

A.E.U. WANT SHORTER WEEK —OR DO THEY?

THE National Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union has been holding its annual meeting at Eastbourne, and its President, Mr. Carron, has gone on record as holding the view that the issue which is uppermost in the minds of his union's members and, indeed, of the whole working class is that of the shorter working week.

We are always suspicious of those who claim to know what the whole working class wants, especially when the evidence, in Mr. Carron's case, comes from the fact that he had recently met many hundreds of AEU members all over the country, and the great majority had thought as he did. So often the estimation of the desires of the working class turn out to be a reflection of the desires of the speaker.

In fact, Mr. Carron's views stem from his assessment of the possibility of wringing a wage increase out of the engineering employers, who, he says, will not concede a wage increase and a shorter working week simultaneously. Therefore, in a period of more or less stability in prices, the realistic approach is to go for a reduction of hours.

Now we are all for this. One of the lunatic features of the tremendous expansion of productivity which has taken place over recent decades has been that it has led to no significant reduction in the working day. In fact far from bringing less work and more leisure, the reverse has been true; overtime has been the rule and middle-class matrons have been distressed by the extent to which working-class wives and mothers have had to go out to work as well as their men in order not merely to pay for luxuries but to make ends meet in a time of rising prices.

Cannot Win

But it's all very well for the middle-class matrons. Little do they understand of the continual pressures upon the workers who never win. In time of recession the workers have 'leisure' but no means to enjoy it; when there is 'prosperity' both the demands to work harder and longer and the inevitable rise in living costs rob the workers of the ability to enjoy it just the same.

Swedish Government Wants H-Bomb

REPORTS from Sweden suggest that this will be the crucial year for a major decision on Swedish armaments. There has been for some time in Sweden a prepared blueprint for the making of atomic bombs. Suggestions that this might be put into effect have always been fiercely resisted by the extreme Left-wing of the ruling Socialist Party, but Sweden has been watching events in Central Europe and in Finland with considerable alarm. The Swedish Government is now said to be sceptical about the possibility of an atomic tests ban resulting from the Geneva Conference.

It has been pointed out that the total cost of a five or six-year atomic defence programme running at some 50 million crowns a year is a small percentage of the total Swedish defence budget, which runs at about 3,000 million crowns a year. The atomic programme might, in the long run, be economic as well as prudent.

Scotsman, 23/4/59.

And Mr. Carron, being what he is, is now peddling his line for a reduction in hours not because he is anxious for the worker to have more leisure but, because it is 'unrealistic' to claim anything else.

Like most Top People, Carron has a vested interest in seeing that the workers don't have too much time to think, nor to organise their own affairs. The whole conception of 'representation' depends upon those being represented not being able nor having the time to run their affairs themselves. 'You get on with the work, chaps, while we do the organising, talking and thinking for you', might be the message of any 'representative'.

Indeed, Mr. Carron made quite clear his disapproval of 'do-it-yourself' methods on the factory floor, when he attacked shop stewards who broke the union rules and repudiated properly constituted agreements with employers—behaviour which, he complained is involving the Union in 'more and more legal difficulties and unnecessary expense'.

A Tactic

No, for the top TU official, a reduction in hours is not a step towards emancipation from wage slavery; it is a tactic in the balance of power with the boss, and the *Manchester Guardian* (28/4/59) comment shows this well enough:

... it offers (or seems to offer) the chance of absorbing workpeople who might become redundant. But "shorter hours" mean different things to different people. To the extent that a claim for a shorter working week represents a genuine desire for more leisure—for a dividend, as it were, from automation in terms of being able to lead a fuller life—the demand has obvious merit: if mechanisation does not ultimately mean a better life for human beings, industry will have managed its affairs very badly. But does the pressure for a forty-hour week really mean that most people really want to limit their working week to forty hours; or does it merely mean a desire for more hours at overtime rates of pay? Feelings are doubtless mixed, but the chances are that if there are more opportunities going for picking up extra money by overtime, people generally will want to take them.

It is natural that a liberal(?) paper like the *M.G.* should think that industry exists to bring about 'a better life for human beings' but it doesn't. It exists to make profit for those who own or control it, and Mr. Carron has no quarrel with that.

Thus it is that the real issue of leisure and the use of it and of dignity in production do not really enter into Mr. Carron's calculations. But inasmuch as a forty-hour week is better than forty-eight, we welcome it—hoping that the workers will find ways to enrich their lives in some real sense in the hours they may gain.

Man's Inhumanity to Man

The Rule of Violence

IN Poplarville, Mississippi, a 23-year-old Negro, Mack Parker, due to stand trial for the alleged rape of a white woman, was dragged from his cell by a group of about 10 hooded men last Saturday and has not been seen since. The abductors managed to force their way into the unprotected prison and, according to his fellow-prisoners, Mack was "taken by the heels and dragged down the steel stairs, his head bumping on each step, while his captors continued to beat him." A *Reuter* Report states that a "trail of bloodstains marked the path along which Parker was dragged before being dumped into a car." Of course F.B.I. flying-squads have moved into the area and are searching for the abductors but as one of the sheriff's deputies put it,

He has been killed by now and either buried or weighted and thrown in the Pearl [river]. The F.B.I. won't find anything.

Governor Coleman of Mississippi—who, according to Philip Deane of the *Observer*, is "known for his moderate and fair racial stand in what is the South's most diehard white supremacy State"—whilst declaring that he never expected to see the day when there would be mob action in the State, and that any killing in premeditation was murder "and we will prosecute as such" (as if they will find anybody to prosecute!) gratuitously and significantly added:

"The proof of this man's [Parker's] guilt was conclusive. I don't think there is any doubt he would have been con-

victed. We trust that our citizens won't be punished by civil rights legislation as a result of what a small handful of men have done in violation of the law."

Apart from the fact, as Mr. Jess Brown, Parkers' lawyer, pointed out, that "Guilt can at best only be deemed conclusive after the defence has presented its side, and Mr. Coleman, himself a lawyer knows that"—what did Governor Coleman mean by "punishing our citizens by civil rights legislation as a result of what a small handful of men have done in violation of the law"? Surely "civil rights legislation" can only be considered "punishment" by those members of a community who enjoy rights which are denied to others in that community because of the colour of their skins and who do not consider this an injustice but the way things are and should continue to be?

2

A STRIKE of 7,000 miners in the Eastern Kentucky coalfields in support of their demands for the recognised wage rates and the enforcement of the mine operators' obligation to pay the tonnage royalty of 40 cents to union welfare funds, has led to violence and deaths. A *New York Times* (20/4/59) report states that

A guard and a mine operator have been shot and killed. Pickets and non-union workers have been beaten. Coal tipples—processing plants—have been burned and dynamited and homes have been wrecked.

Roving motorcades of eighty to 100 cars have served both sides as mobile weapons of intimidation. Pitched battles have been narrowly averted in several

instances by the intervention of state troops armed with shotguns.

Two battalions of the National Guard with a total of 1,000 men were mobilized early yesterday by order of Gov. A. B. Chandler. In 1939, during his first term as Governor, he dispatched guardsmen to Harlan County to quell strike violence.

3

NATIONAL Guardsmen were also called out in force to the Montana State Prison riot which was quelled not without loss of life however—one deputy Warden and two prisoners. According to a *New York Times* report

Newsmen interviewed some of the prisoners in a search for the reason for the uprising. Spokesmen for the inmates said they wanted reform of parole, the dismissal of the parole director, Benjamin W. Wright, better hospital facilities, elimination of the disciplinary "hole" cell and other refinements.

The prisoners mentioned crowded conditions, the use of buckets for toilet facilities and the lack of segregation of young first offenders. There were other complaints, but each of the seven interviewed tagged the parole system as the chief grievance.

Mr. Wright, the parole director, resigned last night while the riot was at a momentary stalemate. His dismissal was demanded by the Legislature last month.

4

LAST week in Nairobi, an African "loyalist", Samuel Githu, holder of the George Medal for his "bravery in the fight against Mau Mau" was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for assaulting three "hard-core" Mau Mau detainees last September, resulting in the death of one of them.

Continued on p. 3

New York Letter Castro's Progress

PERSONS on the side of law and order were dismayed earlier this year when the victorious Fidel Castro permitted the execution of many of the members of the police and military forces built up by his predecessor, General Batista. Indignant United States senators denounced Castro as a butcher, an opinion that was buttressed by much of the local press, and at one time the suggestion slipped out that "we" should send the good old marines to Cuba to put an end to the bloodbath, uncivilized atrocities, bestiality and savagery. The arena trials that went on in those days were widely reported: the public was encouraged to identify with Major Solo (on trial and on demonstration as a man implicated in the deaths of over a thousand Cuban people, farmers and prisoners, above and beyond the soldiers in uniform that it is agreed he was entitled to kill) and the curiously one-sided human dignity displayed by Solo when upon looking around at the jeering crowds he declared that he found himself in the Roman Colosseum was written up with emotional trumpets.

Said the senators, "You can't do that and get away with it." And they were right. The United States' taxpayers and investors had kept Batista going until the very last moment. Even beyond the last moment the State of Florida was playing its set role of host to the crews of the deposed dictator. Batista himself should be in the United States sooner or later.

The Justice Department is doubtless waiting for the sing-song to die down and respectable arrangements can then be made. After all these are decent people. A man who is acceptable to military authorities as an officer, or to the police in just about any capacity, is not an ignorant peasant. A man like

Major Solo, who has been doing his duty to the constituted authority (albeit by the "best means I saw fit"), may not be treated as a common criminal. It is not as if he were a peasant caught stealing or resisting orders from a soldier or refusing to give information to a policeman—his punishment would then be understandable. Castro, said the senators, you had better watch out.

Castro did. He is enough of a lawyer, and such was his pre-civil war training, to know the law. At the emotional height of the trials the statement was circulated, vaguely attributed to Castro, that the Cuban people were demanding these trials, that the situation would get out of hand if trials like these were not permitted. Somehow Castro was made to regret a regrettable necessity. Solo, brother of all our professional gentlemen killers, was permitted his accurate intellectual judgment of his judges. It was an extraordinary remark, calculated to save his life, and I believe he would have succeeded in this subtle appeal to Castro if the boss had been more gently received by the United States. At it was Castro did not dare to reprieve him. To have done so would divorce himself from the popular agitation that along with the recoil against the brutalities of the British régime was running through the crowd in those early post-victory days, an agitation against the imperial and financial inhumanities of the United States Government, known and recognized as the profiteering supporter of every Latin-American dictatorship.

Castro let Solo go, but a halt was called to the arena trials. Castro, under pressure from two incompatible forces, then appears to have lost his head in his efforts to solve the dilemma classically presented to the Latin-American liberator whose private thoughts are not in tune with liberty. How to retain your mastery of the crowd, yet not offend the United States. The first demands that you focus the flames of the crowd into still greater brilliance; the second demands appeals to sweet reason. For the first few days Castro, coping with the greater danger to himself, namely the energies released in the crowds and the plans possibly made by rival groups to take his revolt and put it to positive use—to spread revolt into revolution, did the only thing that he could. He rampaged through speech after speech one voice ahead of his audiences, threatening any force that the Batista-Washington alliance might offer, marines, mines, landlords, casino gangsters, treaties, cold wars, Trujillo, traitors, anything that came into his head during those five hour speeches, but significantly not the Holy Church who has always, in her convenient fashion, representatives to bless both sides. Castro, his hand kissed by the pressing throng, was a truly tragic figure, an impotent Robespierre, voicing the divinity of the people, the figurehead of a glorious moment in Cuban history, with but a few hours to celebrate his glory.

For he must have known that the day of reckoning would come. The wilder his celebration the more he would have later to debase himself. The greater his eloquence the greater the absurdity in store for him. Long since forgotten was the statement one heard before the fighting was ended (though this may have been issued for propaganda purposes to suit the Venezuelan groups) that Castro would consider his job done once the shooting stopped; also the statement he did make at the end of the fighting that

Continued on p. 4

THEY DID NOT MARCH IN VAIN

Corporal John Raymond Pritchard was accused at an R.A.F. court-martial yesterday of failing to obey an order to work on an H-bomb-carrying Victor bomber. It was said he saw a film of an H-bomb protest march and became convinced it was wrong for Britain to have the bomb.

Daily Mail 24/4/59.

HUNGRY FOR AFFECTION

PEOPLE AND IDEAS:

THERE are no problem children, goes a much-quoted saying, only problem parents. In other words, if you are going to help the child through its difficulties, you can't do it in isolation, you have to cope with the whole family: a formidable task, and one which, as the work of the Family Service Units has shown, is best undertaken, not by the host of statutory or philanthropic officials, lining up, note-books in hand, on the doorstep of the harassed mother, but by the delicate and unobtrusive establishment of personal relations on the basis of friendship, mutual concern and shared work. This is an undertaking that calls for greater resources in time, understanding and in human qualities than are usually at the disposal of the 'social worker'.

Since the publication of the Curtis (Care of Children) Report and of John Bowlby's W.H.O. report *Maternal Care and Mental Health*, emphasis has been laid on the need to "keep the home together" not only because the family is the cheapest, but because it is normally the most emotionally satisfying environment for children. Dr. Bowlby's impressive findings, on the results of the lack of early maternal care, widely publicised in his Pelican *Child Care and the Growth of Love* have been partly modified by the experience described in Hilda Lewis's *Deprived Children*, and this is all to the good since, as a recent correspondence in *The Listener* has shown, there has grown up a certain fatalistic attitude about his findings, the notion for instance, that the child whose emotional growth has been stunted by maternal deprivation can never develop affectionate relations with others. The wisdom of seeking, as an article of faith, to return the deprived child to the source of his deprivation, in the name of keeping the family together, is questioned in Anthony Weaver's book,* which is the result of his four years as Warden of a home for children in a large country house, 'Lammas'.

The trustees had intended that it should be a residential clinic for 'pre-delinquent' children, not specially catered

for under the Education Act of 1944. The children were to be "emotionally disturbed but not ascertained maladjusted". It was found however, that in order to qualify for payment by the L.C.C. for the children's residence there, they should in fact have appeared before one of the London Juvenile Courts charged as being beyond control or for an indictable offence and then either put on probation or placed "in care" under a Fit Person Order. It had also been envisaged as a short stay home for children likely to respond to "6-12 months' simple treatment", and it had been intended, in order not to duplicate the provisions for Maladjusted Pupils, that the children should attend the local schools. A few months' experience however, showed that special schooling was required.

These basic conditions — 'pre-delinquency', short stay and local schooling, made the selection of children very difficult. "Eventually it was found that children who satisfied the conditions of admission, and had also appeared in court, did not exist. In practice, we were dealing with children and parents fraught with considerably more severe problems, and it became abundantly clear that longer stay and extended schooling on the premises were necessary to deal with them". But these were contrary to the terms of the Trust and the work was brought to a standstill. The author does not comment on this, but it is yet another example of the way in which, when the needs of the situation, as seen by the people who do the work, conflict with the official administrative pattern as seen by the people who put up the money, it is the needs which go under. This is what happened to the Peckham Health Centre, and it is what threatens Mr. George Lyward's work at Finchden Manor.

In practice, some of the children, far from being 'pre-delinquent' had been in Court as many as six times. "It was

always my hope to break down the attitude that Lammas was a place of punishment to which the child had been sent to do time—an attitude that was undoubtedly reinforced by the fact of a court order." The pressure of events led the Governors to acknowledge that the education authority should exempt some children from outside teaching, and a teacher was appointed at Lammas, and in this connection Tony Weaver quotes the remarkably outspoken statement in the *Underwood Report* that the régime in ordinary schools is sometimes a "precipitating or contributory factor" in maladjustment. It becomes apparent to the reader that the biggest limitation on the work at Lammas was the short stay condition. "As the end of their time at Lammas approached, it was not uncommon for children to get themselves into trouble in order to postpone leaving, or in order to be sent to another residential home, such was their apprehension of their welcome by their own family".

One of the seventeen case histories around which this book is built, is that of James, aged 12 on admission. The prospects seemed good on his return home, but his mother's rejection soon became evident.

"He took the matter magnificently into his own hands, wrote to Dr. Landrail (the psychiatrist) threatening to commit an offence in order to be sent away for three years, unless his removal could be arranged peacefully and at once. In fact this was done."

James, it is interesting to note was one of the least gifted of the children described (I.Q. 88), and Weaver comments that he was "remarkable for the very full use to which he put his limited intelligence". A general assessment however, showed that the more intelligent the child the better he or she is able to cope with the inadequacies of the home.

"It is also true that a remarkable number of children, who one would think ought to be maladjusted, are not. Having

apparently the same adverse factors to contend with, on account of some inner resources and unexplained strength, they emerge as if were unscathed."

This again leads the reader to wonder how these inner resources can be discovered and built upon, and how others can, like James, be enabled to put to "a very full use" a limited intelligence.

FOLLOWING up the subsequent history of the children sent to Lammas under the headings of "Assessment of Delinquency" and "Assessment of Emotional Condition", the results showed a general trend of improvement in 70 per cent. of the children, but the author remarks that:

"An outstanding conclusion to be drawn is that once the serious step of sending a child away from home has been taken, to send him or her back to the same conditions that had caused the maladjustment is at least as serious a step. . . . It may be asking too much to expect him not to succumb to those very stresses and strains to which he has shown himself allergic."

And a consideration of his selected family histories leads him to declare that,

"The stories of these boys and girls raise the question whether the family unit in modern urban society is a form of life suitable to the majority of human beings. To earn a living, to find a partner with whom one lives harmoniously, and to bring up children was more than these parents could contrive to do."

And to say in his conclusions that "so long as the parental attitudes and the social conditions under which they lived (which of course are inextricably intertwined) remain unchanged the progress of the children is of little avail. . . . It would seem to be that in large measure the families we have been discussing could have lived happier and more satisfying lives in other circumstances. It is true that, as things are, when the family breaks down the child is bereft. But it does not follow from this that the most important task is therefore to patch it together again, and to get the child back at all costs."

"So long as the family is a competitive economic unit it must act primarily in its own interest, and not for that of other people in the community. Why then should other people act for the benefit of the individual family?"

"One can give many examples—of the medieval village, of Pacific Islanders, of the Kibbutzim in Israel—of co-operative forms of economic organisation, deficient perhaps in 'civilised' standards of comfort, but where the children are needed and where the community then voluntarily and effectively takes a share in responsibility for them. The family is no longer friendless and in isolation."

The work with parents consisted mostly of psychiatric interviews in London, usually with one parent or one couple, though sometimes, when parents were asked to meet in a group it was found that "to stumble on each other's problems hastened insight into their own" and sometimes it was possible to bring together a large family, with aunts and grandmothers "so that the conflicts between them could be expressed and examined in a group discussion". The most difficult problem to tackle with parents was their sense of guilt and inadequacy. At the same time, the temptation which often arose at Lammas on a Visiting Sunday, to regard the parents "as specimens apart and to prefer the children" had to be recognised as merely a way of finding someone to blame. "It is surprising for how long a wayward girl has the full sympathy and support of a social worker—until the girl becomes a mother and the mitigating circumstances are turned into faults."

FOOTNOTE TO KINSEY

The undemonstrative British are by no means so far behind the French in giving their spouses the odd and affectionate nicknames mentioned recently in this column. A survey in 1953 disclosed that Lear-like family nicknames included "Button Nose", "Diddles", "Dozey Kipper", "Hag", "Hippy", "Ickle Scrubbles", "Inky-Winkey", "Jelly-Belly", "Nignog", "Porky-Pie", "Snibbles", "Snooty-Ookums", "Tosher", "Widgie-Woo", and "Zomba-Zomba". In Doncaster one woman alone confessed to getting such bitter-sweet names from her husband as "Land-Crab", "Old Boiling Fowl", "Short Size", "Bloater-Face", "Lady Frog", "Sweetie-Pie", "Pet Pippin", "Pieface", and "Kleines Liebchen". A wife at Hillingdon, Middlesex, confessed that in eleven years of marriage her husband had used her Christian name only four times, the usual loving epithet being "Old Ducky". Usually called "Tinker Bell", a Kingston, Surrey housewife was "priced" by her husband according to her behaviour. If she was good she was called "Fourpence-Halfpenny", if not so good "Twopence-Three-Farthings"; if naughty—just "Twopence".

Manchester Guardian 16/4/59.

One case included in the book sends a psychopathic problem which would still exist had been the son of the most enlightened parents in a reformed society". Despite continual reports after leaving Lammas, his appearances in Court on larceny charges continued Weaver quotes in full the Kafka-like description by the following worker of her visit to him in prison, summarised the variety of "treatment" he had received:

- (a) the father tried belting him;
- (b) at Lammas we loved him and to bore (till the sinews of the staff were tested), provided creative activities and opportunity for aggression;
- (c) Dr. Landrail prescribed dexedrine;
- (d) the Approved School exerted more formal discipline.

And yet he reached the Boys' Prison. The conclusion is that this was fundamentally "a medical problem, not an environmental one, which should have been diagnosed sooner by the experts and treated accordingly."

An aspect of work with disturbed children always brought to mind by narratives like this, is the strain it imposes on the adults concerned. Weaver does not minimise this (and points out that persuading the parents to have their children at home we are asking them to undertake a job that few healthy and trained grown-ups can stand for long) and he describes how the demands made on the staff were coped with—for nothing by a complete social equality between the domestic and the professional staff, who shared and lightened each others tasks. Members of the staff were left, finding the strain too great, in several cases returned, saying that they missed the children and the sense of doing a worthwhile job.

CHILDREN at Lammas were divided into groups: the spontaneous groups or gangs which maintained their coherence over a period, were found to be three to five children. From an organisational joint of view it was found that an adult could maintain a group of up to eight children. If there were more the adult had to assume an authoritarian role.

"At certain times it was necessary to do this (for example on a journey, or to save manpower at home), but during this time therapy by the grown-ups was not possible, and many grown-ups, among them perhaps the best therapists, were not capable of it."

The group system saved the children from a continual state of being controlled, and from the child's point of view, "being a member of a group at once gave him a position in the community. From this position he made relationships, perhaps for the first time in his life, with a grown-up and with other children. It was largely in the development of this power that the freeing from anxieties and the cure of his maladjustment came about."

In creating a situation where the supervision that is necessary to prevent injuries or harm to the property of other people,

Continued on p. 3

BOOK REVIEW

X Marks the Spot

JACK SPOT: THE MAN OF A THOUSAND CUTS by Hank Janson. (Alexander Moring, 2s. 6d.) NOT obtainable at Freedom Bookshop.

THIS book should please the writers' vast and growing public. It is printed in Paris on cheap paper, the jacket as usual, of paper, is glaringly illustrated with scenes of violence. The theme is that of the rise and fall of a public figure. The situations are contrived and untrue to life, the psychology of the main character is false and the whole is written with a high-minded sentimentality which I find nauseating. It should sell well, as do all the works of this writer!

This is probably the first time that the works of the author Hank Janson have ever been reviewed. Neither the *Times Lit.* nor the Critics have touched upon him. He has even been overlooked by the Book Society and I doubt even if 'the function of the asterisk in the novels of Hank Janson' will even be propounded as a D.Litt. thesis in the University of Oshkosh.

However, the novels of Hank Janson are part of a vast and growing body of writing which have an enormous circulation exclusively in one class of reader. In the same way that the BBC has Home, Light, and Third programmes, whose audiences rarely overlap, so culture in general tends to fall into this rough grouping Middle-brow, Low-brow and High-brow and never the brows shall meet.

Hank Janson comes near the "1984" idea of syndicated writing for he is not now one man but a pseudonym used by a group of writers employed by the publishing company and writing the same type of novels. This was revealed in a prosecution for obscenity brought against 'a Janson' novel some years ago when Janson was one of the defendants and secured his acquittal on the grounds that he had sold the copyright in the name 'Hank Janson' to the publishers and was now living in retirement.

These novels are, as so many others in this field, written to formulae. In fact there is such a thing as a 'Plotto', which is a chart for writing combinations of dramatic situations which have been listed. A computer which will permute these situations and spew out a novelette is possible.

The formulae for a Hank Janson novel seems to be crime, sex and violence with a dash of psychology and pseudo-social criticism. In this work, *Jack Spot—or the Man of a Thousand Cuts* we have the added touch of a basis in real life.

The market for the lives of notorious criminals has always been brisk, from the penny broadsheets of confessions (sold after executions, and sometimes before) to the Newgate Calendar and the Notable Trials series.

The Jack Spot case had all the basis of a good book, but this is not it. We see a decline in the viewpoint from the bragging of the Newgate Calendar, the coldly factual of the Notable Trials to the whining pseudo-psychology of this Jack Spot who was sent wrong by an incident in his youth, who maintained an anti-fascist stand before the war and who still doesn't know what went wrong.

There is, as George Orwell said, a decline in the English murder. Where are the murders of yesteryear? Where is the cosy domestic murder, with suburban passion, wills, solicitors and arsenic with ne'er a whiff of psycho-analysis? Why is it that every murderer must be a psychopath and every thief a problem child?

Jack Spot finishes not with a bang but with a whimper. There is not the gusto of the memoirs of real rogues but this pandering to virtue which brings the book almost down to the level of the Victorian pious tract.

The Jack Spot-Albert Dimes case had its highlights which called for a social satirist to deal with it. The tragicomic figure of the Rev. Andrews, one-time chaplain (so it is said) to the Dogs' Cemetery, Hyde Park, and the wonderful transmutation of Albert Dimes into an English tea-taster recommending a brew from the pages of the American 'glossies'.

There is need for a treatment of the basic problem of Soho, the law of supply and demand. The growth of the 'vice' racket (as if prostitution were the only vice!), the illegality of gambling and consequent growth of 'protection', the licensing laws and the growth of clubs and need for more protection. A recent film about Al Capone seems to have the same faults. Without prohibition there would have been no Al Capone, and without the laws that regulate what authority calls 'vice' we would have no Jack Spots, Albert Dimes or Billy Hills.

J.R.

*THEY STEAL FOR LOVE by Anthony Weaver, (Max Parrish, 12s. 6d.).

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

OPEN DAILY

(Open 10 a.m.—6.30 p.m., 5 p.m. Sats.)

New Books . . .

- What is Cybernetics? G. T. Guilbaud 10/6
- The Long, and the Short and the Tall Willis Hall 10/6
- Last Essays Thomas Mann 21/-
- Garden District: Two Plays Tennessee Williams 12/6
- Best Short Stories Ring Lardner 21/-
- Primitive Rebels E. J. Hobsbawm 25/-
- The Female Offender Caesar Lombroso 30/-

Reprints and Cheap Editions . . .

- The Mendelmen Fire Wolf Mankowitz 2/-
- The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan J. T. Farrell 3/6
- The Child's World P. Hostler 2/6
- Roman Tales Alberto Moravia 2/6
- Some Faces in the Crowd Bud Schulberg 2/6
- The New Men C. P. Snow 2/6
- The Wrong Set, &c. Angus Wilson 2/6
- The Decameron (Vol. 2) Giovanni Boccaccio 3/6
- Sappho Alphonse Daudet 3/6
- Cultural Patterns & Technical Change (ed.) Margaret Mead 4/-
- Reconstruction in Philosophy John Dewey 3/6
- Theory of Business Enterprise Thorstein Veblen 4/-
- Theory of Leisure Class Thorstein Veblen 3/6
- Second-Hand . . .
- Mutual Aid Peter Kropotkin 12/6
- The Discovery of India Jawaharlal Nehru 10/-
- Magister Ludi Hermann Hesse 6/6
- Bertha von Suttner Caralyne E. Playne 4/-
- Waiting for Nothing Tom Kromer 3/-
- Periodicals . . .
- The University Librarian, No. 8 1/-

We can supply ANY book required, including text-books. Please supply publisher's name if possible, but if not, we can find it. Scarce and out-of-print books searched for—and frequently found!

Postage free on all items

Obtainable from

27, RED LION STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

THE ANARCHIST PERSONALITY

DEAR COMRADES,

In a letter published in FREEDOM earlier this year I outlined a proposal for a research into the personality of people who regard themselves as anarchists. A number of people have now co-operated in this research and I have obtained results of considerable interest.

Before any clear-cut conclusions can be arrived at, a larger number need to be included in this research, and I shall be very glad to hear from more people who are interested. A personal interview is necessary but this does not involve any probing into the details of private lives, and all individual data gathered will be regarded as confidential.

The general results of this investigation will be published in FREEDOM in sufficient detail for readers to assess their value. Although everyone has been speculating about the nature of the personality of anarchists for a very long time, this is the first attempt that I know of to try to establish some facts by research. I am lucky enough to have a research laboratory at my disposal, and the means of making some accurate assessments. What is now needed is still more volunteers.

Yours,

London, April 25. TONY GIBSON.

The Second Part of P.H.'s lecture on Communal Living will be published in next week's FREEDOM.

The Rule of Violence

Continued from p. 1

... was employed as a district assistant dealing with what is euphemistically called the "rehabilitation" of Mau Mau suspects, at the Aguthi detention camp. His attacks on the Mau Mau men were described by the magistrate as "deliberate and calculated". He, or others under his orders,

... or kicked the prisoners and then threw them into a pit and told them they would be buried alive. Earth was shovelled into the pit. The assault was carried out in an attempt to make the detainees confess to having taken part in Mau Mau activities.

5

... its credit, the French Catholic Army Chaplain's office in Paris published last week a document entitled "Study of Moral Behaviour in the Algerian War" in response to the report of a fortnight ago signed by R.C. priests serving with the French Army in which they claimed Algerian rebels were being tortured and summarily executed, and rebuked their bishops for "moral failure in the face of such situations".

The document states that torture is wicked in itself and bad because of its disastrous results—the terrible risk of forcing innocent people to confess, the risk of giving rise to fanatic feelings, the degradation of the torturer, and the deforming of conscience among young people.

... there not in Algeria, over and over the pressures necessitated by public and military security, a certain ideological intolerance that seeks by torture to disavow the Nationalist convictions of the rebels?"

... In a special chapter devoted to torture (and who better than the spiritual descendants of the Inquisition could one choose to discuss the subject?), the document says that even "legitimate" coercion was in practice nearly impossible to limit, and therefore a danger to the common good. It concludes by saying that torture has been known in totalitarian and police state régimes, but that it occurs also in democratic and liberal régimes which are opposed by ideologies threatening their existence and their security. In such cases, it says, there is a temptation to use the same means of coercion without realising that by doing so these régimes compromise their basic principles.

6

... IN Nyasaland, in spite of the assurances given by the Colonial Secretary last week-end that the Government has no intention of going back on its pledge to the peoples of N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland that they will be consulted before there are any constitutional changes in Central Africa, "that there shall be no changes made unless and until these are the wish of those territories", the arrest of Nyasas proceeds apace—more than 1,000 have been detained since January. Sentences of up to five

years' imprisonment have been passed on Africans found "guilty" of being members of the now unlawful organisation—the Nyasaland National Congress. Others, according to the *Observer's* correspondent have been arrested for shouting "kwaka", a word in constant use in every language of the world by politicians whatever the colour of their skins or of their politics.

The Anarchists' Role

YES, "kwaka" means freedom, a dangerous, a seditious and inflammatory word on the lips of the people! Mark you we are not suggesting that society is at present divided into two: on one side the people yearning for freedom, on the other a bunch of politicians singing freedom's praises but denying it to them. To do so would be to overestimate the social consciousness and militancy of the people. Indeed, if the six cases of violence we have described only too clearly demonstrate that without exception government knows only the language of force, it is not equally clear that people either understand or believe in freedom.

We live in a world in which the rulers, and a majority of the ruled, believe in or accept authority as the only pattern of social organisation. Anarchists are helping to break down this fatalistic, unthinking acceptance of authority by conducting their own lives and their relations with others in accordance with their ideas of freedom and of what is right and good. Better still if they feel strongly enough to express this experience of life outside the intimate circle of family and friends.

Because "propaganda" has become a swear-word, a subtle way, aided and abetted by the psychologists and advertising men, of putting over a patent lie as an absolute truth, many anarchists shrink from any activity connected with the dissemination of anarchist ideas. But why? We anarchists have never claimed to possess absolute truth nor even a panacea for each and every human problem. Nor do we ask people to give us power to implement our ideas. What we do believe is that there is only one instrument through which mankind can hope to solve its collective and individual problems: that instrument is freedom. Through freedom we feel doubt; doubt stimulates curiosity; curiosity widens our experience, our understanding, tolerance; our acceptance of diversity among our fellow human beings through freedom of choice. Freedom, the instrument, becomes freedom, the way of life.

... THE lynchers of Poplarville, Mississippi, as they dragged their victim from his cell by his heels, are reported to have been "screaming": "Why did you do it? Why did you do it?"—deaf to his shouts that he was innocent and, what is just as important, deaf to the reasons why they had "taken the law into their own hands". For if these ten abductors has sought revenge on a man who had used his superior strength to force a woman to satisfy his physical craving for her, one might praise their chivalry while

condemning their actions, which were more extreme than their victim's own behaviour. But it is obvious that they lynched a man not because they were convinced that he had had intercourse with a woman against her will, but because he was dark-skinned. In other words their action was racial not moral.

Can those of us whose judgment is not coloured by such irrational reactions as were in action in Poplarville... or even Notting Hill, stand by, silent spectators, when we know the causes and perhaps have the cure? Can self-righteousness make one so smug... and so indifferent to the problems of our fellow-beings?

Boston Refuses to Retract

BOSTON.

"AVENGE our blood," Vanzetti asked near the end; and again on his last afternoon the anarchist asked, "Clear our names."

As for avenging his and Sacco's blood—an idea which today still shocks a nation without a radical movement, yet which remains truest to the spirit of their anarchism—little was ever done. (Let us be clear in what the salve of time and sentimentalism obscures: Sacco and Vanzetti were no mere pacifists, they were active revolutionists.) As for name-clearing, the fine books of Frankfurter, Fraenkel, Ehrmann, Musmanno and Foughin-Morgan have done that. What greater vindication than the extraordinary little library on the case, still growing, written by some of the finest legal and literary minds of contemporary times? Not to speak of subsequent changes in legal procedure in Massachusetts higher courts, which, had they existed in 1927, would have gotten the two anarchists a new trial.

Nonetheless, on the record of the Commonwealth the two men stand guilty of murder and robbery, therefore justly executed. But even in Massachusetts, all private consciences are not so sure. Back in December, one brave young member of the Massachusetts Legislature filed a resolution requesting the Governor "to grant a posthumous Executive pardon to the late Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti," and on the 2nd of April, in the Gardner Auditorium of the Massachusetts State House, fifteen members of the Joint Legislative Committee on the Judiciary, some dozen speakers on the resolution, and several hundred spectators sat through a thirteen-hour hearing which could have initiated the clearing on the books of those good names.

But at nearly every juncture, the State House hearing revealed much more of contemporary significance than it shed light on Sacco, Vanzetti or their case. Their trial, remember, took place in 1921. The "re-trial" this month had to begin with assurances that the two men were not Communists or enamored of Bolsheviks, therein telling a great deal about the fog in men's minds today. The paradox is, of course, that if the minds of the politicians on the Legislative Committee had been keen enough to penetrate what Sacco's and Vanzetti's anarchism really consisted in—unremittent resistance to the ruling class—present-day Communists by comparison might have seemed to them lollipop sellers. Also, that the violence committed both during and after the case (a juryman's home was bombed in 1927, Judge Thayer's five years after the executions) was attributed at the outset of the hearing to Bolshevik opportunists, might have made the half-dozen old Italian anarchists in the audience smile.

There was an astonishing naïveté on the part of the politicians on the bench who suggested that Sacco and Vanzetti brought out their radicalism to "throw a smokescreen on their guilt" and who asked the resolution's author, Representative Alexander J. Cella, whether he was related to the two anarchists, if he had presented his resolution as part of his election platform or as a move for his re-election, and also why he had singled out this murder case in particular and not others, except that this case had the most publicity. The committee's general unpreparedness in the most elementary facts of the case, too, was distressing: one of them asked a speaker to read a chronology of the Dedham trial, saying, "I don't know too much about this case." This same member later said of the Lowell commission, "I thought that was a high-class committee." These are the men the people of Massachusetts elect to represent them. While naïveté and specific ignorance of the Sacco-Vanzetti case may be excusable, general ignorance, to say nothing of closed, dead minds, is not. The majority of these politicians reflected their own inadequacy, fear and prejudice rather than enlightened, inquiring minds. Those who so crassly mouth off about democracy are just the ones who in a true democracy would be forced into honest work.

The chief speakers in favor of the resolution were Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno, who thoroughly and properly vilified Judge Thayer, District Attorney Katzmann and the jury foreman; Morris Ernst, who presented the case against the Morelli gang of Providence; and the Reverend Roland D. Sawyer, a minister in his eighties and former member of the Legislature, who vividly sketched the role of Italians in New England labour disputes up to the time of the 1920 Palmer raids. Mr. Sawyer also laid particular emphasis on the prejudice in the twenties against Italians in general, let alone radical ones.

But by day's end it was fairly evident that the men who sat on the bench at the hearing were no better than the Dedham judge and jury nearly forty years back. They fearfully resisted whatever cast a shadow on jurors, judges, governors, district attorneys, the law or the state. They simply could not accept that men of state or office could be wrong. They exhibited a disturbing, too-healthy respect for the past that bordered upon super-patriotism. "Wouldn't a pardon set a precedent to undermine the law,

leading to a breakdown of our judicial system and anarchy?" the politicians wanted to know. They asked Musmanno, "Has Pennsylvania or any other commonwealth ever granted a posthumous pardon?" "You are asking us to censure the judge, court, district attorney and supreme judicial court," one of the politicians complained. When the legislature's exoneration (in 1957) of the Salem witches was cited, one committee-man related, "I had serious doubts about the propriety of the proceedings."

The committee's opposition showed through when they grabbed at the straw of testimony offered by the one speaker against the pardons. He was a Boston lawyer who represented a deceased juror of the Dedham trial. The juror had wished known "the integrity of the jury" and fairness of the judge. How that soothed the committee! Though they were all dead-tired (it was the thirteenth hour), they swarmed the lawyers for information as to how they could see the juror's manuscript on the trial. Would that simple juror—it was reported he "became so fascinated with what transpired in the courtroom that he afterward became a lawyer"—outweigh Frankfurter, Fraenkel, Ehrmann and Morgan? Well, at least in this one way: the juror's manuscript is reputed to contain some 4,000 pages.

Herbert B. Ehrmann, one of the defence lawyers for Sacco and Vanzetti in their last two years, stated in a letter to the committee that vindication "had best be left to the judgment of mankind guided by the records and opinions of qualified lawyers and scholars." "The Massachusetts Legislature is not constituted," he wrote, "to make an exhaustive study and evaluation of the evidence required to arrive at an authoritative opinion. Consequently a vote for or against such a pardon would be quite meaningless." In the end, on April 8, the committee took the slippery way out, deciding it was not proper to "pass resolutions which seek to influence the Governor in the exercise of his executive powers." Significantly, not one member stood as a man to dissent.

So much for the State House. The day after the hearing, North End Italians, recalling past decades, were suspicious of some renewed denigration of the Italian name. They wanted to know, "Why a pardon now that they're dust? Why not when they were alive?"

NORMAN THOMAS DI GIOVANNI.

Hungry for Affection

Continued from p. 2

could be exercised unobtrusively so that the children could be left alone to exercise their own powers of recuperation, camping was invaluable:

"The basis of discipline at camp much more obviously depends on the necessities of real-life situations, which directly affect the children, than upon adult impositions or conveniences about noise, cleanliness or tidyness. The success of any educational project is conditioned by the opportunities offered by the nature of the venture itself. It was Kropotkin and his followers who argued that one should organise things not persons. Yet some teachers, for example, fail to see that classroom discipline is an integral part, a symptom even, of their teaching method. And on the other hand just 'to leave children alone' with inadequate facilities is not to make them 'free' but to neglect them."

The lessons of this experiment are not new, they also emerged from (for instance) the work of August Aichhorn in Austria, Bruno Bettelheim in America, Homer Lane and many others in this country, but since, in spite of all the evidence, the "short sharp shock" method of dealing with juvenile delinquency has

been given a new lease of life in the last few years, Tony Weaver's account of his experience is timely. He reaffirms his belief that the basic needs of the individual are love, companionship and expression, and that through their satisfaction a person becomes mature.

"The task at Lammas was to generate a discipline based on persuasion rather than force, and to show the children, however hostile they might be, that we cared for them. The most difficult part of this was to protect the children from the public and the public from the children so that regression was possible. The three main opportunities we tried to provide were (a) for forming friendships and a relationship of approval with an adult; (b) time for long stretches of play to make up for what had been lost in early childhood; and from play (c) for a progression to constructive and creative work, and the development of intellectual interests."

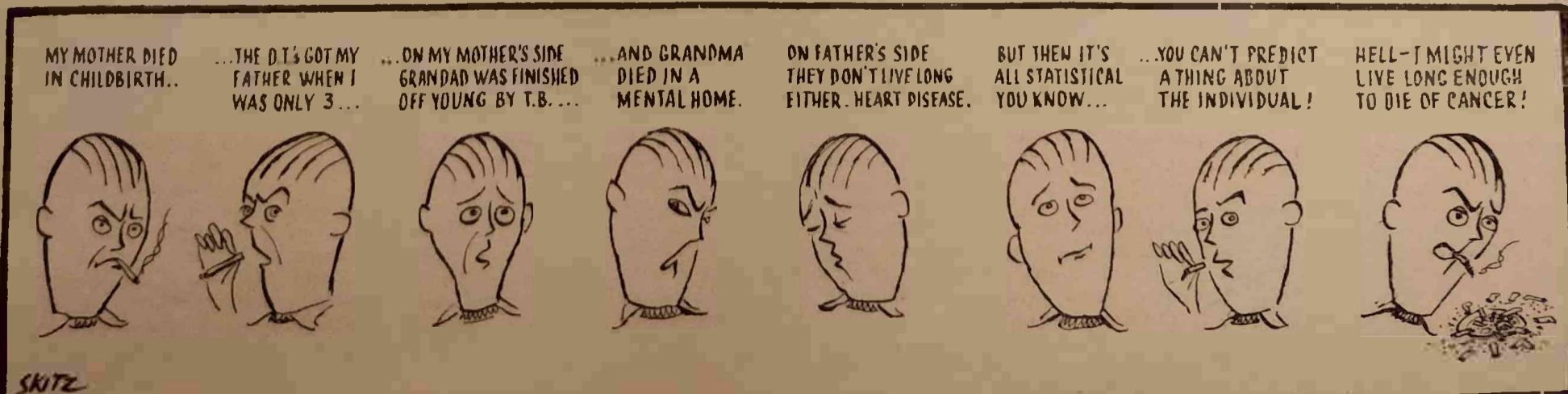
But beyond the successes and failures of this approach, is the feeling that behind the unhappiness of the children, something is lacking in the familial and social background, in the very texture of our lives.

C.W.

LUNG CANCER KILLS 20,000 A YEAR

"There is the strongest statistical evidence to show that the more cigarettes a man smokes the more liable he is to develop cancer of the lung," Lord Cohen of Birkenhead said in his opening address to the annual congress of the Royal Society of Health [at Harrogate on Monday]. Other factors played a part, he added, but this was now the commonest form of fatal cancer and responsible for about 20,000 deaths a year, predominantly of men in the prime of life. Each year the number increased by about a thousand.

Manchester Guardian, 28/4/59.



Must We 'Live' with the Bomb?

The Community House

WHATEVER else might be read into the report presented to the Council of Churches last week entitled "Christians and the Atomic War", one message contained in the following quotation is abundantly clear. It reads "somehow we have to live with nuclear weapons", a view which apparently ignores scientific evidence that it is precisely because we cannot live with nuclear weapons which makes the ending of tests and manufacture of these weapons imperative, and which warns mankind against the horrible world-wide effects of their actual use. To argue that we "have to live with them" is to accept the possibility that a time might come when they will be ranged against the "enemy", its people and "our own" citizens. Does the statement merely mean, however, (as a spokesman from the Council implied on the Radio on Friday, 24th April, in reply to Dr. Donald Sopers' criticism) that, since man has discovered nuclear weapons, he cannot shut out the knowledge of them at will? It means very much more than this, and it will not do for Christian apologists to argue in abstractions when confronted with their own ethic (which

claims a reverence for life) when, on other occasions they show a disregard for life. This report deals in practical politics as, for example, when it talks of Christian judgments (referring no doubt to Christian Pacifists) which are often "weak and irrelevant" because they have failed to take into account political and technical factors. We quote Dr. Soper's reply to this because it strikes us that his behaviour is consistent with what he preaches and his brand of Christianity more attractively universal. Whether we agree with him or not it has to be admitted that he stands out because he refuses to compromise on what he calls the absolute ethic of Christianity as taught by Christ, condemning the utilitarian attitude of official Christendom which has adjusted itself to practical politics and which expediently accepts the "necessity" of nuclear weapons. As this report states, the British Government "must have a defence policy and the means of carrying it out". It goes so far as saying that "deterrents should not be multiplied" on the doubtful basis that "the cer-

tainty of severe retaliation" will ensure that "some of the heat will go out of the race". These arguments are not borne out by experience. We can only suppose, therefore, that the main interest of the people who wrote this report and of the organisations they represent is in supporting Government policy. All we ask is that they do not confuse it with Christian ethics and justify the retention of nuclear weapons on these grounds which might be acceptable to many people who would otherwise reject them. It would be foolish to hope for a straightforward "moral lead" from an organisation like the British Council of Churches which owes its position to the fact that it is part of the established order. Many Christians will doubtless feel easier because leading Churchmen, have successfully bamboozled them into believing that nuclear weapons are necessary. It helps, too, the reluctance on the part of many people to accept unpleasant facts; millions will persuade themselves that "all this talk" about the ghastly results of nuclear war is exaggerated—and anyway it might never come! But people are not encouraged to face facts by their leaders until the time comes when acceptance of reality is necessary for the defence of the national state. The Church is always foremost in persuading people to play their patriotic part, and its pronouncements to-day, both officially and through affiliated organisations, on the issue of nuclear weapons, are as dishonest as they have been in the past. R.

HAVING had a practical interest both in building and community I must comment on Arthur Uloth's article of the 18th on the subject. Domestic building design and methods have not changed substantially since houses as we know them were first built, and indeed the Romans had better ideas of house heating than we have today. Any new ideas are resisted by the authorities and unless you are a well-known architect and have plenty of money it is practically impossible to depart from the orthodox in any substantial sense. Even those with money have difficulty; Humphrey Lytton had to contend with considerable opposition to a functional design for his purposes. When I was building a bungalow just after the war it took five years to get permission and three years to build and then one had to revert to a purely orthodox design. Space, light and a comfortable temperature are things which a functional dwelling should provide, but in most houses space is inadequate, light is inadequate and temperature control where it exists is expensive. With modern techniques there is no barrier to securing the optimum design; the greatest barrier is a psychological and social one. The uniseco building is perhaps a rudimentary type of building where a scientifically designed box beam of plywood and 2" x 1" timber can support quite a wide span of roof in which internal walls were not part of the structure. This is important as the ability to re-arrange internal divisions are important to functional changes such as alteration of proportion of children to adults, changes in occupational or leisure habits of the occupants, and the ability to entertain visitors. An American Anarchist visiting me some years ago, professionally an architect, suggested that there should be no floor to ceiling partitions at all but low shelves and cupboards, but this would have functional difficulties in an establishment where you have jazz and classics under the same roof, also adults and children under the same roof. Living in a communal atmosphere for a long time one realises the disadvantages of conventional design even in a large family and I have given much thought to design. The shape of the building suitable as an environment for free people I would say would be semi-circular, this design would give the optimum amount of light to

living quarters, the round side would face south or perhaps S.W. or Along the straight back could be rooms each side of the kitchen and bedrooms, in two floors if necessary. end-rooms reserved for those who north light for their work. The child could occupy the rooms one side of kitchen and adults the other. The structure to be made of pre-stressed concrete so that internal load-bearing kept to the minimum, internal partitioning could be removable and waterproof. External walls double floor and ceiling ducted to provide circuit air heating in the winter and air cooling in the summer with space conditioning and temperature control. The roof to provide a space for relaxation in the summer. The whole structure to stand on concrete pillars. It is rather difficult to describe one's concepts in words and people may think that is a bit premature to be thinking in terms of anarchist architecture and no doubt anarchists would produce many curious shapes, so I submit a few drawings to anarchist planning committee. ALAN ALBON Well, talk about blueprints! As suggests, we are passing on Com. Albon's drawings of his ideal house. RAPE (Revolutionary Architectural Planning Executive) and we await with breath its reactions.—Eds.

Castro's Progress

Continued from p. 1

he would now like to return to his civilian profession of law; anarchists commended his intention but doubted his will to carry it out. Castro was a card in the pack he had once shuffled. He was this because he was playing the rules of an old game. Bizarre though it may appear (yet not if one considers various puritanical aspects of his military campaign) Castro is unwittingly, involuntarily, even perhaps hating himself for doing so, playing the same game as Batista, Eisenhower, Khrushchev and others on that sad list. The game is the same and the rules, with minor regional variations, are the same. So various things began to happen. Rival groups were arrested. I am ignorant of the reasons given for the arrest of the student group at Havana university, and also of their political persuasion or lack of one. Nevertheless I would guess that the students represented a threat to the power of Castro. It is also a responsible guess that many other persons, grouped or otherwise, were arrested for safety sake. Then there was an order, issued by a self-constituted government only a few days old, requested to rule by no one, since no one had yet been given the opportunity to request, that firearms be turned into the militia groups. I assume that ownership of firearms was a crime against the old régime; now it was a crime against the new one. Castro made speeches up and down the country for a few days. He took passion off the boil, and when it was cool enough to be less likely to explode he began the voice of sweet reason to consolidate his power. The next stage was what prompted this article to be written: the present visit of Castro to the United States. No longer tragedian he is now a clown. In the interim an interesting event occurred.

Shortly after the Cuban revolt was over (and one suspects the planes were being chartered before the guns were cool) the biggest or most enterprising New York Public Relations firms sent their representatives across to Havana to bid for the account of the prerepresentatives of the Cuban Revolution. Surely, they must have pointed out, you're going to need the services of one of us. We realize you've had to say a lot of things you didn't mean, but allow us to set things right. Frankly we had to admire the way you've done things. We even admit that operating on your budget we couldn't have done any better ourselves. Put it this way, you know your market. All right, but believe us, you'll need our help in putting your message across in the States. The new Cuban Government signed on and it now has a Public Relations firm handling all publicity. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that a P.R. man handling the Castro account was at work planning the visits that Castro men have been making. For one thing there has been a lot of pumped-up publicity about the beards. Reports of vows that the Castro men would not shave their beards until Cuban freedom was complete, or some such thing. Then a month ago there was a crazy visit made by a troupe of deputy clowns, soldiers from Castro's army allowing themselves to be gayed as "good ambassadors", complete with beards and dirty old battle clothes, on a phoney visit to New York. These were brave men and it was pathetic to see the indignities they were allowing someone to subject them to. However, they did get a good press reception, even the Daily News which, as intended, delighted in the harmless news value of superficial trivia. Then the word "rebel" was quietly dropped. Finally Castro is over here himself, beard, glasses and battle dress still intact on a round of the revered national monuments, wreaths on hand for him to lay; seminar discussions at Princeton University on the American Revolutionary Tradition; "conferences" with Vice-President Nixon; a television question and answer deal. Guess what the questions were. Well, it turns out after all that Castro is for the West, for democracy, for foreign investments, for the U.S. naval base. In a state of war with Russia he would be on the side of the U.S. Cuba is going to live up to her international agreements. It seems Cuba has certain treaty obligations, which, Castro points out, have not been abrogated. Cuba is also going to have some elections, in about 18 months from now (odd how you can plan these things so accurately), not that the Cuban people are really interested, no, right now they have to get down to work to straighten out the economy. He was asked a question about the executions, which he countered by asking why were all those Batista men allowed to stay in Florida. An anarchist would like to put in one more question: Wasn't Fidel, to kill off the best of Batista's police? Where will you get yours from now? J.B.

The Church is always foremost in persuading people to play their patriotic part, and its pronouncements to-day, both officially and through affiliated organisations, on the issue of nuclear weapons, are as dishonest as they have been in the past. R.

The Free Society

DEAR COMRADES, The letter from F.B. criticizing my article on the relation between anarchism and libertarian communism is a good example of the exclusivist attitude I condemned. It is true that it is much easier to make propaganda when one has a cut and dried image of a future society to offer to enquirers. But the fact remains that anarchists are not in agreement with the exact nature of the economy of a free society, should it ever be established. Some do not even believe that such a society can be established and regard the role of the anarchist as one of permanent opposition to authority. While I do not go that far myself (I believe that man is potentially capable of living without authority), they have a case which cannot be disregarded. How can we, therefore, try to lump all anarchists under the banner of common ownership and make of an economic hypothesis an ex cathedra dogma? There are certain principles without an acceptance of which I do not consider one can be an anarchist, but common ownership is not among them.

THE ROAD TO ANARCHY

To The Editors of FREEDOM. DEAR SIRS, I would characterise the current issue of FREEDOM, 18th April, as the most contradictory ever published. That in it which gives a clear conception of anarchism, the interview with Herbert Read, is contradicted by all else in its columns; more particularly by that atrociously thoughtless heading, "Enjoying Anarchism Here And Now". My sense of proportion teaches me that anarchism will come the Herbert Read way and not by any of that hotch-potch of roads chaotically advocated in this celebrated April 18th number. Anarchism will be evolved through growth of knowledge of and revulsion from that historically hellish thing which power and authority can be and which is so graphically and forcefully portrayed in Somerset Maugham's "Cathina". Religious despotism has been killed by knowledge, but we are shadowed by a similar menace in the politics of today. It, too, knowledge will slay. If it be at all times remembered that knowledge is spread by teaching, which is exposition, and not by propaganda, which is exploitation. Yours sincerely, DAVID MACCONNELL. Bakewell, April 19.

It is for these reasons, together with those given in my article, that I dispute the view that anarchy is identical with communism and I cannot see that F.B. has in any way disproved them. On the contrary, his letter demonstrates that he has not understood one of the most important points of my article: that the "one basic factor" for "libertarian thought and action" is not common ownership, but the sovereignty of the individual. Indeed, there are some types of common ownership which are quite authoritarian in character—witness certain religious communities—just as there are some types of equality—like those of the barracks and the prison—which symbolise an equality of servitude rather than an equality of free men. In anarchy, I repeat, individuals would be as free to form economic groups based upon communist principles as they would be to form economic groups based upon individualist (or mutualist) principles. If we do not wish to place ourselves in the contradictory position of legislating for the future that is as far as we can go in describing the economy of a world founded upon our ideas. Yours fraternally, S. E. PARKER. London, April 17.

ANARCHY HERE & NOW DEAR COMRADES, On reading the third sentence, sixth paragraph of my letter published in last week's FREEDOM, I notice some ambiguity. The idea is not for one or more individuals to control necessities for the whole group. A centrally managed fund would not be anarchistic and there might be squabbles about expenditure. The intended suggestion was that every group member would be partly or wholly responsible for one or several group necessities such as rent, food, etc. Provision of guaranteed credit at specified shops would permit co-operation of members in different neighbourhoods. We could thus have a loosely-knit and flexible "community" running on a weekly basis without individuals having initially to change jobs or residence. Yours fraternally, PETER G. FEAK. London, April 22. c/o Freedom Bookshop.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENT

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Regular Sunday meetings now held "Marquis of Granby" Public House, Rathbone Street (corner of Percy Street), Rathbone Place and Charlotte Street, 7.30 p.m.

MAY 3.—Jack Robinson on IS WORK THE CURSE OF THE LABOURING CLASSES?

EAST LONDON DEBATING COMPETITION FINAL

At the City Literary Institute, Conced Room, Stukeley Street, (off Drury Lane, W.C.2.), on Friday, the 8th May, 1959 at 7.15 p.m.

THE MALATESTA CLUB (proposing)

THE CITY LITERARY DEBATING SOCIETY

"That the Challenge of the Modern Age is not met by present Western Values."

NEW YORK

MAY 8.—Sam Weiner on THE GROWTH OF THE MILITARY CASTE IN THE U.S.

MAY 15.—Vince Hickey on YOUTH AND SOCIAL CHANGE

MAY 22.—David Atkins of the "News and Letters" Group on ART AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

All Meetings will be held at THE LIBERTARIAN CENTER, 86 East 10th Street, New York City, U.S.A.

HELP us to FIND MORE NEW READERS

FREEDOM The Anarchist Weekly Postal Subscription Rates: 12 months 19/- (U.S.A. \$3.00) 6 months 9/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50) 3 months 5/- (U.S.A. \$0.75) Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies 12 months 29/- (U.S.A. \$4.50) 6 months 14/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25) Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers. FREEDOM PRESS 27 Rad Lion Street London, W.C.1. England Tel.: Chancery 8364

HOLDING ON TO THE 'SURPLUS'

Table with 2 columns: Description and Amount. Includes Deficit on Freedom (£340), Contributions received (£399), SURPLUS (£59), and 1959 TOTAL TO DATE (£399 12 11).

*Indicates regular contributor.