street corners would be classified as "psychopathic personalities" by some psychiatrists. So would some of the authors whose books adorn anarchist bookshelves. Such deviants from the morality of the Establishment would be candidates for the brainwashing clinic if some earnest healers of minds had their way.

Referring back to our study of the brainwashing process applied to p.o.w.'s, it was noted that the technique was greatly facilitated by the superficiality of belief and the muddled motivation of the average soldier. His captors, moreover, had to act in such a way that they commanded genuine respect. If, however, a man believes in his own standards sincerely and has no respect at all for the authority of those who would cure him of his "error", then the brainwashing process will not work. Orwell struck a true note when he represented Winston

Smith as really respecting O'Brien, his corrupter, and feeling that the latter's mind encompassed his own. In Communist purges the Communist victims seem to go down in an orgy of self-blame, presumably because of their ingrained respect for the boot that crushes them.

The Lost Sheep

While recognizing the power which the technique of brainwashing gives to authoritarian forces, an understanding of its nature reveals its limitations. The potential victim can study just how they are trying to get at him through his head, heart and guts. Its use reveals the weakness of those who use it. Why is it thought necessary to reclaim deviant minorities? Why is it necessary to make the heathens Christians, the homosexuals heterosexual, the non-voters vote, the boozers sober, the proletariat bourgeois, and the illegitimate legitimate?

Partly it is because those who seek to reclaim the deviant and normalize the eccentric are fighting down the rebel in themselves. A small minority of anarchists are important to a degree quite out of all proportion to their small numbers.

BOOKS & PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

From *William Heinemann*: ON THE BEACH by Nevil Shute 15s.; RETURN TO CHINA by James Bertram 25s.; SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PRESCRIBING by J. P. Martin 21s.; THE HUMAN SUM edited by C. H. Rolph 18s.; THE NINETEEN DAYS by George Urban 31s.; THOUGHTS IN THE WILDERNESS by J. B. Priestley 25s.; NO FRUIT MORE BITTER by Laurence Wilkinson 25s.; THE TRIUMPHANT HERETIC by Ernest Halperin 30s.

From *Oxford University Press*: PROPAGANDA by Lindley Fraser (Home University Library No. 230) 7s. 6d.; ARISTOPHANES AGAINST WAR translated by P. Dickinson 18s.; RUSSIA, THE ATOM AND THE WEST by George F. Kennan (The B.B.C. Reith Lectures for 1957) 10s. 6d.

From *Allen and Unwin*: MAN'S WESTERN QUEST by Denis de Rougemont 15s.; PEOPLE IN NEED by Cyril S. Smith 21s.

From *Hutchinson*: LIEUTENANT IN ALGERIA by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber 16s.

Right-thinking people will never be happy in their illusions while they know that just a few wrong-thinking people are happy in their freedom from these illusions. It is much more comfortable, therefore, in a modern framework of ideas to regard every deviant minority as "sick" and in need of "curing", than to regard them as just "wicked" and in need of "punishment". For if the deviants are not sick but sane, it may be that their ideas are as good as the official ideology, and one day their heresy may become the accepted truth. The ideal, then, is to capture them and brainwash them, and it does not matter whether the brainwashing process is done in the name of Religion, or Mental Health, or Education or Political Enlightenment. What the Communists mean by a classless society is a society undivided by ideological schisms (hardly Marx's idea) a society, in fact, where deviant minorities cannot exist. So far, the capitalist countries lag far behind them in this respect—but the intention is there. In our capitalist society it doesn't matter what you think—as long as you are a right-thinking person: if you are not, well obviously you must be sick, psychopathic or mentally deficient, and in need of curing.

This article began with a quotation

Peace for Tourism

VADUZ, LIECHTENSTEIN, FEBRUARY 11.

Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino will hold a conference in October in San Marino. One item on the agenda will be a proposed lateral treaty of friendship to exemplify an otherwise weary world. Baron Edward von Falz-Feim here to-day that the four would consider "problems of common interest, mainly tourism," but they would discuss peace and the welfare of the world generally. The four territories have a combined population of 500,000 and an area of 294.6 square miles. British United Press.

CINEMA

The Seventh Seal (Academy)

INGMAR BERGMAN'S film "Seventh Seal" arrives in London for a public showing sporting the accolade of a Special Jury Prize awarded at the Cannes Film Festival and heralded by a muted fanfare from the London Film Festival. Ingmar Bergman is known to us for his sad and moving film "Frenzy" and this film can only enhance his reputation as a director.

The plot of the "Seventh Seal" is however the same old corn that passes for "deep thinking" among so many of the earnest types.

A dolorous-faced knight returning from a spot of foreign mayhem meets Death, with a capital D, on the seashore of his native land. He challenges Death to a game of chess only to find that he

has begun a game he can never win. He will find many sympathisers in the audience. The knight who is now here on borrowed time makes his way over land to his castle. As he passes through the plague-ridden countryside he encounters a number of odd and colorful characters cowering or clowning as the script commands.

Over all hangs the vile menace of the devouring plague (O.K.; so its the atom bomb, anyone got a petition on them?) and for ninety-five minutes we can watch Bergman's conception of how he believes we are reacting. If Bergman had chosen to leave it at that I personally would have been content, but no. The sad-faced knight, with a face getting sadder by the minutes, wanders in and out of every group, reiterating his "Why, why, why?" until even Death is constrained to ask "Will you never stop asking questions?"

One longed for some one to give an answer to his "Why?" no matter how muddled, no matter how fuddled. Amid all the breast-beating and salvation-seeking however one character does stand out. He is the knight's squire (played by Gunnar Björnstrand). A sceptic, a cynic and a man of feeling and without faith he despises the Church and offers a rough pity to the dying and to those whom the Church has damned. It is he who when finally standing face to face with inevitable Death turns to his companions and tells them, "To feel to the very end the triumph of being alive and to die under protest". One recalls the lines written by Dylan Thomas for his dying father, "Go not quietly into that good night I pray, but rage rage against the dying of the light." It is visually however that this film is worthy of a visit. Bergman etches onto the screen, faces that hold the bitter humour of a painting by Breughel and his group scenes capture the taunt and anguished lines of Dürer's woodcuts yet when Bergman's fantoccini has finally unwound we are left with the memory of a film as graceful and as beautiful as Swedish glass-ware and just as brittle.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

BOOK REVIEW

Russia, the Atom and the West

B.B.C. REITH LECTURES 1957. George F. Kennan. Oxford University Press, 1958. 10s. 6d.

THIS series of lectures, now published in book form, amply demonstrates the peculiar gift of the successful politician and diplomat. Here every art of winning modesty, of fair-minded weighing of evidence, of forthright denunciation, of mature shrewdness is displayed—while saying precisely nothing. Right up to the end of the book the reader is led up the garden path expecting some conclusion to be reached by a writer of such vast and polished capacity. Like a master raconteur of shaggy dog stories Kennan outwits his reader right to the end. He is far too wily to outline any policy which differs from the accepted one, that we must sit beside our stockpile of atomic weapons and hope for the best.

At the beginning Kennan charms us by his fairmindedness. He gives praise where he considers it is due in assessing the merits of the Soviet system. He is a benevolent critic and is reminded of his own growth in the American Middle West by present-day Moscow in "the enthusiasm of the people for economic development". In dealing with the threat from Russia's atomic weapons he bravely declares:

"I am not particularly concerned to learn whether our Soviet friends (sic) could, if they wished, destroy us seven times over or only four times; nor do I think that the answer to this danger lies in the infinite multiplication of our own present ability to do fearful injury to them. Our problem is no longer to prevent people from acquiring the ability to destroy us; it is too late for that. Our problem is to see that they do not have the will or incentive to do it. For this, we have to preserve our deterrent capacity. But that is a limited task."

Having wisely pointed out that preserving a deterrent capacity is a "limited task" Kennan leaves it at that and nowhere in the course of his lectures does he explain how he proposes that the Russians should be prevented from having "the will or incentive" to use their atomic weapons against the forces which menace them with similar weapons. If there were a policy advanced which prevented Russia from having "the will or incentive" to launch an attack apart from the sheer fear of retaliation, then quite plainly the deterrent capacity would be redundant. But Kennan avoids such a logical impasse by avoiding putting forward any policy such as he hints at. He is content with his "limited task".

The only positive policy which he puts forward is not for America, but a piece of advice for countries on the Continent within reach of the Red Army. He advises, in fact, a sort of purge or pogrom of "unscrupulous and foreign-inspired minorities in their midst". To this end he envisages the creation of paramilitary forces to enforce "the internal health and discipline of the respective national societies". Now whether one relishes or not the extirpation of the Communist Party (and other minorities considered dangerous to the internal health and discipline of European countries) by an enlarged gendarmerie, the fact remains that such a move would be a golden opportunity for the Red Army to move in in the name of "liberty". Such a political purge would lead to civil war where there are sizeable Communist minorities, and Russia would represent the whole affair as an

attempted *putsch* by fascist beasts, and get some kudos by moving in as liberators.

Is Kennan a damned fool and does he expect any European government to take his advice seriously? I think not. He parades this policy of mailed first McCarthyism as a cover for his policy of easing the American armed forces out of Europe. Can it be that he privately reasons that if America has an adequate supply of intercontinental missiles at home and a half-way launching site for missiles in Britain, not to mention rocket-launching submarines, land forces on the European continent are now no longer necessary? Let every country deal with its Communists as Franco dealt with his and we Americans will retire behind our deterrent fence!

If anyone thinks that international affairs are in the hands of experts, wise in their own craft, who will do everything in their power, and far, far more than the man in the street can conceive of to smooth over dangerous tensions in the world today, let him read this book. The effect may be rather like that of coming to consciousness on the operating table and seeing that the surgeons, who have already opened one's abdomen, are drunk and fighting among themselves with rusty knives—but it is salutary. Plenty of people will buy the book and try to understand its message, convincing themselves, as so many radio listeners were convinced, that when the arguments just do not lead anywhere it is due to their own limited understanding. If Emperor Kennan parades around in clothes of wisdom, surely they are invisible only to fools? And if so, the only answer is to sit on a stockpile of atomic

weapons and trust the experts to see that all the matters which are too complex for our understanding are skilfully managed.

Let Keenan have the last word. "Under the concept I have outlined the military dispositions of NATO would not be an end. And this end would not be the achievement of any total solution in the sense of a sudden removal of the political rivalry between the Communist system and our own. It would be the piecemeal removal, by negotiation, and compromise, of the major sources of military danger, particularly the abnormal situation now prevailing in Central and Eastern Europe . . . There is no use looking any further than this. Our first concern must be to achieve what is, or might be, immediately possible. After that, we shall see."

G.

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Periodicals . . .

- Liberation, February 1/9

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DOLCI: ROAD BUILDER

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—CARLO LEVI:
"Le Parole Sono Pietre".

DANILO DOLCI came to London last week, a big mild Triestino architect with spectacles, recently acquitted by an Italian court of appeal on a charge of obscenity.

Dolci and the editor of the review *Nuovi Argomenti*, Alberto Carocci were prosecuted after extracts from the book "Inchiesta a Palermo" had been published in the review. The book is an account of 6,300 answers by 600 people in Palermo to questions put to them by Dolci and his associates about their lives and the ways by which they stayed alive. The court ruled that certain of the narratives were obscene and that other parts of the book were "injurious to public decency" and sentenced Dolci and Carocci to two months' imprisonment. The court of appeal acquitted them.

It was indeed not Dolci, but the facts of life in Palermo which are obscene. The truly indecent act was the prosecution of the fact-finder—as obscene as the act of the municipality in Naples, which built a wall to hide the slums from the eyes of tourists.

When Dolci came to Trappeto, a fishing village on the northern coast of Sicily in January 1952, the first thing he saw was the death of a child from starvation. He locked himself in his room and went on hunger-strike, declaring that he would not eat until something was done about it. A doctor went to Palermo and persuaded the regional government to pay out about £800 and to promise a school and irrigation works. That was the last help he got from the State. He began to collect facts about the misery he saw all around him, "soil erosion, absentee

one of the most potent forces which influence man's inhuman attitude to man is that of government.

Governments legislate for Mass Man; they overlook the individual, local problems and needs. Political parties survive only in so far as they can become mass organisations, offering slogans for mass minds. Thus such "ginger groups" as "Victory for Socialism" within the Labour Party far from being welcome are immediately viewed by the Executive as a threat to the "Unity" of the Party. Mr. Crossman is worried about democracy being poisoned but he obviously resents the people seeking expression outside the two party system. There is no conflict between the Victory for Socialism groups and the Crossman-Gaitskell orthodoxy as to where power should be concentrated. The struggle exists over which men shall wield that power.

That the gingering action comes from those outside the party caucus, and the moral indignation at these attempts to "split the unity of the movement" from those keeping warm the seats of office, if and when Labour is returned to power, is the way things should obviously go. The "gingering" personalities have nothing to lose and everything to gain—as Mr. Bevan has so well demonstrated! But for the rank and file members and the workers in general it doesn't really matter all that much whether it's Gaitskell, Macmillan, or Mikardo who holds the reins of power. What matters is that they all ride on the backs of the workers . . . in the name of freedom and democracy! What the workers need are not ginger groups but the development of self-confidence and individual initiative as well as a new approach to their fellow workers—based on the idea that all men are equal as well as each being a unique personality. And, in man's present state of mind, it is a task no less difficult than that of getting rid of the bosses, politicians and other parasites who prey on the world's toiling masses.

landlords, profiteering bailiffs, profiteering sub-bailiffs, one day's work in three, sixpence an hour for that, malnutrition, infant mortality, trachoma, rickets, debts, hatred, banditry". He accumulated statistics: one child out of ten can write his name at the age of twelve, infant mortality is 8.9 per cent. In his book "Banditi a Partinico" he reveals that in the district of Partinico, Trappeto and Montelepre (the home town of Giuliano), out of a total population of 33,000 there are 350 outlaws. These outlaws have had a total of 650 years at school and a total of 3,000 years in jail. In that district alone the State spends 13 million lire each month on the suppression of banditry.

The extra police budget is more than enough to cover the cost of a dam on the Jato river. For having made his survey, Dolci made his plans. Land reform, drains, running water, a living wage, and the dam to catch and store the winter rain which now merely erodes the top-soil. From the dam would follow industry, citrus cultivation, year-round employment. "But this is not enough. Illiteracy and all that stems from it must be wiped out. Schools must be set up for the young and the old, and they must have a chance to attend. Books must be put into their hands. Give people a chance to hear good music, to see good films. Let there be dances."

BUT after the initial conscience-stricken gesture there was no more money from the State. With donations from the more socially-conscious of the Italian intelligentsia, Dolci has improvised schools, a home for orphans, and a "Universita Popolare" with theatre and library. But, as he says, his work in Trappeto and Partinico is merely scrap-

ing the surface of the appalling poverty and degradation of the region. He resolved to fast one week every year until the dam was built. "We have tried everything. I wrote letters, went from official to official; no one wanted to do a thing. That is why we had a hunger strike. We just sat on the beach meditating, and promised not to eat for one week. Then the police came and asked if we had a permit. We were pushed off the beach and finally dispersed. That is why we had our work strike."

The work strike was a *sciopero alla rovescio* a reverse strike. This is a technique which has often been used in Italy, not only by the anarchists. "The idea is just to go and till the neglected field, to build the necessary house, whoever the land may belong to. There's no lack of labour in Southern Italy, and it's better to go unpaid for useful work than to go unpaid for idleness". One morning, early in 1956, Dolci led the unemployed of Partinico to a stretch of much-used and badly neglected road not far from the town, with picks and shovels and wheelbarrows. There was music too, he called it a *fiesta del lavoro*. Work had hardly begun when the police arrived and ordered them to stop. The police invited Dolci to come with them. He lay on the ground (he is a big and heavy man) and invited them to take him. After his arrest he was refused provisional freedom on the grounds that he had "a capacity for leading people to delinquency".

After 53 days in prison he was brought to trial in Palermo, in chains. The public prosecutor demanded eight months' imprisonment. Italy's leading writers, Alberto Moravia, Ignazio Silone, Elio Vittorini, Carlo Levi, protested on his behalf. Dolci and his two dozen co-defendants were sentenced to 50 days' imprisonment (already served) and a

Human Needs & Housing

THE new Rent Bill has provoked a reaction which could easily lead to the defeat of the Conservative Party at the next General Election. It has infuriated tenants' associations, given much-needed political capital to the Labour Party, and produced the rare spectacle of a minister of the Crown having to take refuge from a mob. Amongst all the furore, the plethora of words from Right and Left, the basic problems of the housing question have, however, been almost entirely ignored. Very few people have asked why these problems exist, or challenged the validity of landlordism. As is usual in such political polemics the majority of those concerned have been chasing the shadow, rather than grappling with the substance.

In an article in a recent number of *Contemporary Issues*, Andrew Maxwell points out that in Britain . . . the 'housing problem', in its aspect both of quantity and of quality of housing, is wholly artificial, a consequence of the diversion of resources to production which, though more profitable to a minority, is nonetheless in large part sheer waste when considered from the point of view of human needs." He goes on to state that even under the present system it would be possible to decently house the population by spending on housing in six years what is spent on armaments in one. But he emphasises that, in reality, the housing problem will not be disposed of until "radical changes in society have at last brought the majority in the country to the point of being able to compel a more rational use of resources for the satisfaction of their needs."

It is quite clear that as long as houses—and the land on which they are built—are the property of a minority, they will not be constructed primarily to satisfy human needs. Landlords, like other businessmen, are not philanthropists: they desire to obtain the highest rate of profit they can. As long as it is generally accepted that a man, or a group of men, can monopolise one of the fundamental necessities of life, the irrationality and injustice characteristic of landlordism will continue.

Equally, 'public' or State ownership presents no genuine answer to the problem. Not only would it involve the perpetuation of the central principle of property ownership—the 'right' to withhold from use—but in addition tenants would be subjected to all the petty-fogging restrictions and endless red tape of bureaucratic control. It is bad enough

to be at the mercy of the private landlord, but State ownership (or 'municipal' ownership) would not only institutionalise this evil, it would, were it to be fully applied, effectively extinguish the relative freedom of choosing accommodation which exists at present.

We cannot give our support to landlordism, nor can we support nationalization. The first system has produced the existing injustices; the second would rivet the domination of the State upon yet another sector of our lives. Is there, then, some alternative we can advocate which does not partake of the evils of both private and State ownership? As I see it there is: the formation of housing co-operatives. The effect and extent of such co-operatives would be limited by the authoritarian structure and competitive economy of the *status quo*, and if they remained ends in themselves they would share the fate of other attempts at partial changes of society: mitigation of an evil if successful, but no real eradication of it. However, even if they did not escape this fate, in so far as they assumed a libertarian character they would be potentially valuable as examples of direct action.

One type of housing co-operative is the self-help building project. This involves the collective purchasing, or leasing, of land and collective labour by the participants in the erection of their houses. In this way, those concerned are not directly dependent upon the State or municipality, nor subject to the whim of private landlords. Their costs are cut by bulk buying and the exclusion of the middleman 'builder'. They are also, to a large extent, in control of their own affairs, reducing the need for 'official' sanctions to a minimum. In addition, they gain experience in the exercise of individual initiative and voluntary co-operation—qualities which anarchists wish to encourage.

The same basic principles could be applied to the purchase of existing houses, and there are no doubt other possibilities in the development of direct action in relation to the housing question. It must be emphasised again, however, that such an alternative can only be really fruitful if it is allied to efforts at realizing grass-roots changes in our way of life—changes designed to secure the sovereignty of the individual and the ending of that hierarchy of power and privilege which constitutes a standing threat to our moral and physical well-being.

S. E. PARKER.

20,000 lire fine for "having invaded government property". The wave of indignant derision that followed echoed again after last year's obscenity prosecution.

This is what Dolci wanted; to arouse the slumbering conscience of the North. "We must shake these people out of their apathy," he says.

AND so, when last November a conference on "National and Local Initiative for Full Employment" was held at Palermo, Dolci again went on hunger strike. "On the one hand," writes Bruno Zevi in *L'Espresso*, "the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno* builds a tourist road on Mount Pellegrino, a road which serves no useful purpose, disfiguring the rocky immensity of the mountain at a cost of at least 500 million lire. And on the other side Danilo Dolci and his collaborators, working among the poorest in the land, bring concrete help to the population, the first message of hope after centuries of hunger and inertia . . . The contrast between planning from above and planning from below are nowhere more vividly exemplified."

"While I write, Danilo Dolci has already fasted for several days. He is not a saint, he is an architect, a technician. The fast is for him an expression of protest, but it is principally an instrument of communication with a strata of the population which does not read the papers because it is illiterate, which has not followed the Conference because it does not understand it, which is cynical and inert after centuries of frustration and deprivation . . . The authorities in Sicily have tried to organise a conspiracy of silence around the Conference . . . but they cannot remain altogether deaf to Danilo's slogan *Substitute one agricultural expert for two policemen*. Dolci fasts. The poor are all around him, astonished and silent, while the world waits for a sign, even the slightest sign of comprehension on the part of official Sicily and Italy."

WHAT is Dolci. Not a saint, a technician. None of the labels fit him. He is a Christian using the techniques of disobedience elaborated by a New England agnostic and a Hindu Mahatma. (Gandhi was right, says Dolci, "yet we must not repeat him like so many parrots"). He is a Catholic who is out of favour with the Church (the ecclesiastical authorities have tried several times to pull strings to get his centre at Trappeto closed, while the Catholic press writes of "the presumption of amateur reformers"). In court they called him an anarchist, and Dolci replied:

"I am no anarchist. I am simply a man."

"I am a man who wants all his fellow humans to participate in a minimum of civilised life. Last winter 13 people committed suicide out of despair. Another murdered his brother for the sake of his food. Hunger drove men to banditry. If I am wrong please correct me, but I believe that for men to be kept out of work for six months of the year is a crime against society."

He is a man whose faith in others is so great that it can draw a response from those so sunken in despair and degradation that they were thought incapable of a human response. How long will it take him to get his dam?

C.W.

Persecution Mania or Persecution?

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 11.

Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, told Parliament to-day that a vice-chairman of the Soviet Union's Planning Commission, Dr. Zelenovsky, had developed symptoms of "persecution mania" during a stay in India. He had returned to Moscow for medical treatment on January 2.

Asked about reports that Dr. Zelenovsky showed signs of fright when approached by his Soviet colleagues, Mr. Nehru said: "The medical diagnosis said he was suffering from some kind of persecution mania. Persons suffering from it do exhibit fright." It was not possible to determine precisely the cause of his illness.

He denied reports that Dr. Zelenovsky, who was working at the Indian Statistical Institute in Calcutta, had sought Indian citizenship.

Dr. Zelenovsky came to India about two months ago. On December 27 he was seen throwing Indian currency notes from the top floor of the institute and was taken to hospital for observation. An Indian newspaper reported that his behaviour originated in a desire not to return to Russia.—Reuter.

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 19, No. 10. March 8, 1958

Prerequisites for a 'Victory for Socialism'

Continued from p. 1

cent. "could be said to be resistant to new ideas and higher values". Even though a good half of the population could be said to be "conscious" about the world and their "neighbours" only a minority—10 per cent.—have "a conscious love of learning".

To declare, as do some of our pseudo-conscious pseudo-intellectuals, that you can no more bring culture to the moronic majority than you can make a silk purse from a sow's ear is a purely subjective and superficial analysis of the social problem. Admitting that even an A. S. Neill cannot work miracles on some human material, it does not follow that the present state of affairs is a representative picture of the potentialities of mankind. So much in the life of an adult hinges on his childhood background. As the Oxford report points out, the influence of further education depends almost entirely on the extent and quality of the educational provision. And when in its turn is determined not only by economic considerations but by so many other factors outside the child's control: from the attitude of his parents, to that of the teacher and the local or central authorities. For the majority of children the dice are weighted against them, and in this technocratic age examinations at the eleven-plus stage may play a greater role in determining a child's future than even the domestic and economic environment. For, since we are now moving towards a society in which rewards and status are going to be more closely related to education and occupation,

the more the methods of selection are refined, producing greater opportunities for educational and therefore social mobility the more real and irreparable the differences are likely to be between those who are selected and those who are not.

And it should be noted in this connection that the Labour Party's programme offers nothing to counteract this trend towards the creation of yet another class. The L.P. advocates "equality of opportunity" not equality! Equality, for "socialists" and intellectuals alike has become a kind of swear word, in which they have either never believed or have stopped believing since they tasted the privileges of the élite. For others it is a matter of false pride and class consciousness: a fear that some day one's sensitiveness might be trampled upon by the ignorant masses! This latter attitude ignores the fact that those who rule over us ever do so because of their intellectual superiority, or that once the "masses" succeed in imposing themselves they will reveal their qualities rather than their shortcomings. In fact we shall at long last have our first glimpse of real democracy!

★

THE foregoing reflections sprung from our contention that the fundamental tenet of democracy is that all men are born equal. And we would maintain that it is not asking the impossible to reconcile on the one hand the diversity in human development and personality with, on the other, the concept of equality. That people cannot, or do not, is because the whole social environment in which we live is based on competition and not community, of reward related to performance (not even to effort); as if human beings were machines, some more efficient than others. And perhaps

The Sensational Case that Didn't Get the Headlines

IT is not often that our newspapers fail to report a libel case which involves the alleged corruption of prison warders—one has only to see how much prominence has been given to the trial of the Brighton policemen. But a case began last week which the public has scarcely heard about.

It is a libel action brought by a prison warden against Odhams Press—the publishers of the Sunday newspaper, *The People*. This paper alleged that Mr. Hamilton, the warden, had asked a prisoner for £20 in exchange for getting him transferred to a prison where he would have an easier time. Mr. Hamilton was obviously bringing the action in order to clear his name.

Now the rights and wrongs of the case need not concern us, but one item of evidence does, and that item was responsible for the almost complete silence of Fleet Street. The details are as follows: a reporter from *The People* posed as a brother of the prisoner who Mr. Hamilton was alleged to have helped. This reporter offered to pay Mr. Hamilton the £20 he is said to have demanded; a photograph was taken of the reporter—with some bank notes in his hand—talking to Mr. Hamilton who held a cigarette in his hand. *The People* pub-

lished the photograph with a caption reading "Rat Caught in the Act—'Pouhey' says Prison warden."

But the photograph had been touched up so that Hamilton no longer had a cigarette in his hand and appeared to be putting out his hand for the notes. This touching up was described in court as "altering the whole aspect of the picture". But this was not all—another photograph taken at the same time showed that the reporter was thrusting the money at Hamilton. The published photograph was a fake and gave a completely false impression of what occurred.

Some of the evidence concerning the photograph was given in Feb. 26. One might therefore expect some mention of it in the next day's papers. What happened? *There was no mention of the case in the London evening papers for Feb. 26. On Feb. 27 only The Daily Telegraph and The Times reported the case, and the Telegraph only mentioned the photograph in the last inch of a 14-column-inch report.*

Most people who have been connected with any incident that has been reported in the newspapers know how inaccurate and untruthful such reports can be. Unfortunately the same applies

to published photographs; it is so easy to touch them up. This sort of faking is common practice in Fleet Street, hence the almost complete silence of the newspapers.

One can say 'almost' because after the judge in the case had admitted (on Feb. 27) that he read *The Evening News* but that he had not yet seen any report of the case, that newspaper published some of that day's evidence *but made no mention of the photograph.* On the 28th *The Times* and *The Telegraph*, which both gave full reports of the hearing, were joined by *The Sketch*, who at the foot of page seven, gave about 6 ins. of space to a report which—naturally—excluded any mention of faked photographs.

At the time of writing, the case is still being heard, but if Hamilton wins and this shows he has been libelled by *The People* how many people are going to know about it? Precious few if they are going to be confined to those who read *The Times* and *The Telegraph*.

The answer to the judge's question "How is the report of a case like this, which is of very great public importance whichever way the verdict goes, kept out of the papers?" is simple, Fleet Street—does not wash its own dirty linen in public—if it washes it at all.

To its credit "*The People*" published on March 2 a full and fair report of the hearing so far, including the evidence about the photograph.

M.G.W.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS TWO VIEWS FROM AMERICA

"PROVINCIAL ANTI-AMERICANISM"

A REVIEW of the book "Heroes Behind Barbed Wire" in the January 11th issue of *FREEDOM* interested me as an expression of a type of provincial "anti-Americanism" that has become a fairly regular feature of the "Anarchist Weekly".

Here in Canada, the Communist press often indulges in similar "Yankee baiting", but it is on a considerably higher plane than the type of material used in *FREEDOM*. For one thing, they have the decency to draw a distinction between the rulers of America, and the people of America.

Among the more backward elements of the Canadian working class the anti-American sentiment is fairly strong, and has its major roots in the lower wages, and lower standard of living the Canadian workers have than their American counterparts. Under these circumstances, a certain amount of boorish, "sour grapes" Yankee-hating is to be expected, even though it contributes nothing toward building a labour movement capable of wresting gains such as the American workers have won.

The Communists have their cold war reasons for promoting anti-Americanism, the Canadian worker with his 25 to 30% lower wages can vent his envy in anti-Americanism; but what about the editors of *FREEDOM*? Do you seriously believe that you are promoting the internationalist ideals of anarchism?

J.G.R.

"THE BRIGHTLY BEAMING EYES"

YOUR paper has given me countless hours of thought-provoking and often mirthful entertainment which I hope, with rare exceptions fail to provide. Without your critical approach to world and local incidents I would really find myself outnumbered here, where critical thinking has long been discarded for open-mouthed acceptance of the status quo.

Though I probably do not qualify in the title of Anarchist, I certainly am sympathetic with most of anarchism's goals, both long range and immediate. I propose, however, that my views are more of the individualist anarchist variety of the type expressed so well by E. Aron in an article recently printed in *Proletarian Perspectives* (Dec. 1957, p. 25). A definitely pessimistic view of the ward man's willingness, or even ability to do the intelligent thing in solving his own and world problems, no doubt prevents me from completely visualizing philosophical Anarchist's world or community of the future.

As a public school teacher (U.S. History) who comes in contact with the rising generation daily, I can find excuse for optimism along the aforementioned lines. Certainly the history of the U.S., and the world history in general, does not reveal *Homo Sapiens* as being characterized by any high degree of perspicacity in his handling of day-to-day affairs. I see all of the evidence I need to back up this view of the brightly beaming eyes of my fellow Americans who see man's only hope in the vapour trail of a deadly missile in the chromium facade of our Cadillac culture.

Woodstock, Illinois. A.L.K.

S. Rhodesia Political Moves

LAST month, Garfield Todd, ex-Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, refused to resign when his own cabinet tried to force him out of office because of his "dangerous" policies of racial partnership.

In a land where 2,220,000 Africans comprise 92% of the population, a handful of Whites (175,800) dictatorially rule over a vast rich territory. Terrified of any change which might give a little power to the Africans the Whites are quick to put any politician who attempts to put the principle of racial equality into practice.

It is not surprising that last week the issue came to a head forcing Garfield Todd to resign the Premiership by the actions of his own party, The United Federal Party. The reasons were stated very plainly at a party congress which voted by 129 to 193 for the election of Sir Edward Whitehead; Todd would be a liability in the forthcoming elections and the political struggle against the

Dominion Party which favours white supremacy.

The election of Sir Edward Whitehead is one of the compromise political moves which politicians hope will not antagonise either side too much. Whitehead has been described as a "sounder" man whose advocacy of racial partnership was "based on economic necessity rather than evangelizing zeal", unlike Todd whose plans, however modest, for racial partnership are based on what he considers to be morally right rather than what is politically wise.

The Africans were unimpressed by the election of the "sounder" man. As the General Secretary of the African National Congress in Southern Rhodesia stated: "A government led by Whitehead would only make concessions when concessions were forced upon it. The Africans will have to do the forcing."

*Sir Patrick Fletcher, described as the leader of the reactionary faction was eliminated. This no doubt is supposed to be a concession to African opinion.

The "Lord High Everything"

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, described himself in London yesterday in this way:

"I am the holder of the highest judicial office (which I personally exercise) and at the same time I am a Cabinet Minister and legislator. I am politically committed to the Government, but the Speaker of one House of Parliament. I am a leading politician, but a dispenser of patronage, chiefly judicial. I am a layman, but am responsible for almost half the ecclesiastical preferment in this country.

"I am amazed at myself as a personal contradiction of the theory of separation of powers. But a constitutional Pooh-bah is not an impossibility. I strongly believe it is not impossible for one man to hold several public personalities."

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 9

Deficit on Freedom	£180
Contributions received	£115
DEFICIT	£65
February 21 to February 27	

Welwyn: W.A.W. 2/-; London: Anon.* 2/-; Chicago: J.K. £2/10/5; Moline: E.J. 7/6; London: W.F. 10/-; Sheffield: H.W. 4/-; Bradford: D.R. 2/-; London: P.F.* £1; London: J.S.* 3/-; Hoddesdon: A.R. 1/-; Bradford: J.P. 1/-; Oxford: J.W.S. 10/-; London: W.W. 1/-; Arncott: P.E. 7/6; Leicester: C.M. 1/-; Woodstock, Ill.: A.K. 7/-; Bondville: E.L. £1/8/0; London: Anon. 11d.; London: H.W. 4/5.

Total ... 8 2 10
Previously acknowledged ... 107 16 11
1958 TOTAL TO DATE ... £115 18 11

*Indicates regular contributor.

A.I.D. AND THE STATE

DEAR EDITORS,

Last week P.S. discussed the Church's case against A.I.D., and spoke of the right of a woman to choose the father or fathers of her children. Has he forgotten the State's case? After all it has rights, too!

The State subsidises children, and decides who they shall be educated. At 18, in the case of males, it takes complete control of their lives, deciding what they shall eat and wear, how, when and where they shall die and be buried. In fact, the State is at present engaged in creating, at tremendous expense, for the whole population, a cemetery which will be a monument to our civilisation.

In the old days, when a bomb obliterated a friend, we used to say "Poor bastard!" But these bombs the State has now are right out of this world (and so will we be when they go off) and the State has to be sure that children are born properly if they are to be ended properly.

So if the State says we mustn't have children by the new three letter system, we'll just have to have them in the old-fashioned four letter word fashion. No, I wasn't thinking of the one you thought of. Love was the word I had in mind.

Yours sincerely,
Peebles, Feb. 28. G. GLEFFILLAN.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP
Every Sunday at 7.30 at
THE MALATESTA CLUB,
32 Percy Street,
Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

LECTURE DISCUSSIONS
MARCH 16.—Bob Gannon on
CONFLICTING ISSUES IN
SYDNEY LIBERARIANISM
QUESTIONS, Discussion and Admission
all free.

HAMPSTEAD LIBERTARIAN GROUP

Fortnightly public discussions are held on alternate Mondays at 7.45 p.m. in the basement of 12, Oak Hill Park (off Frgnall) N.W.3. Nearest tube station: Hampstead (Northern Line).

★ Malatesta Club ★

SWARAJ HOUSE,
32 PERCY STREET,
TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1.

ACTIVITIES
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
London Anarchist Group Meetings
(see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
BONAR THOMPSON speaks

FREEDOM PRESS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol. 1, 1951, *Mankind is One*
Vol. 2, 1952, *Postscript to Posterity*
Vol. 3, 1953, *Colonialism on Trial*
Vol. 4, 1954, *Living on a Volcano*
Vol. 5, 1955, *The Immoral Moralists*
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27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

The Greatest Show on Earth?

ROME, FEBRUARY 10.

Mike Todd to-day described as "The world's greatest showman" Mr. Khrushchev, whom he met on a visit to Moscow. Mr. Todd said here, "If he ran for President in Russia he would get elected. He is the world's greatest showman. I should be a showman like that guy!"

He said that one minute Mr. Khrushchev was eyeing the crowd as if he were a director, "and the next minute he's grabbing your hand like maybe you were Lenin's kid brother."

Todd, recalling a Khrushchev appearance at an Indian Embassy reception in Moscow, said Khrushchev was "a perfect ad lib man." "He picked up a glass for

Red trade embargoes will be eased again. Western Europe and Japan want restrictions loosened on metalworking machinery and equipment for chemical, oil, power and electronic industries. U.S. is expected to bow to pressure.

Time.

Australian trade with Japan is looking up after years of bitter enmity. Chances are good that Japanese will land contracts for two Australian dams, one power plant, and two water-diversion tunnels.

Time.

a toast and discovered it was a glass of water rather than a glass of vodka," he said. For religious reasons, alcohol was not served at the Indian function. "The way he looked at that water left nothing to the imagination, but he opened the toast with the remark 'It's not what's in the glass that counts—it's the toast.'"

Todd said that Khrushchev was actor, director, and producer all in one in staging a diplomatic scene. "You should have seen him counting the house when Bulgarian made a speech," he said, "he wasn't watching Bulgarian, he was watching the audience reaction."

Elizabeth Taylor (Mrs. Todd) said that Marshal Bulganin was "a dignified little man with that cute white moustache." "But he doesn't have what Khrushchev has," he said. "Khrushchev is a real showman. Our people sure learn from him. He understands the little man. And, believe me, there are a lot of little men in Russia."

Todd was asked if there was anything political about his admiration of Khrushchev. "Political? Political?" he exclaimed. "Don't use that dirty word in front of my wife. I'm just a showman, not a politician. But I love our democracy so much I think we ought to do a better job of selling the script. I'm just wishing some of our people were as good salesmen as Khrushchev."—British United Press 10/2/58.

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The Anarchist Weekly

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