

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Power and abuse of power are synonyms."

—BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

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Threepence

## What the World Needs is

# MORE FOOD-LESS ATOMIC POWER!

AS we write the British Association for the Advancement of Science which is meeting this year in Cardiff, has devoted a whole day of its deliberations to the question of world population growth and the measures needed to deal with it. We are sure that the report of the speeches will contain much factual material of considerable interest as well as practical suggestions well within the grasp of modern technology and medical and agricultural science. It remains to be seen whether the scientists see the solution primarily as one of food production or as one of population control or, as we would hope, a combination of the two plus a social and economic revolution. For, without the latter (a) food production will not be increased except to raise the standard of living of the have-countries and (b) population control will take the form of some state-controlled programme of mass sterilisation or some equally sordid project lacking the human touch—and what subject demands the "human touch" more than that of reproduction?

AS anarchists the problem of "population" is first and foremost one of seeing to it that every human being has an equal opportunity of enjoying all that medical science can provide for maintaining health as well as the means for maintaining life in the form of food, shelter and clothing. We cannot view the problem as one of numbers which have to be controlled because, in the first place, there is no evidence that the food resources of the world have been stretched to their limit. And secondly because we cannot look upon the spreading of birth-control knowledge and the mass production of the appliances to implement it other than as a valuable means in the achievement of human freedom and dignity. That

is, birth control not as a means of solving the problem of the world's "hungry millions", or of controlling what the *Observer* last Sunday was calling the "Population Nightmare", but for providing human beings with the means for enjoying a full love-life without the inevitable burden of unwanted offspring.

Given this freedom to enjoy sexual love to the full and determine when it will result of offspring we have no reason to suppose that human beings will stop having children, or that being sure of being able to provide for them adequately they will not desire many children. All we can wish, or hope for is that only wanted children will be born in a world which is freed from the shackles of religious dogma and sexual taboos, and at the same time is equipped with the knowledge and act of love-making and that of reproduction. But while we can, with justification we think, assume that the result of a sexual revolution of this kind, will result in a fall in the birth rate in the world, we think there is no reason to suppose that there will be a decrease in the world's population. Indeed, better medical services and adequate nourishment for everybody in themselves will result in a growth of population.

TO approach the problem of mankind as one of numbers is self-defeating. Having provided everyone with the education and the means for controlling their offspring to the number they desire there is no other way of limiting population except by authoritarian degrees, punishments or such measures as sterilisation. Such action may be practicable for governments but we cannot believe any libertarian would be able to justify such drastic steps before the potential resources of the world have been exhausted. And as we should all know by now this

is not the case. One authority, Dr. Colin Clark, has calculated that the world could support at least 28 billion people, or 10 times the present population if all available land were farmed as scientifically as the Dutch now farm theirs. And if as much human ingenuity and energy were devoted to improving the quality and yield of our crops as is at present devoted to launching dogs into outer space who can doubt for one moment that food-production could not be noticeably increased from one year to the next?

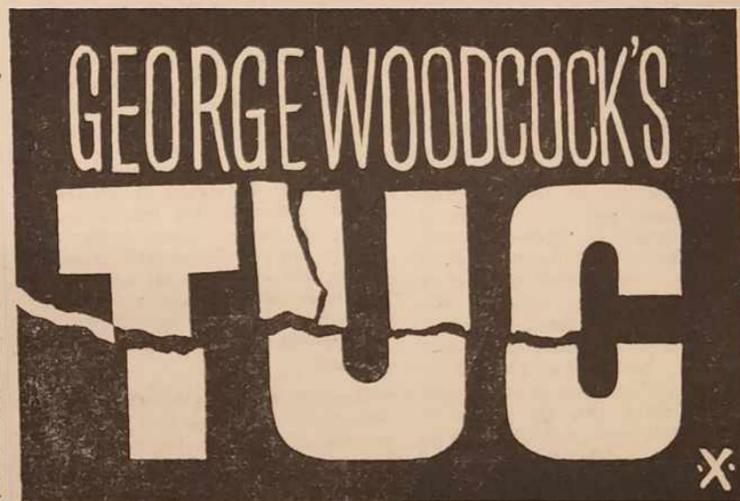
Apart from such considerations which some sceptics might argue are speculations, it is a fact that in many countries—and Britain is one of them—only the best land is cultivated. (One speaker at the British Association pointed out that though a third of the world's surface could be used for food production, only one-tenth was at present being used for this purpose). Furthermore in some countries such as the United States, governments consider it more economical to pay farmers not to cultivate their land than to pay subsidies for crops for which there are no "markets". Again in many other

countries (such as India and Venezuela) industrialisation results in the movement of population away from the land to the towns. In spite of this drift away from the land it appears that this year food production in the world has increased at a "slightly faster rate" than population increase. What spectacular increases could thus be achieved in

the immediate future if coupled with the increased productivity noted, no land were allowed to go out of production and at the same time more land was brought into production?

THE question that has to be asked is: why is it that the most vital industry for man's survival is at the same time the most neglected and depressed? The answer is a simple one which nevertheless needs to be shouted from the roof-tops for it is suppressed or distorted both by the Right and the Marxist-dominated

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## THE 'EFFICIENCY' OF CAPITALISM—OR

# The Million 'Stranded' T.V. Sets

DURING the last ten years, such pleasures as sitting on an almost deserted beach, or picnicking in leafy woods have been threatened by the possible arrival of a family with a portable radio set. More recently, science has bounded forward to the pocket transistor set, so that even when a person is actually walking down a quiet lane, he may be pursued by a fiend carrying such a source of "music".

However, there is a bright side to the story for some people, as can be seen from the *Observer* 28/8/60, whose column on popular finance deals with "Music in the Pocket". The *Observer*, one of the self-styled Quality Papers, devotes many of its pages to criticism of artistic and cultural questions, but is quite ready to provide its readers with financial chit-chat about various rackets including canned music in restaurants and railway stations, mentioned in *Freedom* last week, without saying a word about the values involved in these ways of making money. Perhaps the incomes of the high quality readers depend on the rest of the population continuing to put up with the low quality kind of life handed out to them by capitalist society.

From its report, we learn that the radio industry welcomes the chance to put this new gimmick into everybody's pocket, and more money into its own because the television market is drying up sooner than was expected.

The whole article is a gem in showing up the methods and problems of capitalism with reference to a particular product. The television manufacturers had reckoned that one day the market for their product would be saturated, but none of them had expected saturation to come so soon. The enterprising captains of finance, with their up and coming young graduate executives, whose desire for profits and power are supposed to provide the workers with employment and the consumers with goods, were caught out in their calculations. A final rush to unload stocks was begun, but was frustrated by the hire purchase restrictions of 1960.

Now if the only factors affected by this kind of manoeuvring were the discomfiture of the executives and the

profits of the shareholders, it would be easy to pass over it with mild amusement. In fact, the whole of our economic system is organised on these lines, and when wastage and inefficiency occur, the ones who lose are the workers whose labour and brains go into producing the wealth of the world, and not those who devote their talents to the organisation of other people's labour or the manipulation of finance, occupations which command high status and higher material rewards. Yet the majority of people in this country, and no doubt throughout Europe and other continents, in all classes and all political parties believe that the stimulus of the profit motive is one that gets things done, ensures efficiency and sees to it that human needs are satisfied: at worst it is accepted that if the profit motive has some bad aspects it does at least work.

The industrialists no doubt argue that it was the government's regulations that set them back, and resulted in one million TV sets getting stranded between the factories and the shops. However, none of them is volunteering to return to the régime of uncontrolled competition. Each little capitalist wants the government to pass regulations favourable to his business, to encourage his export schemes, to subsidise his new factories; and no doubt the methods of exerting pressure on the government to attain such ends would make the efforts of progressive ideological movements look amateurish. The radio industry apparently felt that having suffered in this way, the government owed it a living, an attitude usually ascribed only to working people.

Nevertheless, it is not content with expecting, it is taking measures to ensure that the flow of profits keeps up to normal by developing other sides of the market. Even under these circumstances, British concern for culture shines through, in the form of a conservative firm that still prefers to make sets on which one wouldn't be ashamed to listen to a concert. This attitude, the *Observer* forecasts may soon be broken down. The industry, its advertisers, their psychologists, public relations experts, market research interviewers will all join together to create a new need among the public,

triumphantly satisfy it, and keep the wheels of the opportunity state turning until some new fiasco of overproduction or miscalculation causes another readjustment.

This situation is rewarding to those who do not demand much. After having been educated by work-wear and emotionally resigned parents, a prostituted school system and the experiences of having to earn a living somehow or other, most people fall into this category. The skilled men and women who produced the million unwanted TV sets have the intelligence to do their jobs, but unfortunately few of them have so far been able to conceive that if their industry were organised to meet rational needs, instead of making profits, they could work less time, exercise more control over what they did, and even more important, produce much higher quality goods and enjoy a much higher sense of social usefulness. This criticism applies not only to the 'workers', but to the hangers-on on the management side of things, who have often acquired important knowledge during higher education, but are still so uneducated in their feelings and awareness of life that they use that knowledge for the most trivial ends conceivable.

The technical objections to an economy based on production to meet needs can easily be disposed of. Collecting and supplying information, collating plans for production, developing the best possible products under every set of circumstances would be simple problems in an age of electronic computers and social surveys, provided the human element was favourable. That remains the fundamental problem. While only a tiny minority of the population are dissatisfied with the present inefficient and dehumanised set-up, their schemes for replacing it and elaborating plans for a different order will at best remain sketchy. As more people become discontented and come to want a change, the questions of how things could be arranged differently will become amenable to more fruitful discussion. Perhaps this will even provide a field for the brains at present wasted on making and selling things that no-one really wants.

P.H.

## In Brief

### W. German Rearmament Up

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BONN, SEPTEMBER 2.

The West German Government today announced a record budget of 44,860,000,000 marks (about £3,750 millions) budget for 1961. It calls for increased spending for defence, roads, and social benefits.

One-quarter of the budget will go to defence (almost £1,000 millions) a record, and about £142 millions more than the amount for the current year. The increased defence spending was decided on "to enable Germany to fulfil its duties to NATO," said a Ministry of Finance spokesman.

The budget is more than £250,000,000 higher than the present one. About £175 millions will be spent on roads, about £18 millions more than this year. (British United Press).

### S. African Exports Up

JOHANNESBURG, AUGUST 19.

Preliminary trade figures officially issued today in Pretoria show that South Africa's exports in the first seven months of this year were of a total value of £418 millions—an increase of about £37.6 millions compared with the same period last year.

An extra £23 millions' worth of merchandise—including wool, fruit, fish,

raw materials, and fissionable material—was exported and £14 millions more gold bullion. Imports rose by £43.6 millions to £327.7 millions. (Guardian).

### American Unemployment Up

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY.

Is America heading into a new recession? This was a question to be asked in whispers until a few days ago. Now it is out in the headlines, and the political significance of it could be decisive for the Democrats.

President Eisenhower says the economy is stable and prosperous and he can see no signs of recession or depression.

Economists, on the other hand, are saying an "inventory recession" is already here.

The steel industry is operating at only just above 50 per cent. of capacity—the lowest level since the war.

While unemployment is not at a danger level there are a number of key political States, such as Pennsylvania, Ohio and California where idle steel mills are becoming an important factor in the election campaign.

The crux of the problem, as so often since the war, is car sales. There are now more than a million new cars unsold in the dealers' shops. (News Chronicle).

# PSYCHOLOGY AND ITS VICTIMS

MODERN Psychology, whether it includes psychoanalysis or not, seems dangerous to the layman. Nowadays one meets psychologists everywhere, in school, office, jail, factory and clinic, and one is afraid by the magical efficiency which is supposed to tell which studies one could undertake, which job one should choose, which "complexes" one must suffer from. Your I.S. (intelligence quotient) states if you are intelligent or if you are a half-wit, your Rorschach test (ink-blot projective technique) tells if you are normal, your Rosenzweig (picture-frustration study) shows how badly you could behave if you were in trouble. Little escape is left, nearly no activity being outside the field explored by psychology and the psychologists using aptitude and ability tests, intelligence tests, personality interest and attitude inventories, achievement and reading tests, electronic chronoscopes, and what not. Sometimes, after a psychological examination, one feels not only exhausted but also frustrated, one would like to ask: what entitles the psychologist to be so affirmative about a person's abilities, intelligence or personality? What sort of truth may we expect to find in the discoveries of psychology? Is the psychologist able to be fair in his statements or is he biased, being another technocrat craving to enslave mankind even more?

Being a psychologist myself, I could only answer a few of these disturbing questions, and say that a "real" psychologist is never very affirmative, that our work is often distorted by the social conditions we live in, that psychology can be biased but is not always so. As I still believe in psychology, while I accept many of the criticisms made by the layman, I must admit that the use of psychology in school, office, jail, factory and clinic serves generally the purpose of maintaining intact the present-day society. Nevertheless, I'm still entitled to point out some trends in psychology showing that this particular science may be used, and is sometimes used, to serve a different purpose and

may be conceived as one of the tools which could help to change the present world.

Social psychology will first help us to give examples. In "Frustration and Aggression", by J. Dollard and al., we find reference to a case of correlation between lynchings and economic indices. Holland and Sears, having compared the evolution of cotton per acre prices, in the Southern States of U.S.A. from 1882 to 1930, with the annual number of lynchings have discovered the high correlation linking low prices to high brutality. D. S. Thomas studying the social aspects of the business cycle found also a correlation between the use of violence and the fall of economic indices. Such discoveries, it seems, would help the humanist opinion stating that many social problems cannot be solved by tribunal or church, but demand to be defeated by an uprooting of material causes.

In the same pattern, we will discover some studies having chosen the armed forces as field of observation. While the colonel gets ready to enlist all men and women and wonders how to persuade everybody that war is always legitimate and that the armed forces are sacred, the psychologist is sometimes able to examine colonel and army, to stress a few causes of the important number of neurotics, alcoholics and mal-adjusted people found in that area. Mr. C. Kramer, with the help of projective techniques, proved that the military social group is something very different from the average civilian social group that the values it praises are entirely different, that the living conditions it imposes create higher frustration, mental disease and anti-social trends, that a professional military must be considered as a special type of being living in a pathogenic surrounding, with very specific personal, social and sexual problems.

It is of great importance to notice, furthermore, that modern psychology emphasizes nowadays the unique structure of personality. Pr. Rosenzweig, for instance, demonstrated that the individual has often been subordinated, in scientific psychology, to the generalized human being. At first, abstract laws seemed to be applicable to anyone, and the psychologist had no more interest for the individual person than the chemist has interest for the individual lemon. Later on, with Galton and psychometrics, it is the average man "so much like the generalized man" who became an object of interest with more reference to the group average than to the proper individual structure. When psychology is used in school, office, jail,

factory and clinic, the psychologist and statistics are mostly concerned with the study of a social unit and they still don't consider an individual as such (hence the feeling of frustration and cheating felt by the victim of psychometrics!). Progressively, the psychologists realize, under the spell of psychoanalysis, phenomenology and finer psychometric techniques, that the individual must occupy the centre of their attention. After universal norms, group norms and social norms, it seems necessary to apply to the individual his own norm and to judge him "in terms of himself" by adequate methods. When psychology will be able to understand that "unique world of events" a person represents, there could be important consequences for the general treatment society imposes on the individual.

Thirty years ago G. Politzer had already criticized the classical psychology which he accused of being too abstract, too general and too impregnated of religious thought. It is easier, of course, to deal with soul and body, than to understand the unique principle of the organism. Modern psychology, it is sad to say, still uses those ancient categories inspired by religion. But if we forbid ourselves to dwell upon the subject in terms of body and soul, which explain nothing, how should we study a person?

Politzer made clear that psychology was incapable of explaining entirely the

human behaviour: man has a History as well as he has a biological being. Man lives inside of determined culture, where social, economical and political rules and laws govern his actions. So that we cannot expect the restricted psychological explanations to cover the entire field which includes economic, social and political determinisms. Psychology is still necessary, of course, as long as its interest remains mainly in the human "drama", that is the world of events which is his own. G. Politzer, like S. Rosenzweig, advocates a scientific psychology centered around the specific structure of the concrete individual, but being a marxist, he suggests also that marxian economics only are able to explain the entire social determinism—which point could be discussed. Still, where physiology is concerned, Politzer makes clear that the existence of the brain is necessary to explain thought, but that explanation doesn't entirely explain all psychological realities. Psychology is as well "outside" of the brain, in the social history and the background of the individual. Thanks to his history, so to speak, a person is more than his physiology (or should we admit that between a Prime Minister, a Queen, a Judge, an Officer, a Policeman and a Humanist there are main physiological differences?). What is more, the importance of the physiological determinism is thus reduced, and the might of the socio-economical determinism is consequently stressed.

FREEDO

One must keep in mind that all psychologists are not radicals, that in cases the psychologist is paid by State or Trade to keep things going smooth. So one understands easily why so much conformity is so much praised by some psychologists. They claim that a responsible, mature, adjusted person, a high rate of group conformity as manages to keep "out of trouble". As to be out of trouble, in the present day society, means to be healthy. To accept common patriotism, colonial wars, injustice, church, police and army, this is a good sign of mental health because it shows the range of our group conformity. How nice! Alas, some psychologists and sociologists since Reich, A. Comfort and others have made clear that a social group may be considered as "sick" as a person! According to these authors, there are societies where life, the kind of people are obliged to live, is unhealthy where the healthy person has to repress group conformity for the sake of his own health. . . . Needless to say to such a subversive point of view is generally accepted because the scientist is not always capable of facing conflict with the rulers who employ and pay him and who are only too willing to enforce social conformity! Science might also represent a danger to them, especially when it would prove that

"There cannot exist in this world peace, nor tranquility as long as every human is honoured and respected by every other man."

CHARLES DEVANON

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## BOOK REVIEW

### They Chose England

THE British Empire grew for a long time, and then it began to shrink; this simple process had some curious effects. For many years thousands of people left this country for the colonies and many of them settled there. There is still a trickle of emigration, in particular to the white dominions, but since the War immigration into England from the Commonwealth has grown steadily. London, like Rome or Constantinople in earlier days, has become a place of pilgrimage or even settlement for South Africans, Rhodesians, New Zealanders, Canadians; also for Americans and Irish; and, more interestingly, for Indians, West Indians and West Africans. This is a new phenomenon that is well worth studying, and this symposium\*, which is the third in the series that began with *Declaration* (1957) and *Conviction* (1958), consists of ten essays written by people from each of these groups who were

asked, according to the very dull Preface by Timothy O'Keeffe, "to give their impressions of England today and to say why they decided to live here."

Such a collection cannot help being interesting, but it is very uneven in quality. The only single impression I get from it is that this country is still in some odd way the nucleus of the English-speaking world—not in terms of wealth or power or wisdom or prestige, but in some other indefinable and perhaps more important terms. To a South African, it is a sort of refuge; to a Rhodesian, it was "a grail" to a West African, a place of education and adventure; to an Indian, a place where "cultural capital" could be drawn and artistic identity found; to an Australian and a New Zealander, it is "the source"; to a West Indian, it is—however cruel—"home"; to a Canadian, it is fun; to an Irishman, a place where one can get work and food; and to a very peculiar American, it seems to have been the only way out of a mad-house.

But why do these people and all the others stay in England's grey and gloomy land? To people of English stock ("Europeans"), it is of course the motherland, in however ambiguous a way that can be interpreted. To people from the Commonwealth who have any sort of intellectual and cultural interests, it is somehow metropolitan when their colonies and dominions are aggressively provincial. Novelists like Doris Lessing, Dan Jacobson and Mordecai Richler obviously prefer to live and work where novels are read more widely and appreciatively than in Rhodesia, South Africa

or Canada. But this doesn't explain why J. P. Donleavy (whose novel, *The Ginger Man*, is still banned here in the Olympia Press edition) should stay in England rather than in Dublin or Paris, nor does it explain the strange transatlantic exchange of Henry James, T. S. Eliot and Donleavy for Huxley, Auden and Isherwood. As for Abioseh Nicol, Merrill Ferguson and Victor Anand, England has so battered West Africa, the West Indies and India that their culture, language, education and everything else are inevitably dominated by the bullying motherland beyond the seas—rather as Britain itself was by Rome in 290 A.D.

Indeed, one of the remarkable things that does emerge clearly from this book is the continuing power and influence of the English language. It is extraordinary and rather humbling to read how people in every part of the world grow up on a diet of English books and wonder what sort of place it is that produces them. In this context Brian Behan is only one in a long and magnificent line of Irish writers who have lived in England and have spent half their energy belabouring their hosts and the other half keeping English literature alive (from Swift and Sterne down through Wilde and Shaw to the other Behan brother, Brendan)—even if his reason for leaving Ireland was simply "poverty".

Another thing that is quite clear is the disappointment nearly everyone feels as soon as they arrive here. For Brian Behan and Merrill Ferguson this dis-

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## CINEMA

### Something Nasty in the Woodshed

BY a curious coincidence I saw two Hitchcock films within ten days but the gap between them was thirty years: *Blackmail* (1929) at the National Film Theatre, and *Psycho* (1960) on General Release.

They have their common denominators, the murder by knife, the hand clutching at a curtain, the fascination of staircases for Hitchcock, and the trade-mark of an appearance by Hitchcock in a "bit" part, but the gap between them is the whole of thirty years.

*Blackmail* was made in Britain with a German-speaking star with a dubbed English voice. The basic plot was trite but it had the uncommon angle of a detective conniving in allowing another man to take the blame for his sweetheart's crime. Hitchcock has always had this "gimmick" (it wasn't called that in 1929) of amorality.

His pieces have always been entertainments like crossword puzzles or detective stories but his facility for "gimmicks" has led him to take up whatever was new in the psychological field. It may have only been the trick of the word "knife" grating on the guilty girl's consciousness in *Blackmail* or more subtle studies but as history has peopled the collective unconscious of us all with the horrors of Belsen, Hiroshima, Dachau, Nagasaki, Karaganda, Auschwitz, Dresden and Sharpeville, the shock impact has to be greater, and Hitchcock's films have gone into a spiral of greater and greater psychological complexity. Hitchcock's strength in his early days was his knowledge of Freud, his later weaknesses are to be found in Krafft-Ebing.

*Psycho* is a maze of gimmicks includ-

ing the most irritating one, that of presentation. We all know the cinema is fighting for its survival and one of its weapons is the Big Show which adopts the theatrical idea of non-continuous performances with intervals and booked seats but to put it over as all being under the personal threat of Alfred Hitchcock is childish to say the least.

As for the threat as to what would happen to a critic who divulged the plot this too is fatuous. In any case I believe Shakespeare used the plot in one of his plays. The construction of a detective story is always beset with perils, this one has an oversize red herring, and at least once the audience is cheated. As a general principle the idea of the most unlikely person is over-worked, authors realize this and use the double bluff, but the double bluff is in danger of overwork too. This film has a double-double bluff. Hitchcock is losing the strength of simplicity.

Another factor making for complexity and "daring" on the screen is the fact that television is for "family" audiences and now the cinema must, if it is to survive, show something that television cannot show, even if it's only a W.C. pedestal in a first flush of careless rapture, so themes are introduced in the cinema which it is doubtful ever found their way on to the screen before. Necrophilia, transvestism, homosexuality, atheism, Oedipus complex, anarchism, pacifism and lot of other dirty words have found their way on to the screen, some of them in *Psycho*.

The screen is growing up but some of the things in the woodshed are pretty horrible. J.R.

*And I will war, at least in words (and—should  
My chance so happen—deeds), with all who war  
With Thought;—and of Thought's foes by far most rude,  
Tyrants and sycophants have been and are.  
I know not who may conquer; if I could  
Have such a prescience, it should be no bar  
To this my plain, sworn, downright detestation  
Of every despotism in every nation.*

*It is not that I adulate the people:  
Without me there are demagogues enough,  
And infidels, to pull down every steeple,  
And set up in their stead some proper stuff.  
Whether they may sow scepticism to reap hell,  
As in the Christian dogma rather rough,  
I do not know;—I wish men to be free  
As much from mobs as kings—from you as me.*

*The consequence is, being of no party,  
I shall offend all parties:—never mind!  
My words, at least, are more sincere and hearty  
Than if I sought to sail before the wind.  
He who has nought to gain can have small art: he  
Who neither wishes to be bound nor bind,  
May still expatiate freely, as will I,  
Nor give my voice to slavery's jackal cry.*

—BYRON (*Don Juan*, Canto 9).

# THE NEW SOCIAL INVESTIGATORS—I

## Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 21, No. 37, September 10, 1960.

### More Food—Less Atomic Power!

Continued from p. 1

For the Capitalists investment industry is much more profitable in agriculture. This may seem obvious in view of the fact that after the demand for food is universal it represents a market which will grow when all others have disappeared. (For capitalism, investment in a factory to can tomatoes or produce canned tomato-soup is more profitable than growing and retailing fresh tomatoes). Undoubtedly production (as opposed to food processing) is a chancy business, unlike the factory and the mine whose every movement can be controlled, is dependent on climate and other factors which man is unable to control completely. Agriculture, furthermore, has not been so completely subjected to monopolist control as Big Industry. The result that neither producer nor prices can be controlled or determined by a "ring" of manufacturers (though it is true that wheat, rice, cocoa, sugar, etc. prices are controlled by government agencies on a world level). Bumper crops depend perhaps as much on sun and rain as on scientific farming. There is no knowing how the season will turn out; whereas the wheels of industry can be made to turn at a rate determined by the distributors, managers and "the markets". In industry more profits are made though the turnover has dropped. In agriculture a bumper harvest may spell economic disaster for the farmer if all farmers enjoy a bumper crop at the same time! In such situations it is often more profitable for them to gather only half their crop and to allow the other half to rot or go to seed.

On their side the Marxist-Left are dominated by the idea that only through the building up of heavy industry will the under-developed countries raise their standards of living and education, and the people win their freedom. Whilst agreeing that man does not live by bread alone we must protest that neither does he live by the construction of steel mills and hydro-electric installations! We are not opposed to industrialisation. What we do maintain however, is that especially in the under-developed two-thirds of the world, if industrialisation is not geared to the needs of the land then not only will the standards of living of those in need remain unchanged, but also such industrialisation will further damage agriculture by attracting people away from the land to the city slums. This after all, has happened in India, and Venezuela, where behind the ever-growing magnificence of Caracas are more and more hungry people who have learned the hard way that one does not live by oil alone.

★

It was thus a pleasant change to read that at the recent meeting in Israel between leading scientists and the representatives of new African and Asian States these very points were made. In the *Observer* report (Aug. 21) it was put this way:

The two main scientific needs for underdeveloped countries are not atomic power or electronic devices, but medicine and basic technical education.

Dr. Caulker, Vice-Principal of Fura Bay University, Sierra Leone shook delegates with his statement that

eight out of 10 babies born in Sierra Leone died before they were one. His country, 31,000 square miles in area,

THE discussion in last week's FREEDOM of Richard Titmuss's broadcast on "The Irresponsible Society" focusses attention on the new "school" of social investigation which has grown up under his inspiration in "the age of passive ignorance about the obscure powerless groups" the age of the shrug.

Cast your mind back twenty years. Not to Dunkirk, the fall of France and the months of waiting for the blitz to begin, but to the changes on what was called the 'Home Front' associated with these events. Children were evacuated from the great cities, and in the 'reception areas' people looked at these strange animals, swapped stories about their insanitary habits, their ignorance of civilised behaviour, and wondered (or the more thoughtful of them did) what kind of environment had produced them. Men were being conscripted for military service, and in some areas they were men who had never had a job since they left school years before at the age of 14. The military authorities were appalled by the evidence of malnutrition, physical unfitness and illiteracy (as they had been under similar circumstances at the time of the South African War and the First World War). In anticipation of huge military and civilian casualties, the Emergency Medical Service sought to co-ordinate the hospitals, and, in doing so, revealed the great variation in their standards and the gaps in the medical 'coverage' of the population. The needs of total war, which embraced the total population, brought changes in social policy among the governing classes, changes in social feelings among the middle classes, and the climate of opinion to press for long-shelved social reforms, and greater demands from the working classes, since as the saying goes, the bosses' need is the workers' opportunity. As the historian of war-time social policy observes:

"In this context, the Education Act of 1944 becomes intelligible; so does the Beveridge Report of 1942 and the National Insurance, Family Allowances and National Health Service Acts. All these measures of social policy were in part an expression of the needs of war-time strategy to fuse and unify the conditions of life of civilians and non-civilians alike. In practice, as we have seen, this involved the whole community in accepting an enlargement of obligations—an extension of social discipline—to attend to the primary needs of all citizens."

★

NOW cast you mind back ten years. The Labour Government had put into effect the legislation which resulted

with a population of 2,500,000, had 50 doctors only.

"At the top of my shopping list I put health. We need many more doctors, nurses and public health workers, and we need experts to research on the even greater problem of preventing disease." Poor health was usually found to be the cause of academic lethargy, so the question of health was even more vital than education.

Professor Saul Adler, of Israel's Hebrew University, also said that health was the most pressing of all African problems. The whole of the African continent was suffering from malnutrition, which must be remedied before progress could be made. But control of disease must be accompanied by an agricultural revolution.

Yes, what is needed is an "agricultural revolution", in the kinds of food we grow, in the way we grow them and where, and how we distribute them. But before such a revolution is possible the world itself must undergo a social revolution. For it is no coincidence that so far we have been more interested in Atoms than in wheat, in motor cars than in tractors, in soap flakes rather than fertilisers, in cosmetics rather than insecticides, in land left fallow while millions of hungry people cry out for food. For today the world is run by a few industrial and financial trusts concerned with the business of making their money earn more money. They are not interested in the problem of how the other half of the world lives. But it should interest us, the people, who even in the more prosperous half of the world are at the mercy of the Trusts no less than the starving millions elsewhere.

When will this agitation for more food begin?

from this war-time mood, and went to the polls to gain a much-reduced majority as a prelude to its subsequent succession of electoral defeats. The myth of the "Welfare State" was being built up. This myth took several forms: one was that 'womb-to-tomb' security was now universal, another was that vast numbers of idle people were 'living off the Welfare State', another was that the social services only existed for a portion of the population—those who took out more than they put in. The whole mythology was accompanied by a barrage of sneers and moralising comments about National Health false teeth, the breakdown of the family because of the diminished sense of personal responsibility, and so on, while people who had never known insecurity jeered at the security-seeking mania of the working-class. At the same time the Labour Party was reproaching us for not being grateful to them for the achievement of the Welfare State.

Today however, we are able to explode some of the myths of the Welfare State, we are able to examine it with greater accuracy and sophistication, and perhaps more constructively, thanks to the work of a quite small group of social investigators during the last ten years. The 'father' of this group, though he would deny it, is Professor Richard Titmuss, who began his working life as an insurance clerk when he was 15. As the author of some books on population questions which had been read by the official in the Cabinet Office in charge of the Civil History of the last war, he was summoned to Whitehall to write the volume which eventually appeared in 1950, *Problems of Social Policy*, and this in turn led him to edit W. J. Braithwaite's curiously-titled memoirs *Lloyd George's Ambulance Wagon*, about the origins of

the social legislation introduced by the Liberal government before the first World War. These works, and Titmuss's lecture *War and Social Policy* provide more evidence than we have ever been able to gather together, to support the contention that the welfare State is a product of the warfare state, or as he concluded in that essay, that

"The aims and content of social policy, both in peace and war, are thus determined—at least to the substantial extent—by how far the co-operation of the masses is essential to the successful prosecution of war."

★

IN 1950 Titmuss was appointed Professor of Social Administration at the London School of Economics, and in the decade since then, he and his colleagues, pupils and associates have produced a stream of statistical, sociological and economic studies, which together with other investigations, throw a great deal of light, not only on the dark corners of the welfare state, but on the forces that influence it, and the direction in which it is going. Apart from those in specialist journals, many of these studies have appeared in book form, and they make an impressive list: Titmuss & Abel-Smith: *The Cost of the National Health Service* (1956); J. P. Martin: *Social Aspects of Prescribing* (1957); R. Titmuss: *Essays on the Welfare State* (1958); J. Vaizey: *The Costs of Education* (1959); P. Townsend: *The Family Life of Old People* (1957); Young and Wilmott: *Family and Kinship in East London* (1957); P. Marris: *Widows and their Families* (1958).

The last three of these books are the products of the Institute of Community Studies, founded by Michael Young in

1954, which has greatly affected the study of the family in this country. (Mention should also be made, because of its implications, of Mr. Young's fantasy *The Rise of the Meritocracy*, and of the contributions of Messrs. Abel-Smith and Townsend to the symposium *Conviction*, and of John Vaizey's article in the compilation *The Establishment*.)

No-one can say that this group have not been active. What does their work add up to? Primarily, to the destruction of the various welfare state myths. They have shown that the middle-class draws more in benefit from the welfare state than the working class. They have shown that the middle class benefits more from the public education system than the working class. They have shown that the *working class* pays more into the social services than it draws out. They have shown that, far from having an equalising effect, the social services are actually "enlarging and consolidating the area of social inequality."

They have shown in consequence that most of the things that are said and written about the welfare state are the expression of either hope or prejudice, unsupported by facts, and they have done this simply by taking the trouble to analyse statistics and undertake surveys. But apart from turning many stereotyped opinions upside-down, the new social investigators, who are mainly supporters, if critical ones, of the Labour Party, have proposals of their own on the future pattern of social policy and social welfare. It is here that we are likely to disagree with their assumptions, and while welcoming their diagnoses, may be sceptical about their remedies.

(To be continued).

C.W.

## The Science of Man

HISTORICALLY, an interest in other societies seems to have been correlated with an expansion of one's own civilization. In the ancient world the spread of Greek and, later, of Roman influence produced many accounts of the ways of the "barbarians". Some of these early writers can still be read with pleasure and profit today. Herodotus and Tacitus are examples. Centuries later, Europe again expanded and again was created a literature from which much ethnological information can be sifted. The books and journals of thousands of travellers, missionaries and explorers, from Marco Polo on, provide a vast amount of knowledge about non-European societies.

The awakening of interest in non-European peoples was fired by the—in European eyes—exotic and scandalous nature of many of their practices. Sometimes, the reaction was one of moral contempt or condemnation—as witness the term "benighted heathen". Just as often, however, this reaction was tempered by moral titillation. The European mind, stifled by criminal laws, brotherly love and sexual inhibitions, was fascinated by reports of cannibalism, head-hunting, sexual promiscuity, painful initiation rites, nudity and similar practices. Even today, the South Seas has not quite lost its romantic aura. Those who wrote about alien societies were not always concerned merely to note what they observed or to pander to their readers' curiosity but sometimes had a didactic purpose. Tacitus, in his *Germania*, and Rousseau and Diderot, in their writings, do not assume the absolute superiority of their own civilization. They felt that Roman man and European man had something to learn from the barbarians and primitives. Many modern anthropologists, e.g. Margaret Mead, have shared this conviction without, however, sharing the illusions about the "noble savage".

What connection has all this with modern anthropology? The connection becomes clear if one believes, as I do, that there is, and should be, an intimate association between the sciences and common life. On this view, the origins of chemistry, for example, are to be found at the point in history at which men first began to manipulate the properties of matter; not when certain men first began carrying out chemical experiments in laboratories. So, too, the origins of anthropology are to be sought, not in the universities, but in the "noble savage" literature and the innumerable

descriptions of "manners and customs". It is not until the nineteenth century, however, that some men started thinking of themselves as anthropologists and it is with the nineteenth century that H. R. Hays begins his *From Ape to Angel* (Methuen, 36/-). His book, subtitled "an informal history of social anthropology", is divided into four parts each dealing with a particular stage in the development of the subject. In the preface we are told that:

"This book attempts to tell the hitherto untold story of social anthropology. It sketches the extraordinary world of curious ethical, religious, and marital custom revealed by the research of field workers who went to live among primitive and exotic tribes. It also traces the inception and development of various schools of ethnological thought in terms of the lives and activities of the leading scholars who forged the science. In telling the story an effort has been made to set these scholars in the intellectual backgrounds of their times and to show how their insights have played a dramatic role in the making of the modern mind" (p. 19).

He is not quite right about the "hitherto untold story" as there are, in fact, at least three other accounts of the rise of the science, of which A. C. Haddon's *History of Anthropology* (available in *The Thinkers' Library*) is reputed the best. *From Ape to Angel* has the advantage of being more comprehensive, more clearly and interestingly written and more attractively produced than any of the others. Mr. Hays is not himself an anthropologist but, judging from the bibliography, is extremely well-read in both the classics on the subject and more recent works. Another of his merits is that he is not afraid to assert the relevance of anthropology and, by implication, the other sciences to an understanding of man's place in nature. As he puts it: "For the first time we are truly beginning to view man as a social animal, to assess the individual's aspirations and capabilities, not in terms of supernatural motivations or intuitive philosophy but in a perspective of social meaning" (p. 406).

Broadly speaking, the first three parts of the book—those entitled "The Classical Evolutionists", "The Critical Reaction" and "Diffusion and Sociology" respectively—deal with anthropology in the phase when, although conscious of itself, it was still in an essentially pre-scientific stage of development. Anthropology became conscious of itself at

about the time that men were becoming aware of the discrepancy between religious and scientific accounts of the universe and of man's place in it. It could no longer seriously be denied that the existence of the world reached back through aeons of time before 4004 B.C. Evolutionary theory was beginning to be applied to fields outside biology. It is not surprising that false analogies were drawn between social and biological organisms, or that attempts were made to trace human institutions to their origins in the distant past. The encyclopaedic compilations of Sir James Frazer, of Westermarck, of Robert Briffault are the monuments of this phase of anthropology. Their books are still fascinating to read because they are storehouses of ethnological information but the theories they set out to prove have been discredited or are regarded as unverifiable.

The limitation of this kind of evolutionism is that it is fundamentally unscientific. Beliefs and practices are not studied and analysed in the context of the real societies in which they exist but are torn out of that context and arranged in an evolutionary scale which purports to represent the actual historical development of the type of institution of which they are examples.

The same procedural defect marked the contributions to another of the burning questions of this phase. Where there was an apparent resemblance between beliefs and practices occurring in different parts of the world did this mean that they had been diffused or had they been independently invented? The significance of any cultural trait lies in the function it has in the society to which it belongs and not in resemblances to traits in other societies. But instead of analysing the actual functioning of beliefs and practices in real life the diffusionists and their opponents followed the lead of the evolutionists and tore traits from the living cultural context. A well-known and extreme representative of this school was G. Elliot Smith who sought to prove the Egyptian origin of such practices as mummification, sun-worship and stone monuments.

Before a rational understanding of society could be arrived at it was necessary for anthropologists to concern themselves with real societies and to analyse the functional interrelationships of aspects of culture. The first comprehensive statement of functionalism is associated with Bronislaw Malinowski. His

Continued on p. 4

# Hope in Asia?

DEAR COMRADES,

To reply to N.W.'s comments:

(1) Rome united a large portion of what is now Europe. Hobbes said, "The Roman Catholic Church is the ghost of the Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof." Both Christianity (Catholic and Protestant) and secular republicanism stem in part at least from the Romans. Both these traditions believe in the state, to which all have to submit. We know a great deal of the persecuting zeal of the Christians, who could not bear that any should be outside their spiritual kingdom. We hear less criticism of the secular branch of the same tradition, which blossomed after the French Revolution, but it is equally totalitarian. The concept of the man as citizen, the "rule of law", the nation "one and indivisible" and so on, these are late eighteenth century developments of the Roman idea. They lead logically to "1984", despite the slogan "liberty, equality and brotherhood".

It is difficult to believe that these ideas could have come out of pre-Roman Europe, whose inhabitants were living in tribes, and probably had much the same outlook on life as the Red Indians. I thought I made the point myself that it was not until the Christianisation of Europe that the continent acquired self-consciousness in the modern sense. But if there had not already been a tradition of centralisation in Europe, when this conversion took place, what would have happened would have been the flowering of a multitude of different sects, similar to the different forms that Hinduism can take in India. In fact this very nearly did happen.

(2) "Industrialism facilitated economic domination, but political conquest was already possible before 1800 because of superior scientific and technical knowledge..." It depends what you mean by "conquest". The Industrial Revolution in Britain was already under

way by 1800. India had already been seized, but China, much of Africa and a good slice of North America were still outside the effective power of Europe.

If Europe had not developed the steam-engine, the electric telegraph and the quick-firing gun these conquests would probably have been relatively short-lived. Some backward European countries, Spain and Portugal did in fact lose most of their empires. These very countries were the ones which did not have an Industrial Revolution, and were not able to pour out masses of cheap machine-made goods. "Conquest", to my mind, consists, not only in defeating armies but in economic subjugation. In fact, due to the scientific development Europe had made, the Industrial Revolution was inevitable, and the logical consequence, in a society already authoritarian, was world domination.

The concepts of "Europe" and "Asia" that we still hold will soon be out of date. What we in Europe consider to be "Asian" will soon be the way of life of only a dissident minority of Asians, just as there are a few dissident Europeans, like the anarchists for instance, still surviving both Romanism and Christianity.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

## Marching

DEAR SIR,

What a peculiar article is "Marching" by P.H. The writer first expresses mild alarm that nuclear disarmers should march at all, as this form of locomotion bears the mark of the military. I was about to comment, having once been a Sergeant-Major, that in my opinion the Aldermaston demonstrators were very unsoldierlike, when P.H. answered that one by admitting that the marchers wished to make the public think about nuclear disarmament, and then by pointing out that political rebels like Wat Tyler, and others, adopt the march for their own purposes, which may be quite unconnected with subservient militarism.

I wonder whether P.H. ever saw the marchers; he makes a comparison between them and disciplined soldiers and a few paragraphs later describes them as "ragged groups of bohemians, dropping out to sit by the roadside to rest their

feet..." That is trying to have it both ways with a vengeance! Actually neither picture is true, but this sort of debate is a waste of time.

In all, I suppose, P.H. writes nearly a thousand words, but not once does he either condemn nuclear weapons—nor have the courage to defend them. Is he trying to be neutral, when he asks "But what is the point of marching?"

I ask, "What is the point of his article?" The marchers want to rid the world of the terror weapons that could kill millions of humans and put back civilisation thousands of years. They strive to convince others to do something about it, and themselves engage in a lot of other activities (in addition to marching) to achieve their ends. I cannot be neutral, and have tried to help nuclear disarmers.

But where does P.H. stand? For or against the bomb? Let him come out honestly one way or the other. If he wants to quibble, one must assume that he supports, albeit unthinkingly, those who want to keep nuclear weapons in the hands of the NATO forces, for time is not on the side of the disarmers. I hope he will ponder, and join in (dare I use the phrase?), the march of progress.

Yours faithfully,

London, Sept. 4. CHRISTOPHER BRUNEL.

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\*Indicates regular contributor.

## They Chose England

Continued from p. 2

appointment is more like anger—reasonably enough, in view of the reception Irish and West Indian immigrants meet in England. The other two coloured contributors—Abioseh Nicol and Victor Anant—have some bitter things to say about the colour prejudice they meet here and the sickening hypocrisy that accompanies it. And all the contributors are horrified by our well-preserved class-system—all, that is, except J. P. Donleavy and Doris Lessing, who don't ever get round to answering the questions the editor asked them. Donleavy's essay wouldn't be out of place in his novel; and Mrs. Lessing's not only has the same title as her recently published book, *In Pursuit of the English*, but seems to be simply the first chapter of it reprinted for the occasion. There is hardly anything about Rhodesia in it and even less about England—she seems to derive her knowledge of English character from her father (who she declares was mad—and he certainly sounds it) and from a stay in a Cape Town boarding-house (which takes up more than half of her 28 pages). Amusing, no doubt, but not really good enough.

I feel that it was a bad idea to give the contributors such a free hand in the way they handled their essays. Apart from these two which are pretty well irrelevant, the one by Abioseh Nicol is half taken up with a list of about two dozen celebrities he met during his stay here, and all the others are unsatisfactory to a greater or lesser extent, except for "As far as you can go" by Murray Sayle. This essay, which was also published in *Encounter* last May, is an excellent short account of what it feels like to be an Australian intellectual in

## The Science of Man

Continued from p. 3

theory is worth considering, not only because it attempted to be comprehensive and scientific but because it has influenced anarchistic writers. Like all fertile theories it has relevance outside the limits of any one academic discipline.

According to Malinowski, organic drives are the determinants of culture—hence his early sympathy with psychoanalysis. In the geographic environment in which he finds himself, man has to satisfy his basic needs, i.e. his nutritive, reproductive and hygienic needs. The satisfaction of these results in the creation of a new, secondary environment which in turn gives rise to needs. This new class of needs—the *derived* needs—are either *instrumental* or *integrative*. The former are satisfied by economic, political, normative and educational activities and the latter by knowledge, magic and religion. Malinowski contributed not only to the theory of culture but to the methods of field work adopted by anthropologists. He insisted that the only way of obtaining an adequate understanding of a society was to live in it for at least one economic cycle and to learn the language. In other words the anthropologist must be like any other scientist and actually observe his subject matter. This is the exact opposite to the methods of the armchair theorists and "museum moles" who had previously dominated the subject.

Functionalism and subsequent developments are dealt with in the fourth part of *From Ape to Angel*, called "Psychological Insight and Social Responsibility". It is only in this stage that anthropology can truly be termed a science and even now some would dispute its title. Anthropology is still associated in the public mind with the study of primitive societies. But quite early anthropologists had realized that if their methods had any validity then they must be equally applicable to more advanced societies. The first concrete step in this direction were the studies of American urban communities which were carried out in the 1930's by Lloyd Warner and his associates. At the same time the study of primitive peoples has continued; especially of those primitives whose cul-

ture is in the process of change—result of European influences.

One of the chief uses of anthropology is in showing how wide are the possible responses which men may make to their environment. Men have common needs but there is no common means by which they must satisfy their needs. Human societies are not cast in a common mould. There are societies with and without laws, with centralized authority and without centralized authority with a thick crust of magical and religious beliefs and almost freethinking tendency, with rigid sexual codes and with codes permitting a high degree of sexual freedom and even societies which neuroses are centred, on fear, instead of sex. Anthropology, by drawing attention to the varieties of social responses, raises the question of how people can live together when there are no laws or rulers, or when their systems of law and government are strange and outlandish by our standards. The analysis of the causes of social cohesion in such societies is of extreme significance for anarchism. By coming to terms with the social sciences anarchist theory acquires a convincing basis. Only in this way is such a basis possible.

In the meantime, one of the chief uses of anthropology is that it is "unpopular" by the standards of the present and has thus escaped prostitution to the hands of the military and business interests which have been so quick to make use of the other social sciences. This is not a denial of the value of anthropological analyses of situations of racial and cultural tensions and of change but is simply an assertion that the latest of the social sciences is, by a large, still undefined. May it remain so. (NOTE: except in the quotes I have used the term "anthropology" rather than "social anthropology". This has been to avoid circumlocution but the terms are not completely synonymous since the former is often used to include physical anthropology and prehistoric archaeology, as well as social anthropology.) K.I.

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SEPT. 11.—Arthur Uloth on THOUGHTS ON LIFE

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