

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"By definition, a government has no conscience, sometimes it has a policy, but nothing more."

—ALBERT CAMUS

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Threepence

## Getting at the Germans

LIKE millions of people the world over we have no intention of getting—or forgiving—the crimes of the Nazis in Germany and the countries they occupied during the

But we are very suspicious of the uses of anti-German sentiment which the British press appears to be ready to whip up by playing on the bitter memories of past

is too easy to do, and such wounds are never struck by national newspaper editors without motives, and in the case of many those motives are complex and well hidden.

At the end of February the Press suddenly unearthed a sinister plot by Dr. Adenauer to establish military training bases in Spain. Memories of the Spanish civil war were evoked as we were reminded of the fact that the Nazis used that conflict as a rehearsal for their murderous assaults on Warsaw and Rotterdam. At the *Daily Express* and the *Mail* and the other Conservative papers did not remind their readers about was that they supported the Nazi régime right up to the time when—at last—Hitler's intentions became obvious. And they sympathised with Franco through the Spanish civil war and still do.

At no time during the 'revelations' of the press in general say or do anything to criticise the Spanish régime. Indeed it has always been most circumspect in its attitude towards Franco, especially since the Americans began to have military bases in Spain and to pour dollars into the country, bolstering up the fascist state.

### Economic Interests

No, the outcry against German bases in Spain was nothing to do with any fascist threat or any anti-fascism on the part of those papers most vociferous about this issue at this time. The Beaverbrook and Rothermere papers have demonstrated by their attitudes on South Africa that they are not shocked by racist policies. They are governed by political expediency in defence of economic interests, the same as the British or any other government.

But when we are asked to take account of a new German 'threat' we must remember who it is who is primarily responsible for the rearming of Germany at all. It is not the German workers, who have suffered enough thank you during two wars and their aftermaths. It is not the youth of the country, who are the ones that would be conscripted—their reception (with bottles) of Defence officials at many a meeting has demonstrated their attitude. It is not the middle class, the employers or the manufacturers (who supported Hitler when they were doing so badly in the '30's) for now they are enjoying a boom which they do not want disturbed.

The people who wanted Germany re-armed ten years ago are the British capitalists, who found that the Germans were recovering so rapidly from the war that they were pinching 'our' markets. The very words of Anthony Eden summed up the situation when he said, soon after the Tories came to power in 1951: "We cannot allow Germany to continue to compete with us in the markets of the world unham-

pered by the burden of re-armament that we have to bear."

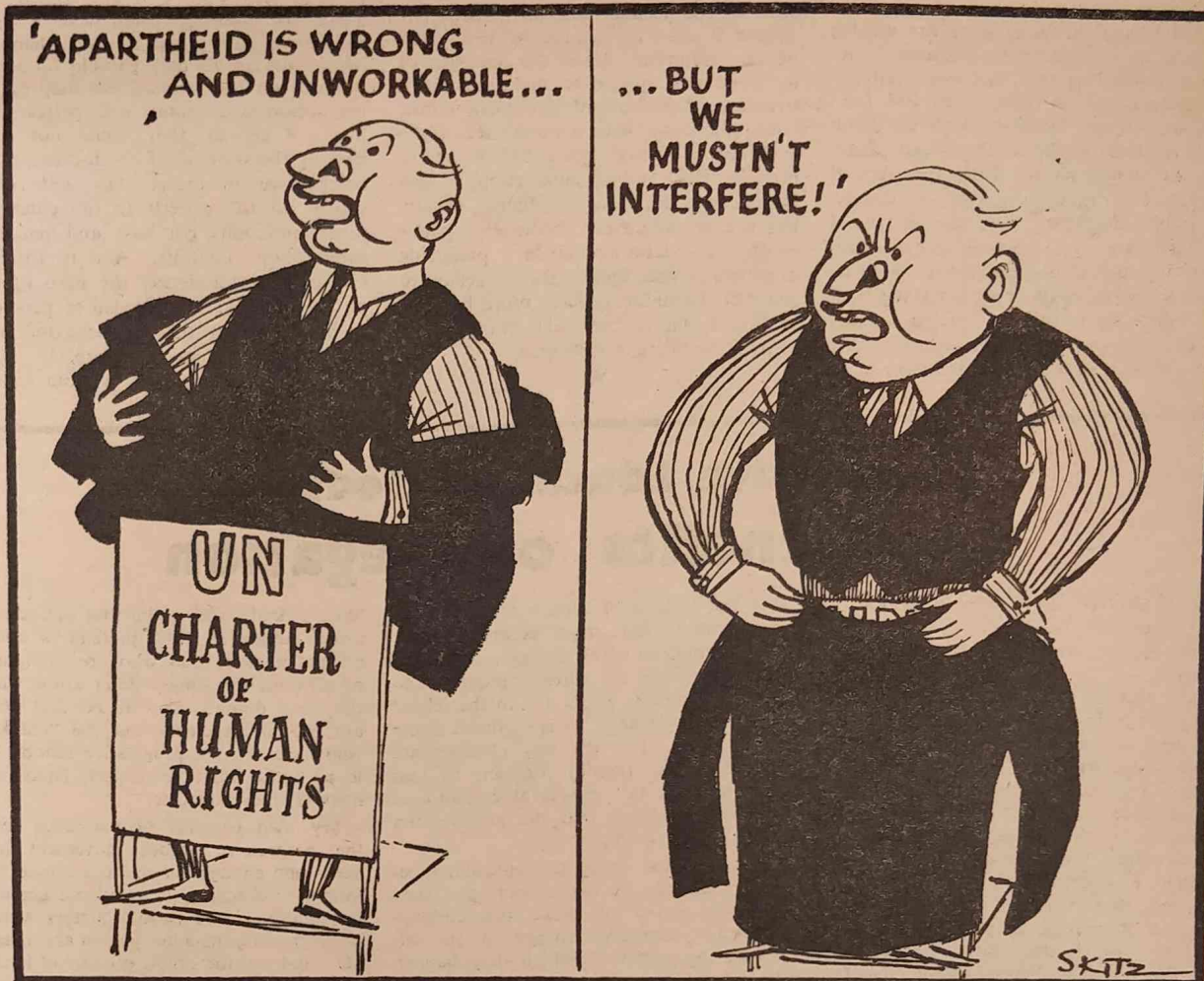
### A Write-off

It had nothing whatever to do with strengthening the West to meet the Communist threat—that might have been a factor in the British approval of Hitler in the middle thirties, but in conceiving an atomic war, between Russia and the West, Germany is clearly a write-off.

This is made clear by odd remarks dropped by generals in their franker moments. (Just which country will not be a write-off is not specified!) And it is, of course, the very reason why the German government is looking for supply bases as far afield as Spain. In fact, of course, with long-range missiles an accurate reality, Spain is no less vulnerable than Germany, Britain or America, but the facade must be built up, the bluff maintained, and German industry must be weakened in the export competition for the benefit of British industry.

This is why the type of outburst we are discussing on the part of the British capitalist Press is so hypocritical. For years Beaverbrook's hacks have been asking why 'our boys' should still be in Germany. The Germans, they said, should provide the men and money for their own defence and British boys should come home.

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'THIS IS A TIME FOR PLAIN SPEAKING' — The Times 26.3.60

## The Workings of Politicians' Minds

# 'APARTHEID IS WRONG & UNWORKABLE'

WHAT a lot of misleading nonsense even the better-intentioned politicians utter for public consumption! The Sunday press for instance quoted Fenner Brockway as declaring that "by abstaining from voting [in the United Nations Security Council] Britain had lost the moral leadership of the world". That Brockway of all politicians could suggest that Britain actually enjoyed "the moral leadership of the world" in spite of a dossier which includes Suez, Cyprus, Kenya, Nyasaland and the West Indies, to mention a few of her crimes against mankind, only goes to show what a devastating effect membership of Parliament and the sense of "responsibility" it confers has on even the most reasonable and modest of people. As a matter of fact only a politician could be so carried away by the importance of the institutions of State and governments, to suggest that their actions or their utterances could ever be motivated by moral considerations.

The political mind was much more clearly revealed in that pregnant sentence uttered by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Lloyd, to a group of Women Conservatives last Saturday: "The South African Government's apartheid policy is *wrong and unworkable*." (our italics). The self-respecting politician cannot, without cutting the ground from under his feet, judge a policy by applying a moral test as to whether it was right or wrong. Mr. Lloyd attacked apartheid because it was both wrong and unworkable. What we should have been itching to ask, had we managed to attend the meeting as a woman Conservative in dis-

guise, was what the Minister's attitude would have been if he considered that apartheid was wrong but workable—as it has been so far, just as passes have been with the Africans of the Union these past forty years, as well as with those in British ruled territories.

The permutations (or is it combinations?) that are possible when your approach to policy is that it is (1) "wrong and unworkable" are: (2) wrong and workable (3) right and workable (4) right and unworkable. We will not bore the reader with the further combinations that stem from the relative meanings of right, wrong, workable and unworkable. For instance, Colin Legum in a thought-provoking, at times, confusing, article on South Africa in last Sunday's *Observer* points out that "there is not the slightest doubt that the [Verwoerd] Government believes that its policy is right and that it will work". On the other hand one of the so-called "rebel" Nationalist M.P.s Mr. J. Basson "doesn't advocate political rights for Africans but believes there can be no effective Government without the consent of the governed". And the Leaders of the Opposition in the South African Parliament are willing to concede the Africans only the right to be represented by whites in Parliament". The Progressives and the Liberals, we believe, stand for equal rights for all races. Their leaders are paying for their naive faith in Parliament as unwilling guests of Verwoerd's prisons. The African National Congress for the past fifty years has been advocating interracial co-operation, while the more recent Pan-African Congress stands

for a policy of Africa for the Africans. Both organisations have now been proscribed and their leaders detained.

We suggest that an analysis of all the alternatives contained in the policies of the parties and organisations outlined above would reveal that they fit into the three combinations we have given of the Selwyn Lloyd "wrong and unworkable" line with the innumerable permutations that can be adduced once you accept the relativity (political, that is) of right and wrong, workable and unworkable. For some the limits of "workable" are legalistic, constitutional; for others they are the interests of a section of the community irrespective of the hardships and/or indignities to which other sections will be subjected in the process. If "right" is the welfare of the majority at the expense and humiliation of the minority then right is might. But then, in the circumstances, might is right, and the minority which can arm itself with military and economic might is justified in claiming, defending and imposing its "right" over the majority.

THIS is politics, "the science and art of government", and has little to do with the art of living... together... in peace and harmony! Listen to what Mr. Selwyn Lloyd told the lady Conservatives at Hoyalake last Saturday:

"What we have to do is to try to influence countries and Governments. There is hardly one of the Governments which are so critical of the South African Governments which would not itself intensely resent interference by the United Nations in what it regarded as its domestic problems."

Exactly! We know that both France and Britain, the two abstainers at last week's Security Council on South Africa, have both in the past threatened to walk out if the U.N. debated Algeria or Cyprus, and, with Mr. Lloyd, we have no doubt that both Mr. Nehru and Mr. Nkrumah would be as indignant as their French and British counterparts if the other nations dared to pass judgment on their handling of "domestic problems". There is, in fact, no nation that is in a moral position to represent the conscience of mankind. The very existence of the nation-State excludes such a possibility. And it was for this reason that in these columns last week (*World Opinion and South Africa*) we argued that the only effective protest must spring from enlightened people whose concept of right and wrong ignores the frontiers of nationalism and the barriers of race and creed. And because we viewed "world opinion" to the events in South Africa from this point of view we must have appeared to some readers as luke-warm in our estimate of the S. African government's decision to relax the pass laws. We wrote (last Monday) that the decision

was not motivated by any concern to avoid further violence and bloodshed—every Government backs its authority with the ultimate argument of force, and therefore it is naive to assume that political leaders shudder at the thought of resorting to the use of force if orders are ignored.

Only two days after writing the above, the South African government confirmed this analysis when it proclaimed a State of Emergency,

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### An American Comment on

## The Values Behind the Rigged Quiz

I AM more optimistic these days. We have now had an avalanche of books on the hucksters, the useless cars, the ranch houses, the organization men, the crystal palaces, the statuses, the surfeit of money, and the affluent society. Most of these books are not very honest, but they are acute. (Galbraith's is honest.) Now the TV investigation is occurring at the same time as the Urban Renewal scandals involving at least Webb and Knapp and Joseph Kennedy and Robert Moses; at the same time as the steel strike and the excellent issue of *Dissent* on the unions; the (rather timid) series on the FBI in the New York *Post*; the very successful (though wrongheaded) *Nation* on the Shame of New York.

Perhaps these things are not coincidental. Perhaps the Americans are waking up and at last becoming nauseated with the organized system that has been un-manning us—with IBM, *Time* and *Life*, Hollywood and Madison Avenue, Webb and Knapp and Metropolitan Life, General Motors, the FBI, the Armed Forces. The organized system has thriven on public defeatism, enmeshed in bland public relations. It can be quite demolished by public disgust and dissent, by even a few thousand people risking their safe slots by insisting on being socially useful and personally honourable. We must remember how McCarthyism in its

virulent form was halted by a little courage.

It is a good time to become extremely vocal, to shout and insist that the candidate make his own speech and not the one prepared for him by Madison Avenue, to call them hucksters and corrupters of youth, to get fired rather than to quit.

The important problems of our society—the war, the more than 30% depoverished, the apathy of workmen about their jobs, the totalitarian regulation, the cynicism of the young—will be immediately helped if we can get rid of this cellophane wrapping. It is the essence of the organized system to make society a structure of Roles and Symbols; words, votes, and cash; with a phony security—avoiding at every point utility, truth, nobility, risk, animal satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, suffering or shame, or any live contact whatever. Naturally, underneath such bland avoidance is preparing a general catastrophe. But it seems to me that we suddenly have more hope of getting down to our real troubles and perhaps avoiding catastrophe.

THE rigged Quiz shows were a remarkably pure sample of our American folly. We start with the brute facts that (a) in our abundant expanding economy it is necessary to give money away to increase spending, production, and profits; and (b) that this money must not be used for useful public goods, in taxes, but must be ploughed back as "business expenses," even though there is a shameful shortage of schools, housing, etc. Yet when the TV people at first tried simply to give the money away for nothing, there was a great Calvinistic outcry that this was demoralizing—just as we may gamble on stocks but not on the horses. So they hit on the notion of a contest with prizes. But then, of course, they could not resist making the show itself profit-making and competitive in the ratings with other shows, so the experts in the entertainment-commodity got busy and manufactured phony contests. And to cap the climax of fraudulence, the hero of the phony contestants proceeded to persuade himself (he says) that his behaviour was educational. What a people! They cannot give money away without feeling

immoral; they cannot run a contest without feeling they ought to make a profit; they cannot cheat without a rationalization, though this is the system in which they breathe and have their being.

The behaviour of the networks has also been a remarkably pure example of the organized system. These business organizations claim the loyalty of their employers, but at the first breath of trouble they are ruthless and disloyal to their employees. (Even McCarthy was loyal to his gang.) They want to maximize profits and yet be absolutely safe from any risk. Consider their claim that they knew nothing about the fraud (in my opinion this is a plain lie.) If they watched the shows they were broadcasting, they cannot possibly, as professionals, not have known the facts, for there was obvious type-casting, acting, plot, etc. If they are not professionals, they are incompetent. But if they don't watch what they broadcast, then they are utterly irresponsible and on what grounds do they have the franchises to the channels? Let us take them at their own word and ask the F.C.C. to take away the channels because they are irresponsible.

The present direction of the investigation seems to me to be more important, the inquiry into the bribed disc-jockeying and the hit parade. For this deals directly with our crucial economic problem of synthesized demand, made taste, debauching the public and preventing the emergence and formation of natural taste. In such circumstances there cannot possibly be an American culture and we are doomed to nausea and barbarism. And then these baboons have the insolence to declare that they give the people what the people demand and that they are not responsible for the level of the movies, the music, the plays, the books!

John Crosby, the TV-critic of the New York *Herald Tribune*, made a useful

point when he said that those who pooch the quiz-scandal and ask, did you expect from these hucksters are by and large people who do watch TV anyway; whereas the people who do watch have been disturbed and indignant. Crosby then goes on to say that the networks, when they pooch the scandals as a tempest in a teacup, are insulting precisely their loyalty; they reveal themselves as cynics contemptuous of the public they depend on.

This is valid reasoning, but it certainly did not require this scandal to reveal the nature of this industry and its personnel. Come on, John! let us hear you say every day, "Shame! shame!" It would be boring.

FOR the worst about the TV, it is not to me, is not the bathetic pop culture, nor the idiocy of the commercial jingles, nor the crassness of the plugs. All these things can be somewhat neutralized by *Mad* magazine, that the year-olds read as their bible. The worst is that it is the image of a human being that is there on the screen, grimacing like a clown, uttering gibberish, talking soft soap like a con-man, cajoling like a pimp. And this was designed and words were written by other human beings, degraded to cynicism, corrupting their intellects by open lies, and broadcast by still other human beings.

There has been entirely too much aesthetic criticism and criticism of pop culture. For this kind of thing has the honesty of intention that merits criticism. It should be met personally like any other insulting or cad behaviour.

The importance of the quiz-scandal that it has at least begun to make people see that men and women are in front of, and behind, those cameras. Are they there, doing what they are doing? They are bought.

PAUL GOODMAN  
(Reprinted from "Liberal", New York, Dec. 1957)

## Progressive Education Today—3 The Benefits of Negation

(Continued from previous issue)

Some critics of Anarchist theory raise the constant wail that anarchism is so negative. The journal *FREEDOM* is derided because it fails to give enough of a positive lead. I think that this sort of criticism stems from two main sources; first, those who would like a nice lively paper but one which would not shock their nice intellectual friends by the baldness of its attack on authoritarian institutions ("But surely, Mr. X, you don't associate with such people"); second, those who are seeking for someone or something to give them a clear-cut line which they can cling to. One of the benefits of progressive education is that it does not give a positive lead on all matters. It is necessary for the emotional and intellectual development of children that they should have to exercise their powers of original thought not only in academic lessons but in the general conduct of their lives. It is important that they should realize that their teachers do not know all the answers,

that the bounds of certain truth are far less certain than most adults pretend. The temptation of all teachers is to pretend that there are certain unquestioned truths in morals, ethics and in the school subjects they teach. It is so much easier to do this. It is the way children are processed like factory products so that they make certain grades at certain ages and can be fitted into the pigeon-holes prepared for them.

I know that many school-teachers regret this rôle of the school, and they honestly strive to make the children think for themselves in spite of the setup of the school in which they happen to work. But the trouble is that the school-teaching profession as a whole knows very little about what children are really like and what possibilities are latent in them. The whole business of training school-teachers and feeding them with a certain authoritarian view of teaching is anti-rational. School-teachers are expected to produce certain results and not to experiment to find out the effect of alternative procedures. As a body, school-teachers are ignorant bigots where children are concerned; they aim to produce certain results by the use of traditional methods, and label the process "education". As I mentioned before, the progressive schools have given a good shake to the foundations of the conventional schooling. Should this therefore be their acknowledged purpose? Should progressive schools work with the primary aim of showing what can be done? No, I do not think so. I think we should be primarily unself-conscious whatever we are doing. I think we should behave sensibly in our treatment of children in the home and in the school for the intrinsic value of such action. If there is some beneficial propaganda in progressive education—well and good. But that is a secondary consideration.

A little while ago there was some controversy in *FREEDOM*, in which a correspondent pointed out that it was impossible for him to buy his children out of the State system as he had five children. It is perfectly true that progressive schools are, and have always been, the privilege of a very small minority. It need not have been so; if a sufficient number of parents had decided to support the progressive schools, the movement would have grown and it would have been economically possible for parents of quite humble means to keep their children there. But the movement did not grow; it shrank. At the moment the more enlightened teachers are still free-wheeling off the impetus given by the work of the progressive pioneers. But how long will that impetus last? Alongside the bright new schools with plenty of light and air and sensible equipment and school-teachers who have heard of progressive ideas, we have the consolidation of a huge State machine which demands certain types of standardized product.

Can it be that the Teddy Boys, and those girls of about 14 who dress like tarts, are after all a healthy sign in society? No planning organization demanded that they should be produced—but there they are, the product of the

State school. Can it be that the educational authorities, who pretend to know all the answers and who are intolerant of all criticism, simply don't know what they are doing? Can it be that they are the incompetents, but the "cranks" who have run the progressive schools at least know what to expect from the methods they advocate.

My own personal acquaintance with the progressive school movement has been long enough for me to evaluate the long-term effects of progressive education on children. The various factors which go to creating the adult person are many. He is not just the simple product of home and school. What one notices first about progressive school children is that they mature early; they do not need to go through the tiresome phase of delayed childhood revolt which makes many university students so immature. They are less tied to the stereotype of their social class than most young adults. Those who have neglected their early study of the "3 R's" in favour of climbing trees, mucking around and playing at whatever took their fancy, do not really seem to suffer much academically. One can neglect learning to read until say, the age of 10, and still make the grade for the University. (Most of what school-teachers are taught about education is sheer bunk and is not based on experimentally verified fact.) Perhaps an important benefit which the progressive schools confer is that their ex-pupils do not conform to any very definite stereotype. There are always the small gangs who cling on to the skirts of the old school and thus make themselves conspicuous as its ex-pupils, but these are the exception.

It is difficult to make any prophecy for the future. The precarious existence of the progressive schools depends upon such things as the cost of living index and the budgeting of the national exchequer as well as the current of libertarian ideas which is supported by such organs as *FREEDOM*. As noted earlier, many such schools have gone into liquidation and others have changed radically into dumping places for maladjusted children. A certain enlightenment has been brought into the State schools, but how much more needs to be done! If only there were a number of progressive schools able to charge moderate fees, staffed by teachers not actually 'crawling up the wall' and attended by ordinary sorts of children—if only this were the case, then a far better deal could be obtained for both children and teachers in the State schools.

It has been noted that the *FREEDOM* readership survey reveals that the occupation most frequent among readers of the paper is that of school-teacher. It has also been noted that school-teachers have generally been treated to the harshest of criticism in this paper. Perhaps it is that life is pretty tough for the school-teacher who is only slightly non-conformist, and *FREEDOM* provides a moral backing to his more libertarian aspirations. But what is the future for progressive education with all these school-teachers reading an anarchist paper? A future is badly needed.

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## Around the Galleries

NEVER was there a time when so much rubbish graced the walls of so many galleries. Never was there a time when the faker and the clown could by sheer brass-faced audacity palm off so much charmless junk onto the fashion-hunting *haut ton*. Yet I do not blame the untalented painter who clowns upon the unprimed hardboard. I do not condemn the dealer who displays it and tries to sell it, for in spite of his waving pinkies and his clean shirt he is still first and foremost a shopkeeper on the make for an easy profit. Neither do I sneer at the man who buys the latest sheet of ephemeral rubbish for if he can afford it then the loss is his. The only person who can be condemned is the critic who lacks the courage to name rubbish as rubbish and bad painting as bad painting, for by that act of default he betrays those who place a trust in his judgment. When those who seek to understand certain aspects of contemporary painting enter a West-end gallery, they do so in the belief that what is displayed upon the walls is deemed worthy of their attention and when the hack critic spends his six inches of space drooling over stuff that is so apparently worthless then those who seek an understanding feel that the fault is theirs and that they are incapable of an appreciation of non-conventional beauty. With the advent of abstract painting the phoney came into his own and men who lacked even the ability to draw a straight line found that they could churn out a deathless masterpiece while you waited.

Abstract painting is and always must be a minor art form for it is a parasitical art that feeds upon other arts and having accepted that fact we can then find pleasure in the works that are offered to

us. The Drian Gallery (7 Porchester Place, London, W.2.) are showing the works of Jack Clemente and they can best be described as slight and charming.

He has covered his canvas with a thick coat of white paint and stippled the surface, then by using only a palette knife he has scooped out a pattern of random lines. When he has added a hint of thin colour along the grain of the knife, he forms pleasant pictures, but when he applies colour for the sake of adding colour they become sickly. Alan Davie is exhibiting at Gimpel Fils (50 South Molton Street, W.1.) and frankly I prefer his catalogue to his canvases.

His painting titles possess an English cuteness that his paintings belie. "This Can't be Love but it's Delicious", "My Next Sold will be in Blue" and "Alchemist's Vision", etc. make pleasant reading but the whole is more suited for the library than the gallery. Bearded Alan Davie has said, "The right Art is purposeless, aimless. The more obstinately one tries to learn how to paint for the sake of producing a work of Art, the less one will succeed". As far as I am concerned Davie has failed, for these coloured doodles full of his own hack symbols are dusty coloured, badly painted, third rate work. For a really fine abstract painter, I can recommend Kansas-born Paul Jenkins at Tooth's gallery (31 Bruton Street, W.1.)

Jenkins is a true abstract painter, and his large canvases possess an almost religious grandeur. At all times he has complete command of his material and his colours flow at his dictation. Be they oil or watercolour they still retain their pristine gaiety and they flow out of his canvases like unto flowers of flame. Paul Jenkins paints while the English abstract painters talk and daub. ARTHUR MOYSE.

# The Personal Springs of Social Action

## Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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### Apartheid is Wrong and Unworkable

Continued from p. 1

partially mobilised the defence forces, proscribed the two African organisations and arrested 234 white, coloured, African and Indian men and women whose politics it considered a threat to its interests. And what did Dr. Verwoerd, who the Press had tried to lead us to believe had "climbed down" before the pressure of "world opinion" have to say when he introduced the State of Emergency? "If the Africans use greater violence, greater force will be used to force them back". Such is the political climate in S. Africa that the Bishop of Johannesburg who is wanting to point out that most of those "violent", "armed" Africans killed or wounded at Sharpeville were shot in the back, has had to seek asylum in Swaziland. But how to change it, when observers, such as Colin Legum, point out that when Mr. de Wet Nel, who is Minister in charge of the affairs of the Union's Coloured Africans, declares that "race relations had never been better", he, Mr. Wet, "really believes this to be true"?

THE explanation for this view is that he and most whites honestly believe the mass of Africans desire the continuation of white rule and that the present "rebelliousness and hostility" is confined to "a minority unfortunately led astray by people—some black some white—who have put wrong ideas into their heads".

It seems to us a complete waste of time to seek to persuade the architects of Apartheid that "Mankind is One". At some stage they will be faced with the accomplished fact and, like the British Government before them, will be obliged to make the best of the situation. After all, the present attitude of the British Government in its relations with the African colonies would have been unthinkable only a few years ago. It is the changed attitude of the Africans to their white rulers which has brought about these "winds of change" and not a pricking conscience which has made Macmillan and Macleod see the light!

It remains to be seen how far African liberation can be the expression of the will of the mass of African people as opposed to their exploitation by their political leaders, first as pawns in the diplomatic struggle with the colonial powers, and later in the political control of the country. The release of Dr. Hastings Banda is hailed as an enlightened move by the British Government. His action has made

\*"The Great Climb Down" was the front page headline to Randolph Churchill's dispatch from Johannesburg in last Sunday's *News of the World*, and even the *Observer* used the headline "Climb-Down to Prevent Fresh Violence" to its report from Colin Legum though in his report last week there is no mention that "world opinion" has in any way influenced the Government not to force through its racial policies.

†According to the *Guardian's* Commonwealth correspondent (2/4/60) Mr. Macleod's plan for, among other things, the release of Dr. Banda, obtained full Cabinet approval before he left London. But "it was left to him to decide the timing of its implementation when he had seen the situation in Nyasaland at first hand. The actual execution of the plan must be accounted a minor triumph of colonial diplomacy". In other words, Dr. Banda's "freedom" was a matter of political timing and not a matter of the rights of the individual. In what way is the British government any less despicable than the Verwoerd government? It is only a matter of time, and Verwoerd, or his successors, will be having to do a Macleod in South Africa.

EVERYONE knows who Danilo Dolci is, and most of us have a pretty good idea of the problem he is up against and the way he is trying to solve it. His work has been described in innumerable articles, several books, a film, radio and television programmes. All over the world people have learnt about his attempt to help the benighted people of western Sicily and have sent money to assist him. His helpers come from all parts of Europe.

When he came to this country in February to address audiences and appeal for funds, there were crowded meetings everywhere he went, for this big, balding, ordinary-looking Italian in his middle thirties. His dull North Italian voice rattled on—facts, figures, wry jokes and profound ideas—all spoken simply and

everyone forget that Banda was ever arrested or that he has been detained for a year in spite of the fact that the official reasons for his detention were declared to be without foundation by the Devlin Committee, whose Report has been published for at least seven months. It is significant that since his release Dr. Banda has been at pains to appeal to his followers to keep "calm" and though he may well be honest when he assures them that their demands will be met, that "Mr. Macleod is a great man and we must give him an opportunity to do for us what he has done for the people of Kenya and Tanganyika", and that he, Banda, could be depended not to sell his people "for tea and whisky", we find it a little strange that only a few days after his release he should have accepted a "private" invitation to fly to London!

ON the other hand it would appear that, unfortunately, the alternative to the Bandas, the Mboyas and the Luthulis is a kind of political vacuum. To what an extent slaves can be conditioned to live with their chains is strikingly revealed in a conversation in Johannesburg at which Anthony Sansom of the *Observer* was present.

"But without my pass, how man, will I be identified if I am killed?"

By your face! By your friends! Why do you need a pass to tell them who you are?"

"But if I haven't got a pass no one will know where I belong or where I live."

"Why must you have a pass to tell you that? People live in London without passes! They know where they belong."

"Without my pass my baas cannot give me a job."

"But man, if we all go without passes, they must give us jobs. Don't you see, man!"

"But how can I be identified?"

"How do they identify lost property, do you think? Does an umbrella need a pass?"

But this is as much a criticism of their political leaders, such as Luthuli, who were dreaming of burning the passes way back in 1919, as of the Nationalists who have always denied the Africans their political emancipation. According to the *Observer's* correspondent the approach of the younger Pan African Congress is more "sophisticated". The burning is "irrelevant".

"What matters is that I should achieve a mental divorce between myself and my pass. You must learn to live without a pass—that's what matters."

And so, like the slaves in the southern States of America on the eve of emancipation, the Africans are discovering their own weaknesses as well as those of the whites. So every bondman bears in his own hand the power to escape from his captivity.

And this, carried through to its logical conclusion is the anarchist approach; which does not replace the hated overlords by trusted leaders, but which maintains that every man has within him the power to achieve his own emancipation and freedom. An approach equally suitable in the struggle against the exponents of apartheid and the H-bomb paranoids.

spontaneously, without rhetoric or pretension but with humour and intelligence. At his meeting in the Friends' House, Euston Road on Feb. 25th, everything was conducted in a rather slapdash way, with Riccardo Aragno translating every few minutes, and when Dolci got fed up with talking, he asked his audience what they thought. While he spoke people walked in and out, whispered, listened, and laughed. But when he went out later to talk to the overflow meeting, a reverse auction was held for donations. The bowls were filled with notes and cheques. There were something under 2,000 people there; nearly £1 a head was raised.

#### Newsworthy

The interesting thing about all this is that eight years ago none of you had ever heard about Dolci, or thought about the problems of Sicily. News of his initial activities in 1952, the 'reverse strike', his arrest and trial, his surveys of the problems of the region, his solutions, reached you, not through the media of 'mass-communications' but through the press of tiny minorities, notably this paper and *Peace News*. Gradually the Dolci story became 'newsworthy', a British Dolci Committee was formed, to take over responsibility for his work at Menfi, similar organisations having been formed abroad. The publicity barrier having been breached, his story made news everywhere. In the London papers for instance, one headline read "The island Gandhi comes to town" and another "A saint in modern dress". From one point of view these headlines are deplorable. The existence of a man like Dolci is a challenge to the rest of us; he embarrasses us, so we have to put him in the saint category in order to accommodate him in the scheme of things, whereas the important thing about him is that he is a quite ordinary person who does the extraordinary thing for living his beliefs.

Yet the story of Danilo Dolci is an answer to the question people ask: "What can the isolated individual do?" And the response which he has met illustrates what has been called "the irresistible appeal of goodness".

#### Johannes Wasmuth

From Germany comes a different story of individual initiative for the solution of the problems of social neglect, Düsseldorf is the richest city in Germany, the country's financial, banking, industrial and commercial capital. Yet within its boundaries is Germany's most appalling slum. Terence Prittie wrote in *The Guardian* last December:

"It lies close to the Auto-Union factory, which propels D.K.W. cars off the

assembly lines and the profits from them into the pockets of Herr Friedrich Flick—possibly the next richest man today in Germany after Herr Alfred Krupp. The slum—of whose existence Herr Flick is certainly ignorant—has a population of about 800. The conditions are a good deal worse than those under which the homeless, stateless, and unwanted displaced persons have had to live in the dozen or more camps I have visited. Düsseldorf's worst slum (the city has at least two more) is an incredible warren of disused hutments, bodies of broken-down lorries and omnibuses turned into homes... The whole 'colony' probably does not occupy an area of more than one acre. Every space between 'houses' is filled with garbage heaps... Many of the people who live in this world of stove-pipe chimneys, rag-covered windows, and gardens of pots, pans, and rotting food, are very poor and too old or too ill to work. Others have too many children—and their applications for state-subsidised flats are automatically rejected. Some may well be criminals."

A group of young Germans has been working to bring back hope to this demoralised community, and its counterparts in other rich Ruhr towns. The group was founded by Johannes Wasmuth, who is 21 years old and has been working since 1955, with no money, no organisation, and no headquarters "to help the poor and needy and, in particular, to give a modicum of happiness, courage, and self-respect to children".

#### Teds and Artists Helped

"We have been helped," he says, "by artists, coloured students, plain, poor people. I have looked for helpers in unlikely places. I looked for them among those noisy, difficult teddy-boy (*Halbstarke*) gangs which plague the police and their parents. I have never failed to find the people whose help I want." His group has built two kindergartens (in Neuss and Düsseldorf) and another is under construction and a children's holiday-camp is planned and paid for near his native town of Warburg. "It is," writes Mr. Prittie, "an incredible achievement for an organisation without a name", and he adds a wry fable from Johannes Wasmuth's experience in Düsseldorf. Just before Christmas the desperate need for funds led him to appeal to the city's artists, struggling for existence like artists everywhere. Not one failed to respond and they auctioned paintings, producing over 10,000 marks (£850) which they gave to Wasmuth. Appeals over the radio and television raised nothing however, and he turned to the rich men of Düsseldorf and addressed their Rotary Club, "they too were moved by the Christmas spirit. The club, representing countless billions of marks, contributed 300 marks (£26)."

## Charity and the Refugee

SOMEBODY once said "Real progress is progress in charity, all other advances being secondary thereto." To most people charity means putting half-a-crown in the box to relieve their consciences until the next time unsavoury facts are brought to their notice by way of an annual appeal. Charity of the above definition is a rare commodity.

Nevertheless it can be said with certainty that all humans behave charitably to most people some of the time and to some people all of the time. That most people behave uncharitably towards most other people most of the time is a sign of stupidity, not proof of an innate lack of sympathy. Charity usually abounds in the small group—the family—and can be recognised in the local sect, society or tribe. It disappears within the larger groups and turns to hate between them. So great is the gulf between national groups that it takes an Agadir or a campaign of United Nations stature to move people. In large groups, indeed, charity between them can be a crime. Thus we are expected to support our Government's uncharitable threats to the Russian peoples. One of the circumstances creating lack of charity, i.e. Nationalism, is deliberately fostered, and no one need be surprised at the results. But the other circumstance is not deliberate: it is the authoritarian set-up, leading to over-specialisation, centralisation and delegation of responsibility. This latter cause of uncharitable living acts within the large group with terrible effect; one's dealings with one's neighbours and colleagues are so indirect and complex as to practically exclude the "human touch"; one does not miss one's next door neighbour until the obituary notice appears

in the local paper; one helps the poor and needy through the tax collector's office and a whole army of bureaucrats and, as a consequence, does not know who the poor and needy are, where, or why.

Perhaps the biggest charity distributor of our times is the United Nations, and one of its most ambitious tasks is aid for refugees. In such an organisation one might expect to find things being done.

We are just coming to the end of World Refugee Year and, unfortunately, the one thing that has been demonstrated is the unwillingness of governments to go out of their way to do anything positive for these desperately unhappy people—the victims of their own nationalist policies. To anyone conversant with U.N. Assembly sessions there can be no doubt that member States put political expediency before charity to refugees.

Take the case of the Arab refugees from Palestine who are under the care of U.N.W.R.A.: according to the *United Nations Review*, Jan. 1960 edition, the Assembly noted with regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in the Assembly's December 11th, 1948 resolution had not been effected. The Assembly noted, also, that there had been "no substantial progress" in the programme put forward in the Assembly resolution of January 1952 to reintegrate refugees either by repatriation or resettlement. The "precarious" financial state of U.N.W.R.A. was stressed. Of course, the *U.N. Review* editors can hardly be expected to point out that Nationalists (for that is what U.N. representatives are)

Johannes Wasmuth himself, writing to *The Guardian* (12/2/60), remarks that the kind of distress he encountered in Düsseldorf,

"cannot be done away with by planned material help, however well meant, but only by being conscious of the responsibility we feel towards our neighbour. Knowingly or unknowingly, these people are longing for those things they are missing most—understanding and love".

And of the so-called teddy-boys whose help he had enlisted in making contact with the children of the slum, he wrote: "The young people often rejected and discouraged as *Halbstarke*, discovered their own personality because of the responsibility they had taken on deliberately."

#### Fraternal Society

Dolci's and Wasmuth's activities are, fortunately, simply striking examples of the constantly recurring pattern of individuals who have the energy and strength to initiate new ventures in human solidarity, unlocking the doors of social action. If they happened more often, life would be very different. These people do not seek to lead, to dominate, or to patronise, but to help people to help themselves. Most of them you never hear of.

Some idea of the changes which a general acceptance of their standards of social responsibility would bring about, may be given by a book to be published later this year, *The Fraternal Society* by Richard Hauser and Hephzibah Menuhin. The work of their Institute for Group and Social Development was touched upon in the series of articles on the problems of Notting Hill in *FREEDOM* last May and June. Their forthcoming book, discussing the implications of their experiences in working with mental patients in Australia, and with other deprived social groups—"problem areas", prisoners, epileptics—in Italy and in this country, leads to the conclusion that society now has a unique opportunity to develop from the "paternal" to the "fraternal" stage, i.e. from the stage where people act in conformity with group standards to one in which they act as individuals fully responsible to one another. Today they are working with groups of children from the bottom streams of secondary schools, with prisoners at Wandsworth, and with the relatives of mental patients, whose own understanding is so vital to the patient's rehabilitation, and who, their interest having been engaged, may be able to help other patients besides their "own".

This theme—the "de-institutionalisation" of social welfare—is to be discussed later this year in *FREEDOM*. Its relevance to the ideas of anarchism is obvious.

cannot put humanity and charity before the Nation, but they did comment "... the debate emphasised the political aspects of the 11-year-old problem", and they felt disturbed about Israel's failure to implement General Assembly resolutions, especially the one giving refugees the right to return to their homeland or choose compensation.

The most alarming aspect of the Palestine refugee situation is not only that both the Israel and the Arab governments refuse to do anything for them but that the policy of the Arab governments is to maintain the situation to keep up the pressure for a return to Palestine. Just as the Nationalist and Zionist Jews propagandise their utmost to ensure that every Jew in every corner of the globe supports the biblical cause, so do the Arab governments whip up fervour among the young refugee school-children for a return to Palestine—the homeland must remain ever uppermost in their thoughts even if they were not born there. One year ago these refugees were planning a hunger strike in reaction to Mr. Hammarskjöld's recommendation to the U.N. General Assembly that they should be integrated economically into the Arab host countries. When will these victims of Muslim, Jewish and Christian governments recognise their real enemy?

Far from doing anything to ease the plight of refugees, some governments, e.g. the French government, are busily creating more refugees. The plight of Algerian refugees is as acute as the Palestinians' is chronic. The 200,000 refugees in Tunisia and Morocco, "adrift in the rocky sands" according to "War

Continued on p. 4

Those Anarchist Architects

ABOUT the extraordinary number of respondents to the FREEDOM readership survey who gave their occupation as "architect": it might be useful to check how many of those who gave other occupations listed "architect" among their former jobs or "Dip. Arch." among their educational qualifications.

To my knowledge many ex-architects and architecture students who are office managers, commercial artists, shoe salesmen and whatnot, describe themselves and think of themselves as architects. I suppose one reason is that architects have to learn a little about so many things, and adapt their minds to cope with such tremendous quantities of building materials and power, that the less intelligent ones tend to think of themselves as omniscient and omnipotent by profession, and cannot admit when they change their jobs that they have as it were, fallen from grace. Another reason, undoubtedly, is that the concept of an architect embodies that combination of romance and security, the temperamental artist with the big future and the small moustache, which is the ideal of the mass-circulation women's magazine.

A Gallup Poll of social classes found more than twenty people willing to describe themselves as upper class for every bona fide member of the upper class. A similar poll of occupations would probably find two or three self-styled architects for every architect, and this might be part of the reason for the high number of self-styled architects among the FREEDOM respondents.

London. D.R.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

OUT of 432 replies received by March 12th, there are 19 architects or architectural assistants. 17 are in Britain, 1 in Canada and 1 in Australia. 16 are architects and 3 are assistants. All but one indicate that they have been to a school of architecture, or evening course in architecture, or a university department of architecture. One also describes himself as an industrial designer, and one as a town-planner and university lecturer. Some others have had town-planning training. In addition, a company director, a novelist and an art student were trained as architects.

We have no reason to suppose that any of these respondents were "upgrading" themselves in the social scale by describing themselves as architects. Who would they be out to impress? In a question-

naire like this we have to assume that people tell the truth about themselves. It is true that architecture is a fairly modish occupation, but it doesn't carry all that weight in the status race. The March "R.I.B.A. Journal" says plaintively: "Why has society placed such a relatively low value on the services of the architect? The disclosure of the architect at the bottom of the scale of professional earnings, published in the Report of the Royal Commission on Doctors and Dentists' Remuneration, brings into sharp focus, etc., etc."

Accepting the survey results at their face value, we are still faced with the question, why so many architects compared with their frequency in the general population, or compared with the virtual absence from the survey answers of similar occupations like surveying or civil engineering (see the occupational breakdown in our issue of 13th Feb.)? We can only suggest some avenues for exploration:

1. Do anarchists tend to go in for architecture, or do architects get so much frustration that they tend to become anarchists?

2. Is there something about an architect's training that is a liberating influence: "broad, overall humanistic approach" etc. If there is, it is hard to say just what.

3. There is a high proportion of beards in the architectural world, just as there is in the anarchist world. Why is this?

4. Most of our architects are in their thirties, that is to say, they were trained during or just after the war, when there was a lot of talk, but not much action, about rebuilding Britain, transforming our physical environment, etc. Did the feeling of social concern which led these people into their jobs at the same time predispose them towards anarchist ideas?

5. Anarchism is frequently thought of as a utopian philosophy, and architects, especially when there isn't much work on their drawing-boards, are prone to utopian planning: see for instance Helen Rosenau's study *The Ideal City* or Paul and Percival Goodman's *Communitas*.

6. There have always been a significant number of architects in the "libertarian left". Two of the significant precursors of the modern movement in architecture in this country, Philip Webb and W. R. Lethaby, described themselves as "revolutionary socialists"; the fathers of the Garden City movement had a kind of Fabian Kropotkinian outlook; William Morris and Eric Gill were both

THE trouble all began when she said that she wasn't going to lay any foundation-stones because it was a brick-layer's job. She also declined to cut a tape because that was tailor's work, or launch ships because that was the shipwright's affair and anyway it was a wicked waste of champagne. She claimed that signing documents was a clerical job, and in any case they could get a rubber stamp. Finally they had to face up to it that she was on strike.

The next lot were the Bishops. They claimed that the demarcation lines had not been properly laid down. What their predecessors had fought for in the Reformation was being frittered away. They wanted a bonus scheme for the number of souls saved and they claimed that mass-production methods of salvation by non-union revivalist campaigns were resulting in redundancy.

Following them, the rest of the House of Lords struck on the issue of dilution. The old apprenticeship scheme of aristocracy, with restricted entry, had gone by the board, and people had been allowed to buy themselves into the trade for many years. They also demanded that part-timers (life-peers) and the recently introduced female operatives, should be declared 'black'.

The shop stewards (known as Whips) in the Other Place then decided to adopt

trained as architects; the old American anarchists John Edelman and John Beverley Robinson were both architects; Arthur Pentz, one of the founders of guild socialism was an architect, so was Albert Mayer, the initiator of the Indian community development projects, so is Danilo Dolci.

Getting at the Germans

Continued from p. 1

Now that Adenauer sets about doing this, they scream about the resurgence of German military, goose-stepping, swastika-daubing and plots to establish an axis with dictator Franco.

We do not discount the national (or personal) ambitions of Dr. Adenauer. Every leader of every nation state has his dreams of glory based on his acceptance of power. This very week our Queen and her Government are entertaining a man of destiny with the most obvious delusions of grandeur. Yet there is in fact less evidence of any Nazi sympathies in Dr. Adenauer than in Dr. Verwoerd of South Africa—yet the Beaverbrook Press, being all for Empire, are sympathetic to the latter.

The anti-German line must have ulterior motives, and our guess is that they are economic. Without going into the complexities of the implications of the Common Market, the Six, and the Seven (and we doubt even if trained economists can unravel them!) what is becoming clearer is that West Germany is emerging as a power in Europe who may be able to offer favourable terms for all sorts of deals to, say, France on the one hand, and Russia on the other.

Comings and Goings

Something is obviously up. Adenauer and de Gaulle have had a get-

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Reverse Strike

a restrictive practice, usually called "pairing", and finally a majority voted to come out on strike. Blacklegs were picketed.

Mr. Justice Shallow asked "What is a wildcat strike?" (laughter in court), and he had the court cleared, while the rest of the Bench worked to rule, and decided on a policy of general acquittal until their demands were met. The Lords of Appeal affirmed their class-solidarity with the Upper House.

The courts of summary jurisdiction found themselves blocked by a sudden demand by all defendants that their cases should be taken to the higher courts, or at the prospect of the due process of law going on indefinitely, deciding to settle their affairs without resort to the courts at all, since by this time the do-it-yourself principle had spread to litigation. Arguments were settled by frank discussion, or by reference to an arbitrator agreed by both parties, or by a stand-up fight with no costs for either side.

At this point the police started a stay-in strike and refused to make any arrests. Traffic duties were carried out punctiliously, old ladies were helped across the street as never before, lost property and stray dogs were returned to their owners, in some cases even before the loss was discovered, and the police were looked upon almost with respect. . . .

The Newspaper Proprietors' Association declared at this point that things had gone too far. Top people strikes were top news, but man can bite dog once too often, and everyone was bored with a strike with no blacklegs, and no unions to pillory. In addition, without

together. There was some reason for Macmillan popping off to Washington which wasn't made public (remember those significant papers that were thrust in his hands the moment he touched down when coming back?). And de Gaulle will be having a get together with Mac this week.

It may all be pre-Summit plotting, laying of plans and (metaphoric) greasing of palms. And the anti-German hysteria in the press may be nothing more than to strengthen alliances against any schemes that Adenauer may have up his sleeve. We don't know.

What we must not allow is hatred to be whipped up against people. The real attitude of the Germans towards militarism, the decision of the German trade unions to support the South African boycott, the fact that the swastika-daubing in Cologne was no more typical of German behaviour or thought than the hooliganism in Notting Hill was of British, these get scant attention in our sensational mass-appeal newspapers.

These newspapers are the voices of our enemies. They speak as surely for our masters as *Isvestia* or *Pravda* do for the masters of the ill-informed Russian masses. We should suspect all their attitudes—especially when they appear to be based on something as real as distrust of militarism.

One-Boy Bomb Protest

A 16-year-old Notting Hill boy who made a lone "ban the bomb" demonstration at a Norfolk rocket base, was conditionally discharged at Swaffham juvenile court today for obstructing the police.

A policeman said the boy carried a tent on to the base, intending to pitch it.

He was ejected but defied a warning not to return, and was arrested.

The boy, who pleaded guilty, said he felt youth should make a protest. He respected the law but felt it should not be used to protect immoral policies.

The chairman, Colonel J. H. Boag, told him: "We admire young people who have the courage of their convictions, but sooner or later you have to draw the line."

Evening Standard 4/4/60.

parliament, without crime, with breach-of-promise cases, or sex-fiends court, advertising revenue was falling. The Barons issued an ultimatum: either the strikers would be worthy of the press and go back, or the newspapers would cease to appear. They ceased.

Panic swept the Stock Exchange. Millions of shares were dumped on the market and bought dirt cheap by workers of the companies who were ceasing production as bankruptcy loomed ahead. The workers then sacked the boards and carried on production themselves.

The wave of upper-class discontent spread to the military. A movement started to bring back the cavalry and a tank was sabotaged at Aldershot, several cargoes of Irish horses were hastily diverted from the French ports. Groups of ex-Battle-of-Britain pilots scaled the fences of rocket-bases and dismantled the installation. The Navy took sixteen destroyers out of the 'mushroom' fleet, and sailed for Aden to 'show the flag', but were seized in the Suez Canal for failure to pay canal dues. However, this Luddite movement in the services grew rapidly. The great failure of the campaign was an attempt to press-gang men for the *Arethusa*. The population of Seaham Harbour organised the recruiting officers for the occasion, but released them on their undertaking to convert the nuclear fleet to floating generators. "Don't go, don't go the mine, Geordie," they pleaded, "we've used up the fuel on top."

No-one seemed at all anxious to persuade the strikers to go back to work. "Closed down indefinitely" notices appeared on Buckingham Palace, the 60 Bailey, and Scotland Yard. Whitehall was deserted. The decline of these industries brought an entirely new flood of unemployed: court-dressmakers, ecclesiastic outfitters, political agents, barristers, handcuff-makers, advertisement stock-brokers, sergeant-majors, royal photographers and crime-reporters, were only a few of these largely unskilled occupational groups who found themselves redundant. Fortunately industries free from the need to meet the costs of advertising, taxation, dividends and expense accounts, was able to absorb those who were dying of boredom. "I do it for kicks," smiled Mrs. Mountbatten Jones, explaining why she had become a home-help in Notting Vale.

It was only when they reflected what fun life had become, that people realized that the great strike wave had become a permanent lockout.

WARD JACKSON.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY IMPORTANT

MEETINGS are now held at CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS "The Marquis of Granby" Public House, London, W.C.2.

(corner Charing Cross Road and Shaftesbury Avenue) at 7.30 p.m.

ALL WELCOME

APRIL 10—J. M. Pilgrim on ANARCHISM AND SCIENCE FICTION

APRIL 17—No meeting  
 APRIL 24—J. W. Westall on ANARCHISM AND COLONIALISM  
 MAY 1—Public Meeting at Hall of Working Man's Club and Institute Union, Clerkenwell Road at 7.30. Frank Hirschfeld, Rita Milton, Max Patrick (chair), Jack Robinson, Donald Room (events permitting) and Philip Sansom.

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Charity and the Refugee

Continued from p. 3

are kept from starvation by their poor hosts but in Algeria itself there are, it is reported, one and a half million Algerians interned by the French Forces who are in a desperate condition. Death from sickness and starvation is a common occurrence for these unhappy people, sixty per cent. of whom are children. *The Times* reported that appeals for help by three French relief organisations had "been ignored by almost the whole of the French Press". *The New Statesman* said, 16th January, 1960, "The French Government's only response has been . . . to seize three newspapers."

The Algerians are one of the large groups of refugees who are not recognised by the United Nations. *The Observer*, among other critics, has noted that political capital sometimes governs the choice of refugees to be aided. Hungarian refugees, remember, suffered from no lack of sympathy from governments of the so-called "free world". Of the quarter million refugees accepted by Britain since the war one in ten has been Hungarian—and it happened only four years ago. In its anxiety to help the Hungarians the British Government did not, apparently, apply such rigorous screening tests as one might normally expect: according to Anthony Rhodes of the *Daily Telegraph* it accepted "some (who) had left their land . . . to get away from a creditor, a wife or a mother-in-law", criminals whose "chief interest in England lay in discovering whether crime paid better here . . ." and "a small group of lunatics who gave trouble disproportionate to their numbers" of whom "about a hundred . . . remain, in asylums all over the land." In 1956 the British Government did not plead, as it does now, "Britain is not an immigration country".

To give another example of politics over principles: the Chinese People's

Republic kicked the U.N. High Commission for Refugees out of its Shanghai office because of the continued restriction on her membership of the United Nations Organisation.

Some people are worried not only about preferences in aid for refugees but also the manner in which it is distributed. Karel Norsky, writing in the *Manchester Guardian* last year about refugees in Europe, warned "And perhaps the greatest challenge facing the refugee year is to find means of ensuring that the funds raised are spent for the purposes for which they were provided". He alleged preferential treatment for ethnic Germans to the detriment of foreign refugees in Austria. "On the whole in both Austria and Germany funds provided for the rehabilitation of the weakest have in practice been used for the survival of the fittest", wrote Mr. Norsky. And as if that wasn't strong enough he added ". . . the tools rather than the victims of Nazism have benefited from U.N. aid" and he specified the ". . . stubborn refusal of the West German authorities to pay compensation to some 1,200 refugees who suffered in Nazi concentration camps".

The "purely humanitarian basis" upon which the U.N. World Refugee Year was supposed to have been founded has pretty obviously got lost. One year ago a FREEDOM correspondent wrote ". . . as we dip our hands into our pockets in this Refugee Year . . . maybe we can also give a constructive thought to the reasons why millions of people are rotting in camps in Europe or dying in the streets of Asia": but we in Britain have donated about a shilling per head—and that's just about all the average British head is worth.

Of course, the refugees, if they happen to be Christians, may take heart from the fact that we are praying for them every Sunday in our churches.

E.F.C.