

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Force and fraud are in war the two cardinal virtues."  
—THOMAS HOBBES.

Vol. 19, No. 49A\*

December 6th, 1958.

Threepence

## TRANSPORT MEN ACT

This article goes to press the International Transport Workers Federation will have begun ratifying its four day ban on work connected with ships flying "flags of convenience". By the time it is published the ban will be over and work on these ships going on again.

A ship must be registered in order to comply with international maritime law, but there is no obligation for this registration to be effective in the country of origin of the ship or of its owner or crew. Once registered, in whatever state, the laws of the ship must conform to the laws of that state in matters such as payment of fees, taxation, and the conditions offered to sailors and other workers. A consequence of this has been that several small states; Panama, Liberia, Honduras and Costa Rica, have followed the international practice of cut price capitalism and competition. They offer registration and taxation at lower rates, do not insist on even bearable work and security standards for sailors, and therefore scoop quite a large share of the market in ship registration.

This presents problems to governments, shipping firms, trade unions, and workers. For governments it means that they are losing the revenue from taxation that would be coming in if the ships were registered with them; for the "loyal" shipping firms, such as those of Britain who express the view that such behaviour is pretty caddish, they are facing unfair competition; the unions' power is undermined by a legal fiction; and for the sailors, they have to spend their lives in filthy holds, with no sanitation, at the mercy of their employers to an extent that no other workers are, and with the constant threat that sickness, or refusal to accept all the conditions demanded of them, could lead to being stran-

ded in a foreign port without even the means to get home.

Each of these four groups have tackled the subject in characteristic fashion. The employers in Britain called on the government to make it illegal for British ship-owners to register under such colours. The government discussed it at an international conference. Militants among the seamen's organisations called on their colleagues to operate a total and indefinite ban on these ships. The majority of workers have now come along with their four day ban.

This has been acclaimed by dock workers in America and England, and throughout Western Europe with the exception of Italy and Germany. Dockers are supporting the Transport Workers by refusing to unload ships coming under the ban.

The action is welcome on many counts. It represents direct action over an issue which has been obviously neglected by governmental welfare activities, it is the first sign of life from a body noted for complete absence of any revolutionary ideas or practices, and most of all, it is by its nature an appeal to the internationalist sense of the workers of the sea, and those associated with it. The attitudes of the dockers show that it has not fallen on deaf ears, except in the two countries mentioned. In Italy the dockers are suffer-

ing so much unemployment that they are "glad to unload anything", and the Germans are afraid of the legal issues!\*

Naturally, it has many people worried. Is a red spectre about to emerge from the sea, beginning by attacking the Greek millionaires, and then proceeding to swallow the thousands of petty capitalists and traders whose livelihood depends on for one thing, trading across the sea, and for another, the discomfort of hundreds of thousands of sailors? Such a fearful description hardly fits the Transport Workers' Federation, but something like it seems to be in the minds of the bosses. A representative of one organisation said that it was a dangerous principle that an organisation responsible to no-one in particular should wield power as the Federation was doing. An apt statement from a capitalist who besides everything else ignores his own capitalist government.

The weaknesses of the boycott are its partiality and lack of direction. It does not object in any way to seamen being exploited, but only demands that they should be exploited under national agreements. There is not even a suggestion of a gradual increase in pressure to raise

\*The legal position has been made to look rather farcical in Holland, where a judge in Amsterdam has declared the boycott illegal, while another judge in Rotterdam has declared it legal!

conditions of work on ships flying flags of any nationality whatever. Finally, a four day stoppage, after months of warning, will hardly hurt anyone.

This boycott is obviously only meant as a prelude demonstration. A prelude to what? In the minds of the union leaders it is probably meant to shake up the governments in the welfare states into taking action against pirate ship-owners, but it could be a prelude to the workers realising that *the ships belong to them*.

Such is the structure of the shipping industry that its only land-based capital installations are offices and clerical staff. Port facilities are usually owned independently. The production of wealth, in transporting goods to where they are needed, goes on with the workers entirely on their own, away from their actual employers, although under the rigid control of the appointed officers. Would it not be possible that the taste of direct action would give at least some seamen the desire to use it more effectively? Instead of waiting any longer for governments to raise their working conditions they could use some of the Transport Workers' Federation's vast funds to take over a few ships, register them at Timbuctoo if need be, and show that besides being capable of providing the toil needed to keep international trade flowing, they were capable of controlling it and reaping the rewards to which they are entitled.

SYNDICALIST.

## Atlas to Vladivostok

THERE was a time when an extensive knowledge was not required for a full appreciation of our newspapers. A salutary grounding in the lower branches of arithmetic and possession of the Pocket Oxford Dictionary were sufficient for all the worthwhile news items — cricket scores, stock exchange and fat stock prices, an occasional somewhat erudite review and the job was done. Nowadays all is changed; it has become obligatory to be in relatively close terms with the higher mathematics, mechanics, aero-dynamics, chemistry, astronomy, the atom, electro-magnetism, explosives, rocketry, navigation, astro-physics and of course nuclear energy. Furthermore some of the more popular words and phrases are not even in the really fat dictionaries.

It is simply that we live in an age of speed, power, energy; science is to the fore and we must in all conscience keep up with the essentials. Of what use are we as citizens of a nuclear nation if we cannot even understand the basic essentials of our civilization; how may we hold up our heads with pride if we are not even aware of the obvious differences (and advantages) of liquid and solid fuels (let alone the subtler menaces); or such erotic niceties as separate gamma rays from negative electrons?

How, without knowledge of the basic facts can we assess the enormously valuable contribution which American scientists have made to the world by virtue of their recent successful launching of the Atlas intercontinental rocket? It is certainly not praiseworthy simply to be aware of the bare statistics — although this information is useful towards further study. What is important is to have a wider knowledge from which may be deduced the salient points of greater consequence.

The 100-ton, 85-ft. Atlas was launched on November 28th (a Friday), during the night, in the general direction of the South Atlantic from Cape Canaveral, and travelled its full range of 6,325 miles. The manufacturers of this ballistic missile, the Convair Company, stated that the flight indicated that there were "no fundamental question-marks left in the Atlas programme . . ." Thus it departed from base, passing to the East of Miami beach in a southeasterly direction, travelling roughly parallel to the northern coast of South America, narrowly missing St. Helena (the Napoleonic route), and

Continued on p. 4

## Reflections on the 'Soviet Economic Offensive' and Aid for the Hungry Millions

WHEN the *Manchester Guardian* asked in a recent editorial (Dec. 1) "How seriously must we take the threat of a Soviet economic offensive against the West?" it was less concerned with Russia's rôle as one more competitor for the world's shrinking markets—though "there has been talk of a drive to sell Russian jet aircraft abroad and more seriously of an irruption of the Soviet oil surplus on to markets at present dominated by the American and Middle-East producers"—than with its political implications, yet another aspect of the cold-war, the power struggle, between East and West:

Once countries in Asia and Africa were bound to the Soviet block by strong economic ties, what chance is there that they could remain neutral, far less align themselves with Western democracy?

All the talk in the West during the past two years on the subject of aid to the underdeveloped countries of the world has come to nought partly for political reasons—the ambitious politicians of these countries are unwilling to sell-out (politically speaking) to their would-be "benefactors"—but also for the much more substantial reason that it is virtually impossible that a system, which is largely responsible for the abysmal poverty and social and economic backwardness of more than a half of the world's people, should be flexible enough to serve to promote their rehabilitation and future prosperity! One has only to observe the disparity in living standards within the "prosperous", highly industrialised, nations of the capitalist world themselves in order to be suspicious both of the motives behind the politicians' concern for the welfare of the underdeveloped nations as well as of their chances of its being done

anything substantial in the way of raising their living standards.

★

WHEN we are told that we shall never return to the conditions of the '30's, when mass unemployment and wholesale hunger and misery swept across the "civilised" world, the implication is that times have changed, that alterations have been effected in the capitalist machine which prevent the economic pendulum from swinging between the extremes of "real boom" and "real bust". Indeed it is the viewpoint of that eminent exponent of Socialism, Mr. Bevan, who declares that "quasi-socialist principles have been inserted into the economy"\* To our minds this is all an illusion. Even the wholesale destruction of the last war was not sufficient in itself to create a "sellers' market" and ensure full-employment in the post-war years. It needed boosting by a cold war economy which "employed" millions of skilled and unskilled workers, which absorbed (and wasted) millions of tons of raw materials and which mobilised land, sea and air transport and other services. Yet even this cold war was not a sufficient boost to the boom, itself based on six years of death and destruction. But for the Korean hot-war, the American recession, and the general, world recession that is following in its wake, would have started less than ten years after the end of the war to end . . . social and economic injustice! What a price mankind is made to pay so that capitalism might survive! As if capitalism was worth saving.

★

\*Quoted in *Reflections on Full Employment* (1958).

UNLESS we shed any illusions we might have about the "possibilities" of capitalism as an instrument for the organisation of universal well-being, we shall never be able to tackle in a realistic manner the social and economic problems of the underdeveloped nations of the world, that is *the problems of the majority of mankind*.

The supporters of the capitalist system are always reminding us of the material progress which has taken place under that system but what they have not the wit to realise is that if Society had developed along lines of co-operation instead of slavery, competition and coercion, we might well be enjoying now the material progress for which capitalism takes all the credit, but more equitably distributed and without the slumps and the wars. Perhaps we might not have discovered how to split the atom or bombard the moon with sterilized missiles, but we would not have the problem of millions of tons of coal dumped in quarries, while people shiver with cold, or food rotting in warehouses and the holds of ships, while people starve!

Competition may well be an incentive for some people to give of their best, but the historic signposts of mankind's survival and development are co-operation and mutual aid.

The "material progress" that is the result of the capitalist system is fortuitous, as are all the "benefits" mankind derives from a system which blatantly exists for the well-being of the few at the expense of the many. Many workers were lulled into believing that full-employment—which in terms of capitalist society means progress and

Continued on p. 3

## GOOD CLEAN (i.e. White) SPORT

Gordon Pirie is to run in Salisbury on December 6 but the fastest three-miler in Rhodesia will not be competing against him because he is black.

John Muleya, a 19-year-old student at a Northern Rhodesian technical college, shattered the Rhodesian three-mile record earlier this year with a time of 14min. 59.9sec. He has been coached by Colour-Sergeant Geoffrey Greene, who captained the British Army athletics team in 1953.

Yesterday, Green said: "Muleya has great possibilities. We don't expect him to beat Pirie, but he certainly won't disgrace himself." Then last night the Southern Rhodesian Athletic Union refused Muleya permission to run.

The union chairman, Mr. Du Bois, said: "We shouldn't compete with natives at any time. Mr. Muleya's bloody name is—this Kaffir has never even sent a formal application to run at our meeting."

According to Du Bois, Muleya's record will never be confirmed. "Even if he had satisfied the conditions of the track and judges, we don't count natives' performances as records."

*News Chronicle*, Nov. 28.

[As we go to Press it is announced that young Muleya will be allowed to run after all.—Eds.]

## CORRECTION

★This issue of FREEDOM has been numbered 49A to distinguish it from last week's, which should have been issue 48 but which through a printing error was numbered 49.

## There's Still Time But not a Lot!

WEEK 48  
Deficit on Freedom £960  
Contributions received £735  
DEFICIT £225

November 21 to November 27

Exmouth: A.B.H. 4/6; Wolverhampton: J.W. 4/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L. 2/6; Stevenage: V.M. £1/0/0; Sheffield: H.W. 4/-; Monterey: J.B. 7/-; London: T.F.\* 10/-; London: J.O'H. 9/-; London: J.S.\* 3/-; London: P.F.\* 10/-; Denver: R.B. £2/9/0; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.\* 2/6; Irvine: K.W.A. 2/6.

Total 6 8 0  
Previously acknowledged 729 9 10

1958 TOTAL TO DATE £735 17 10

GIFTS OF BOOKS: Moline: E.R.J. London: A.U.

\*Indicates regular contributor.

## Choosing the Meat for the Sausage Machine

PSYCHIATRY IN THE BRITISH ARMY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR by R. H. Ahrenfeldt. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 35s.

THERE was a time in the bad old days when wars were fought by volunteers. The first world war put an end to all that sort of nonsense. A time came when no more patriots with suicidal urges could be found to feed a war machine that was churning out corpses by the million. Regrettably, those operating the machine were not to be found at the business end among the ranks of fallen heroes.

As anyone who has run a sausage machine knows, you can't stay in business without raw meat, and there is no point in having a machine if you don't use it. So the politicians and generals were agreed that the only answer was conscription. Up to a point this solved the problem. However, there is an old Russian proverb: you can lead a sheep to water, but after that you can only drown the baa-lamb. And so it proved in many cases.

One corpse is as good as another, provided he dies in the approved manner at the hour appointed. If your conscript breaks down before the machine actually gets its molars grinding on his bones then you find yourself in the slightly ridiculous position of having to shoot the chap because he won't go near enough to the enemy for them to do it. This is annoying and wasteful. Besides, it isn't good for morale.

Obviously, there is something radically wrong with a fellow like that. It took a long time and considerable perspicacity on the part of the medical pundits to agree on a diagnosis and a suitably impressive technical description. In the end they concluded that such weird behaviour could mean only one thing—the blighter must be bonkers. Labelling the disorder is one thing. Dealing with it is quite another.

Combing out the cretins was another problem to arise as a result of mass conscription. Standardised intelligence tests made this a relatively straightforward affair, and the Pioneer Corps became a grateful receptacle of all those judged too stupid to learn to kill one another. Some odd conclusions were drawn, too. Those who tried to desert were found to be less intelligent than those who stayed to suffer. No attention was paid to the possibility that uncaught deserters just did not turn up to be tested.

Redeeming the "bad hats" whose criminal behaviour was not directed at the enemy proved a tricky business. Young-

sters whose patriotic idealism had been shattered by the brutal facts of army life were "rehabilitated" in a special corps. Another special corps set up to deal with hardened criminals and other incorrigibles was eventually disbanded by the simple expedient of discharging these gems of martial inefficiency. Presumably most of them found their civilian niche in the black market, performing sterling service for the generals' wives.

Readers of FREEDOM will doubtless be fascinated to hear that the effective fighting life of an infantryman had been worked out mathematically and found to be 200 to 240 days of combat. After 80 days or so battle fatigue sets in and the man's worth as a fighting animal gradually peters out until he is overtaken by complete mental collapse. This misfortune can be staved off by judiciously chosen intervals of rest which keeps the meat in usable condition for up to 400 days of combat. This is longer than most future wars will require. Relieved?

At one stage during the war some chinless wonder, who had probably spent his active service in a Turkish bath, got the bright idea of training the troops to hate. Besides being exposed to live ammunition, real battle conditions were simulated by drenching the scenery in blood. Between these colourful episodes the troops were shown atrocity photographs and further elevated by conducted tours of the local slaughterhouses. A wise psychiatrist pointed out that the analogy between the battlefield and a slaughterhouse was hardly calculated to inspire the timid, and the enterprise was soon abandoned. Still later it was superseded by battle inoculation. This consisted mainly of deconditioning the fear response to battle noises. Whether anyone got used to hearing the bangs without the bombs that he forgot to duck when the ironmongery actually arrived is not recorded.

Some interesting light is thrown on mutinies. In the services "mutiny" is a catchall term to describe any wilful disobedience. It turns out that if you examine the matter closely enough some element of blame attaches to the officers who foster the conditions leading to this assertion of self-respect. It seems that

even the meat is human and prefers to be treated as such. This must come as something of a shock to the gilded gentry from Sandhurst.

The final act of the farce came with the end of the war. The unconsumed meat had to be reprocessed in order to make it fit for civilian life. The hordes of licensed murderers had to be reinstated as respectable, law abiding, family men with a sense of personal responsibility. As the sausage machine went into reverse so we were treated to the post-war crime wave. Producing homicidal criminals is not too difficult given the flying start of our competitive culture; producing useful citizens takes a bit more imagination.

There was also the thorny question of selecting officers. When armies were small and professional it was very simple. Those born to command emerged from the public schools trained in the leadership of men, steeped in the tradition of *noblesse oblige*, with a fine awareness of their own natural superiority to the common herd known as "men". With

the advent of large conscript armies Harrow and Eton just could not *oblige* with enough *nobles* and it was necessary to consider the awful prospect of making men into officers. At the back of Colonel Blimp's prehistoric mind lurked the ghastly suspicion that the day might come when some clot would propose to make officers into men! So far we have been spared this final catastrophe.

With such revolutionary ideas in the air it is only faintly surprising that an anarchist principle should be made the basis of the selection procedure. This was disguised as the Leaderless Group technique; the main idea being to present a group of candidates with a problem such as building a bridge and leaving them to sort it out among themselves. By observing the way they set about the task without a formal leader it was possible to gain a great deal of insight into the strengths and weaknesses of each character. Ability to co-operate and to elicit co-operation without a coercive authority to compel obedience became the yardstick. Each man's capacity to

lead and accept non-authoritarian leadership became apparent and showed true worth to the group as a whole.

Other selection procedures such as psychological tests and a psychiatric interview were used, but it was the Leaderless Group situation that proved to be most valuable when it came to understanding the individual and assessing his inner resources and potential as a leader of men under stress. It is a condition of anarchy to sort the sheep from the goats.

The success of the scheme rested on the fact that at heart all men are anarchists, and if you want the best out of anyone you have to recognise this. Anarchists may well blush at the comment that the War Office has tacitly found their philosophy. It is refreshing to find the sausage machine adopting a principle that can lead in the long run only to the final dismantling of the machine.

Oh, yes—about the book. It is about a psychiatrist patting himself on his fraternity on the back for having thought of such a brilliant idea. It is descriptive statistics and the details of comings and goings of top brass and bit wearing, but the air of discovery is wholly charming. R.T.C.

### PEOPLE AND IDEAS:

## More Tribal Anarchists

(Continued from previous issue)

THE Dinka are a people numbering some 900,000, living on the fringes of the central Nile basin in the Southern Sudan. (The *Sunday Times* recently said of them that "touchiness, pride and reckless disobedience are their characteristic reaction towards authority"). Godfrey Lienhardt's essay in the volume *Tribes Without Rulers* describes their intricately subdivided society and the very complicated inter-relationships resulting from the fusion and fission of segments in different combinations for different economic and functional purposes.

"It is a part of Dinka political theory that when a subtribe for some reason prospers and grows large, it tends to draw apart politically from the tribe of which it was a part and behave like a distinct tribe. The sections of a large subtribe similarly are thought to grow politically more distant from each other as they grow larger, so that a large and prosperous section of a subtribe may break away from the other sections. . . . In the Dinka view, the tendency is always for their political segments, as for their agnatic genealogical segments, to grow apart from each other in the course of time and through the increase in population which they suppose time to bring."

The Dinka explain their cellular subdivision with such phrases as "It became too big, so it separated" and "They were together long ago but now they have separated". They value the unity of their tribes and descent groups, but at the same time they value the feeling for autonomy in the component segments which lead to fragmentation, and Dr. Lienhardt observes that "these values of personal autonomy and of co-operation, of the inclusiveness and autonomy of its

several sub-segments are from time to time in conflict".

In his contribution on the aboriginal political structure of Bwamba, Edward Winter describes the Amba, the 30,000 people of that area on the borders of Uganda and the Belgian Congo:

"The elders of the village do exercise authority of a limited and rather vague nature. The elders are able to expel people from the village, and they are responsible for the admission of immigrants to the village, but beyond this they have few executive prerogatives. . . . There is nothing comparable to the maximal lineage heads or village chiefs found in other societies."

★

THEIR land is thought of as belonging to the whole community, the individual having rights of use:

"The virgin land is seen as a repository of land for the future use of the community. No individual has rights over any particular bit of it, and all are free to use the products of the forest such as trees for building material and firewood, wild vegetables and fruits, etc. An individual can obtain rights to particular bits of this previously unused land by felling trees and opening it for cultivation. Any member of the village is free to open any bit which he sees fit. He need not ask the permission of the community in general. The village organisation only comes into operation in this sphere when two men want to open an identical piece of land at the same time, a very rare occurrence. Once a man has opened a piece of land it is his as against any other member of the village, irrespective of whether he is a member of the local lineage or an immigrant. When land goes out of cultivation after having been in use for three years or so, the man retains his right over the land. However, with the passage of time, if the land is not put under cultivation once more, it reverts to its original status of virgin land. When a man dies his rights are transferred to his sons. . . . Rights to land are continually being transferred. When a man wishes to use a bit of his neighbour's fallow land he asks him for it and if the latter has no immediate need of it he usually transfers his rights to the man requesting them."

The judicial system is similarly informal, and its object is the restoration of breaches of solidarity:

"Two men who have a dispute merely seek out an elder who listens to their arguments and judges between them. In any serious case all the adult men of the community attend the hearing and all are allowed to take part although the older men have more influential voices. These village-wide hearings are of great importance for the airing of public opinion."

The village court has the power to expel a person from the community. However, for the most part its activities are confined to the levying of fines. These fines are usually paid to the person who is adjudged to have been injured, but in certain cases they are paid to the community as a whole.

"When one man commits a wrong against another, what concerns the village is not so much the wrong itself as the ill-feelings which it has generated between the men concerned, rather than the administration of justice in some more abstract sense."

This is as well, for the Amba are witch-ridden, and witchcraft, Dr. Winter observes, is, in the form of fears and accusation, the element of the system which is most destructive to intra-group solidarity. But in his opinion, the very 'anarchy' is another defect in this respect:

## Teacher's Experiences

THE YOUNG DEVILS by John Townsend. Chatto & Windus, 15s.

JOHN TOWNSEND was apparently trained during the scheme for making teachers out of ex-servicemen, and took a post in a "difficult" secondary modern school. His experiences as a student teacher and during the first years of his teaching career are described in this book with the maximum number of anecdotes designed no doubt to titivate the amusement-disgust complex felt by many people regarding the education, or "schooling" of children, particularly in social classes other than their own; and a minimum of sympathy and effort to understand the issues involved.

A previous book *Chalk in my Hair* described the mental struggles of a young teacher who began his career determined not to use punishment, but who succumbed under sustained bullying by the pupils. No such ideals clouded the vision of Townsend. His only worries were that the headmaster restricted the use of the cane by his assistant staff.

But Townsend was not one of those who are only interested in teaching the three R's. No! He is greatly interested in driving home Religion (p. 182), Morals (for boys p. 73 and girls p. 104) and the manly acceptance of punishment (p. 148).

In passing, he mentions sociologists who criticize home conditions and environment, for the behaviour of the children, and adds that the schools themselves, bleak and prison-like, play just as large a part in ensuring that the children grow up in an unpleasant and life-cramping atmosphere.

The factor that is entirely ignored though, is significantly the very one which lies closest to immediate control by people here and now; that is the attitude of the adults concerned both to the children themselves and to the process of education that they are involved in.

The preface points out that the schools described in the book are by no means typical. Unfortunately, the attitudes of the author are. P.H.

## FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

OPEN DAILY

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

### New Books . . .

Stories Colette 21/-  
Hope for South Africa  
Alen Paton 10/6  
Breakfast at Tiffany's  
Truman Capote 12/6  
The Italian Socialist Movement  
R. Hostetter 49/-  
Memoirs, Vol 1  
Casanova (tr. Machen) 30/-  
Death of Stalin "Monitor" 13/6  
Character Analysis  
Wilhelm Reich 63/-

### Cheap Editions . . .

Blood and Sand V. B. Ibanez 3/6  
Droll Stories Honore de Balzac 3/6  
Human Types Raymond Firth 4/-

### Second-Hand . . .

Rich Land, Poor Land  
Stuart Chase 4/6  
Home Made Home  
Ronald Duncan 2/6  
Everybody's Political What's  
What Bernard Shaw 6/-  
From the Ground Up  
Jorian Jenks 3/-  
The Jews of Eastern Europe  
J. H. Adeney 2/6  
Affirmations Havelock Ellis 3/-  
Angels and Ministers of Grace  
Adam Gowans White 2/6  
Famine in England  
Viscount Lympington 2/6  
Valley of the Moon Jack London 3/-  
When God Laughs Jack London 4/-  
The Call of the Wild and The  
Scarlet Plague Jack London 4/-  
Primitive Folk Elisee Reclus 4/6

### Periodicals . . .

Views and Comments, November 3d.  
Liberation, October 1/9

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 COUNTRY NEVER BELONGED TO THE INDIANS!

WHEN things were bad in the U.S. they used to say "give the country back to the Indians". Now if we are to believe José Schorr in the *Saturday Evening Post* it never belonged to them.

Gaylord, who owned property on a creek bank, wanted to buy an adjoining tidalwater marsh from the state. Seth, who lived across the creek, rushed into court to stop the deal. Seth produced deeds by which his ancestors had bought the entire creek bed from the Indians in 1676.

"Those creek deeds don't hold water," Gaylord argued. "This creek has belonged to the state since the state and nation were founded. The law is clear on that."

"If so, the state must have stolen the creek from my family," Seth retorted, "because the Indians sold it to them before the state or United States existed."

If you were the judge, would you recognize Seth's claim?

Seth lost. The court explained that the Indians lacked the right to sell their property. "Whatever we may think at this date of the moral quality of the principle," the court said, "it has long been established that the Indians . . . were mere temporary occupants of the soil." Legal rights to the land belonged to the European nations which discovered them, it added, and the states and nation later took over these rights.

Based upon a 1957 New Jersey decision.

## Theatre Hurry to 'The Hostage'

READERS in London or in easy reach of it, still have time to see "The Hostage", Brendan Behan's second play which is in its last week at the Theatre Royal, Stratford.

This Theatre Workshop production is a play about the capture of a young English soldier in Eire (that is, kidnapped over the border from Northern Ireland) as a hostage for an IRA man about to be hanged. It is of course about a lot more than that, for around a slender plot and arising from the setting in a brothel, Behan (author of "The Quare Fellow", an ex-IRA jail-bird himself, and a broth of a boy by all accounts\*), manages to work in a great deal of jibing at the establishment in all its parts, not a little of it in original song.

It's a sort of play that would be very difficult to review, even if I were a practised reviewer, which I am not. But most people, I should imagine, would either dislike it intensely or like it a lot. If you're the sort who would dislike it, I don't know what you're doing reading this paper. P.S.

"The Hostage", by Brendan Behan. Theatre Royal, Stratford, E.15, MAR 5973, until December 13.

\*His other claim to fame is that he is a brother of Brian Behan, one of the 'New Revolutionary' leaders of the South Bank buildings workers' strike.

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

19, No. 49A\* Dec. 6, 1958

## Aid for the Hungry Millions

Continued from p. 1

... was assured in the post-war world. Last week some of them, in the cotton spinning and weaving industry for instance, were reminded by their bosses that they were not so; that capitalists were softer in the head nor philanthropists. They rejected a union demand for compensation for "redundant workers" and repeated their demand that "protection against the consequences of unemployment" was a matter for the State. Sir Alfred Roberts, speaking for the Cardroom Association, the largest spinning employers association declared:

Unemployment can arise in many ways and protection against its consequences is a national responsibility, which State insurance and assistance, which everyone—including employers—contributes for that purpose.

We believe that, especially in an industry such as cotton and rayon textiles, which is affected exceptionally by pressures outside its control (and indeed in the case due mainly to the repercussions of the Government's general Common Market policy), it would not be suitable for the State to enter into a joint agreement putting on employers an obligation of responsibility to supplement State unemployment benefits through payment of compensation to redundant operatives. Furthermore, so far as we are aware, no industry working on private enterprise lines has an agreement of this character.

We hope we shall not be accused of putting words into Sir Alfred's mouth when we summarise the employers' attitude as one which looks on the workers as human tools which engages if there is work and which one discards if there is none. What else can one expect? Why should they employ workers if there is no work for them? But of course, and it is for that very reason we have no "illusions" about the capitalist leopard having changed its spots or being suddenly conscience-stricken about the starving people of the other half of the world! The employers took the view that they had no responsibility for workers who have served them well but who are no longer required. It was up to the State through "insurance" and "assistance" (our italics) to provide. It is clear that Sir Alfred was referring to the dole and relief. But the point he missed was that these workers want to work and earn a living wage. What is the use of talking about all the good things capitalism, nobly assisted by the advertising industry, has generously provided for the people if they are denied the only recognised currency with which to obtain them?

★

**I**F employers show so little concern about the fate of their own workers, by what stretch of the imagination

†The Unions modest demands are that a central compensation fund should be financed by the millowners on the basis of contributions equal to a quarter of 1 per cent. of their wages bill. This was intended to provide thirteen weeks' pay for redundant operatives with five years' service in the industry, with an extra week's wage for every additional year of service, up to a maximum of fifty weeks' pay. In other words only the worker who had worked 42 years for the same firm would be entitled to a year's wages when he was declared redundant. That was more than the employers could stomach!

‡In his "The Case for Advertising" (*Sunday Times* Nov. 30) the President of the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (I) declares that, "All the gadgets and labour-saving devices, the plastics and the fabrics, the food and drink and furniture which are a blessing to millions of households—all these owe their existence and cheapness to mass production made possible by competitive advertising." Where would we be without the industrialists and the advertising practitioners?

## THREE TO A CELL IS HELL

**F**OR most normal human beings a spell in prison is a hellish experience, and except for the new experiments of 'prisons without bars', there is little in the planning of prison routine or the motivation behind it other than punishment.

To spend months or years in a cell 13ft. 6ins. by 7ft. 6ins., furnished with a hard bed, a table and chair, and a wash-stand complete with bowl, jug, tooth-mug and chamber-pot and a window you can't see out of, is bad enough. To have to share such a 'living' space with two other persons must in most cases add mental torture to physical hardship.

Not in all cases, of course. There are many for whom the loneliness of the long hours between banging-up at teatime and opening-up in the morning is far more intolerable than

the overcrowding of three to a cell. The illiterates, for example—and there are always a good sprinkling of these in prison—have nothing to do once their cell-task is done but to stare at the wall until the time comes when they are allowed to put their beds down and seek the oblivion of sleep. These are the ones who occasionally relieve their tension by 'doing their nut'.

But for those for whom privacy is precious, who can read and thus escape into the wide worlds of books; for them, three to a cell must be hell. Ask yourself if you know two other persons of your own sex with whom you could amicably share the deliberately humiliating circumstances of prison life, share that cramped, smelly cell from 4.30 onwards every evening and for those sumptuous meal times during the day. And if you have difficulty in thinking who your choice would be, reflect on the fact that in the 'nick' you have no choice—your cell-mates are put in with you without any regard for your tastes in the matter, or theirs. Nobody asks you what your interests are or your favourite subject of conversation two strangers are banged up with you and that's that.

It is small wonder that violence breaks out occasionally in triple-occupied cells. The fact that it is only occasionally seems to us to be a considerable tribute to the patience and amiability of the men behind bars—which, considering they mainly tend to be anti-social types, is saying something.

It is not often that judges express concern for the welfare of the persons they send to prison. On the contrary, they usually gloat over the

punishment that lies in store. The remarks of Mr. Justice Salmon then, in a case he was judging this week, are all the more noteworthy.

This judge was trying a man who pleaded guilty to wounding one of the other prisoners with whom he was sharing a cell in Canterbury jail. This might have been just another case of violence but for the fact that this man was a first offender convicted on a minor charge and committed to prison while a probation officer's report was prepared. He was then returned to court and was put on probation for two years, but during the time he had been in jail he fell out with one of his cell-mates. He lost his temper when an argument arose over some trivial matter, pulled one of the others down and kicked him in the face and head.

When he was brought back to court on a charge of wounding his cell-mate, it was to hear the judge discharge him, order the probation to continue and say:

"There are, I think, quite exceptional circumstances here that entitle me to take an exceptional course.

"To begin with, this offence was committed before you were put on probation on the last occasion and awaiting sentence in Canterbury Jail, a jail which was constructed over 100 years ago when the theory of punishment was very different from what it is to-day—when it was thought that a prison should be as depressing and hard as it could possibly be made.

"That cell in which you were then constructed to hold one man under these conditions.

"To-day—when fortunately our ideas have changed and the object of prison, or one of its objects, is to try and reform the individual—it is thought right because apparently money cannot be found, to put three men in the same cell.

"And you, who had never been previously convicted, were sharing a cell with one man who had a record of false pretences and another man who had a conviction for wounding with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

"That seems to me to be a most shocking state of affairs.

"It could easily be cured by not very much money needing to be found to provide proper accommodation for prisoners."

The prosecuting counsel had been forced to admit that in the circumstances wherein three men share a cell, "Perhaps it is not surprising that tempers get a little frayed from time to time." Not an exaggeration, we must admit.

The man was undoubtedly lucky to have come before Mr. Justice Salmon. A judge with a more reactionary viewpoint, who thought that prison was to punish, would have promptly sent him back to those temper-fraying conditions, with probable disastrous results for his future.

Perhaps Judge Salmon's remarks will be noted at the Home Office. Certainly nothing is more likely to convince the Home Secretary that something is wrong than for judges to start letting offenders off!

Meanwhile, no less than 4400 prisoners are doing their sentences three to a cell.

And why, you may ask, can it not be only two to a cell? Because if there is anything the Home Office fears more than a reformist judge, it is homosexuality in prison cells. Two, it is said, is company; three's none!

## INFERIOR MEALIES

A new phenomenon in Southern Rhodesian racial relations occurred yesterday at an Anglican mission school when 200 African children struck for better food. At St. Mary's Mission, in the Seke reserve twelve miles from Salisbury boys upturned their ration bowls, throwing the contents to the floor and declaring the mealie meal coarse and inferior. The priest in charge declared that the rations compared favourably with any mission station in the Federation. Police were called. The strike continued until the evening, when better rations were promised.

Manchester Guardian 23/10/58.

If he repeats his offences he may well provoke surrounding groups into forming a coalition against it—if, that is, his own group habitually stands by him at the collective oath."

They may do it the first time, but the second time, they may, even at their own expense decide to teach him a lesson, though it imposes a legal defeat on themselves. Thus trial by collective oath can be a "genuine and sensitive decision procedure whose verdict is a function of a number of things, amongst which justice is one but not the only one". Mr. Gellner develops his account of this extraordinarily subtle system at great length. The threat of the collective oath is often enough to settle the issue out of court, and the oath itself "does indeed give any determined, cohesive clan the veto on any decision that would, in virtue of that cohesion, be unenforceable anyway; on the other hand, however, it gives groups the possibility of half-throwing culprits to the wolves, of giving in gracefully, of disciplining the unruly member without actually having to expel him or kill him, as sometimes they had to". He compares this with the veto that the great powers have in the United Nations, but the notion he is most anxious to bring out is that the system whose conditions and mechanics he describes, provides, not a series of totally unenforceable judgments, but at least a 'half-loaf' of justice.

One common misconception, he concludes, is that

"the situation in anarchic contexts would be improved if only the participants could overcome their clan or bloc loyalty, if only, instead of 'my clan or bloc, right or wrong', they would think and act as individuals. . . . It seems to me, on the contrary, that unless and until there is genuine enforcement, only blocs or clans can make an anarchic system work."

What lessons have these 'tribal anarchies' for anarchists? What idea of human society would a social theorist, acquainted only with these seven African peoples postulate? These are questions which I should like to discuss next week.

C.W.

## More Tribal Anarchists Continued from p. 2

great freedom which they now have in moving about the area without fear of being molested", Dr. Winter sees a very important feature of the change in political organisation in its ability to change institutional patterns, for instance the bridewealth system. "In the past an alteration of this type would have been very difficult to bring about even if most people had favoured it due to the lack of social machinery for effecting such changes."

The Konkomba, a population of 45,000 in Northern Togoland, described by the late Dr. David Tait, have "no pattern for formal legislation nor for judicial decisions, nor are there law enforcement officers of any kind". The authority of the Elder is moral and ritual; his rôle is "primarily to remind his people of their moral obligations to their clansfolk, to recall them to proper standards of behaviour. Though he has no power to punish by force, still, to run counter to his commands is itself sacrilege."

The final essay in *Tribes Without Rulers* is by John Middleton on the Lugbara, who number 242,000 people in the Nile-Congo divide. In the indigenous organisation of the Lugbara there were no chiefs: they were created by the Belgians in 1900 and it is only since the mid-1920's that the country has been seriously affected by administration. Feud and warfare were common until that time.

"The tribe is the largest unit within which it is said that disputes should alternately be settled by discussion. Fighting may break out within the tribe but it should give way to discussion and there are institutionalised means to achieve this. Fighting between tribes cannot be so settled—or at least there is no machinery to ensure such settlement."

Here again it appears that the rôle of the elder is primarily a ritual one. In this case the supernatural sanction rests upon a ghost-cult. Here too the possibility of social change and of inter-tribal harmony is weakened by the lack of "social machinery for these purposes."

★

**A**NOTHER, very interesting, instance of African 'tribal anarchy' was described recently on the radio in a talk "How to Live in Anarchy" by Ernest Gellner (*The Listener*, 3/4/58). He was talking about the system of trial by collective oath which operated until very recently among the Berber tribes of the Atlas mountains.

"This system originally functioned against a background of anarchy; there was no law-enforcing agency. But whilst there was nothing resembling a state, there was a society, for everyone recognised more or less the same code, and recognised, more or less, the universal desirability of pacific settlement of disputes. . . . Suppose a man is accused of an offence by another: the man can clear himself of the charge by bringing a set of men, co-jurors so to speak, to testify in a fixed order, according to family proximity in the male line to the man on trial. The order is the same as the order of claimants to the man's inheritance. Those who have a common stake in property are also those who are jointly responsible and brought to trial.

"The rule, the decision procedure, so to speak, is that if some of the co-jurors fail to turn up, or fail to testify, or make a slip while testifying, the whole oath is invalid and the case is lost. The losing party is then obliged to pay the appropriate fine, determined by custom. In some regions, the rule is even stranger: those co-jurors who failed to turn up, or failed when testifying, are liable for the fine, rather than the testifying group as a whole."

How strange, Mr. Gellner remarks, that this system should work at all. Not only by contrast with our own procedures, but in view of the possible motives of the participants. One would expect the co-jurors always to testify by their clansman, whether they thought him guilty or innocent. Yet the system did work, not merely because the tribesmen believed perjury a sin, punishable by supernatural forces, but because other social factors are at work.

"We must remember that each of the two groups is just as anarchic internally as the two are in their external relations with each other: neither internally nor externally is there a law-and-order-enforcing machinery, though there is a recognised law and a recognised obligation to respect law and order. In fact the distinction between internal and external politics does not apply", and the system was applied in disputes at any level, between two families or between tribal confederacies numbered in tens of thousands.

"Given this anarchy, this lack of enforcement within as well as without the group, one way short of violence or expulsion which a clan or family have of disciplining one of their own number is by letting him down at the collective oath. Far from never having a motive for letting down a clansman, or only a transcendental one, they may in fact frequently have such a motive: a habitual offender within their own number may be a positive danger to the group.

# Red China and Forced Labour

ONE of the arguments dear to the Western propagandists which they use against the communist system is its complete disregard for the sanctity of the family. But in recent years Soviet Communism has foxed this particular argument by its leaders propagandising in favour of the heroic "working class family", and by making access to birth control and legal abortion facilities practically impossible. Divorce too, which at one time was possible merely by couples announcing their intention to separate is not now regarded as correct socialist behaviour (except no doubt for favoured party members).

This does not mean of course that the communist leaders really have discovered that there is something "sacred" about the family after all, that abortion is "sinful", or that they will preserve family life, by for instance not breaking it up by conscription for the army or the labour camps, but that for political and economic reasons the state needs the benefits of an increased population.

It seems (like the Catholic church) the Soviet government does not give much thought to the possible drastic results from a steadily rising population, which is that under capitalism a stage is reached when still more people cannot be supported by the economy. Killing large numbers of the population or turning them into armaments producers are two ways which have been used, by all governments, to lay the inevitable spectre which accompanies capitalist economics and sooner or later evolves into the reality of deprivation for millions of people.

But we are not impressed by the hypocritical claim made by Western rulers that "our system" is basically different, or that the defence of our individual and family rights is their prime purpose. In times of war, for

example, we have no rights and family life which is held to be so important is sacrificed to the "good of the nation" just as in totalitarian countries. In fact in communist countries, where Marx instead of Christ is the prophet, if the narrow family life is broken up it is at least more consistent with Marxist teachings which puts the "collective" above the individual family circle than the break up of the family through war in Christendom where it is "accorded a special place of honour".

The latter quotation is from a *News Chronicle* editorial of November 25th commenting on news from China headlined on its front page. Boris Kidel, drawing his information from the official New China News Agency and other communist sources, paints a horrifying picture of the millions of Chinese now being organised in communal work and living. He writes:

It is a life rigidly organised from reveille at 5 a.m. to meals in mess-halls and indoctrination courses before bedtime.

All women are still allowed to do in their homes is to sleep there. For the rest of the time they must fulfil the jobs assigned to them by the authorities...

Now practically all of China's 540 million rural population live under the new system...

As for children, they have been taken away from their families to be brought up in creches and boarding schools. Once a fortnight, on their official day off, parents are allowed to visit them.

With women "freed" from their household duties, one Czech observer says, a new labour force of 250 million has become available. "It's one of the greatest revolutions in Chinese history," he comments...

The commune takes charge of all their needs. Not only does it provide maternal care and burial, but it also supplies each member with his soap and clothes ration. For the aged special "houses of happiness" have been set up.

Even in cities, the commune system is being introduced now. For instance, in Shansi province, workers have been shifted from their homes to special settlements close to their factories. They, too, are being made to live as collective units.

We are always horrified when we read of or are the victims of government edicts (even if it is conscription for the British mines!) and think that any system which deserves to be called 'free' must allow people to choose where they will work and how they will live taking into account the needs of the community as well as their own, with the intelligent realisation that desires may have to be limited sometimes but that, in a free society, it need not involve too much sacrifice.

Such an attitude is impossible to put into practice even in what are now regarded as the 'free countries'. Admitting that there are "degrees of

freedom" and that at the moment compared to the Chinese people who appear to have no choice (although let it be noted there are no signs yet of resistance to this collectivisation), we are "enjoying" a relative freedom. But how extensive is it? Is economic life in all capitalist countries not rigidly organised? Workers have to clock in in the morning, clock out in the evening with the usual break for meals. If late they may stand to suffer a loss in money and often their jobs.

Many women have to go out to work and have their children coming home from school to an empty house. It is agreed that some work from choice but many more do because the extra money is needed.

Boarding schools too have been a feature of the "British way of life" for generations. Many children hate being sent away from home, some enjoy it, but how many people would consider that the segregated life of a boarding school often retards a child's development?

Politicians and professional social commentators are to-day in this country discussing through press and radio existing unemployment and the threat of it. In some areas industries are closing down, in others, new industries are being built. The possibilities of moving workers from the depressed areas are being considered. What will it mean for

workers and their families? Because of economic necessity they may have to leave their homes and their friends, the places they know and love, to find work in other parts of the country. It can be argued that this is no great sacrifice and in time there is no reason why they should not settle happily. The point we are making is, like the Chinese peasants and industrial workers, the British worker economically has no choice. This is a form of slavery, and as we see it the only alternative is a social revolution.

We have no wish to minimise the dehumanising processes taking place in China to-day, but we think it necessary to remind ourselves that we have no reason for complacency. Already in a country which champions the Christian way of life, South Africa, large groups of "natives" are herded into reserves held in economic and political slavery. In some parts of the British Colonies workers are living in virtual slavery. We could circle the globe and find similar conditions enforced by governments.

We have not discussed whether "family life" as we know it is worth preserving, that is a subject which will not find ready agreement even among anarchists. R.M.

## Letters to the Editor

### Why I am not Anarchist

I'M not an anarchist and I'll tell you why. You see, you anarchists are unrealistic whereas I only want to peacefully under government protection and win the football pools some day. Besides, you've got human nature wrong. People are selfish and avaricious except members of government who the highest motives and protect the weak from the strong.

Most of you are atheists. How can you know what is right without priest or book to guide me? And how do I expiate my guilt without a father to forgive me?

There's too much talk of sexual freedom. If you had your way no woman could sleep safe in her bed at night, a man could never be certain of someone to keep his house, wash his clothes, cook his meals.

If all laws were abolished tomorrow everybody would go round murdering, raping and stealing. Everybody except me, that is.

You are an irresponsible crowd who as I am a good citizen and make my decisions except in the case of marriage, religion, government and war.

You anarchists are maladjusted rotters. I'm perfectly healthy if I keep in with the boss and they are under control. (They being Jews, Gingers, Commies, Pansies, the "enemy" anarchists). There are no problems cannot be solved by a supply of sedatives, tranquilisers or capital punishment. IGNORANCE

### PROTECTING US FROM OUR PROTECTORS

A constable with five years' service in the Essex Police, Kenneth Martin Collins (30), was sentenced to three years' imprisonment at Essex Quarter Sessions yesterday. Collins, of Cheviot Road, Hornchurch, had pleaded guilty of two charges of shopbreaking and theft of groceries and other articles at Hornchurch, and to one charge of being in possession of housebreaking implements—eighteen keys—by night.

Prosecuting, Mr. Neil McElligott, said Collins, regarded as a man of excellent character who had passed his examination to become a sergeant, committed the offences while on night duty. When questioned Collins had said in a statement that he wished 21 other offences to be considered—twelve of shopbreaking, four of attempted shopbreaking, and five of larceny.

### Business is Business

The China National Machinery Import Corporation has placed two large orders with British tool-making firms. The orders follow the virtual lifting in August of the ban on the export of strategic goods to the Soviet block. Both orders were obtained against strong foreign competition, particularly from Germany.

An order worth more than £600,000 goes to the Asquith Machine Tool Corporation, of Halifax. It is for some of the largest horizontal milling and boring machines made in the world. The second order goes to the machine tool division of the David Brown group of companies. It is for turbine gear-hobbing machines to the value of approximately £500,000, complete with measuring instruments and gear-cutting tools. Two of these machines have a diameter of 216 inches and are the largest standard gear-hobbing machines made in the world.

Manchester Guardian.

### Full-Employment

The Editor, FREEDOM.

DEAR SIR, The article on "Full Employment", in FREEDOM (Nov. 15) is vital; and appeals immediately to me, a "life-long" Social Crediter, as objective.

I am wondering, however, whether the writer has not gone off at a tangent, or turned in upon his thesis at the end, where he writes, "In a free society there can be... no unemployed, because the more of us there are... the lighter will be our task of providing for the needs of everybody."

Maybe I am wrong (and I am open to conviction), but that seems to be a policy of sharing work, whereas we Social Crediters aim at sharing *not work* but goods and services. Even in the 1920's according to the experts, it was possible to produce the total physical needs of Great Britain by employing a few thousand men operating machinery, and working only a few hours daily.

In a world of mental fog that article is a light beam of encouragement, and a sign that a new dark age may yet be side-stepped.

Yours gratefully, J. W. LESLIE.

London, W.11.

### Atlas to Vladivostok

Continued from p. 1

arrived at its destination approximately due East of Rio de Janeiro (nearly 2,500 miles distant) and plummeted into the sea to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn. An interesting journey indeed, posing such problems as to its weight on arrival (a few miserable tons?), its average speed throughout the journey, whether it travelled by great circle route, to what extent it was guided—and even such minor hypothetical points as to its likely target if it had been launched from Western Germany almost due East—Vladivostok perhaps, only 600 miles due North of Hiroshima, just East of the Chinese border! But on second thoughts it would be more economical to wipe out Vladivostok from Tokyo with an intermediate-range missile, the Thor or Jupiter.

Such a prospect must surely bring to mind the required weight of a nuclear war-head sufficient to bring about the destruction of Vladivostok and its surrounding area—and population. Armed with the necessary knowledge we are now able to calculate, with absorbing interest, the number of megatons which will do the job satisfactorily; we may even work out a formula for an average city in terms of megatons per head to discover the exact ratio of energy per life (that is to say: death). With a series of formulae it would be possible to determine a figure of megatons sufficient to wipe out the entire world population based on mean populations per areas of given types. The Convaire Company however

contents itself with a very brief comment upon the possibilities of Atlas as "a potent force of the Strategic Air Command..." The Company enlarges its theme to include other and more important spheres, it points out that, "the flight clearly demonstrates the Atlas's potential for employment in the peaceful development of scientific vehicles for the exploration of space."

Vistas of trips to the Moon or Venus are opened up and we immediately visualise the peaceful space pilot, a scientist to his fingertips, manipulating the very complicated controls, calculating the varying degrees of thrust necessary for a safe landing on some uninhabited planet millions of miles from Earth. Or the space pilot based on Moon, with his electronic computer, making last minute adjustments to the missile scheduled to leave for Earth at precisely 10.18 a.m. (Moon time), for its target—Vladivostok—3 days, 2 hrs., 11 minutes and 42 seconds later.

It becomes clear that our obligations are towards an ever increasing understanding of the great events which daily take place around us. If Vladivostok is to be destroyed it is our plain duty to know the scientific basis for such destruction, for do not the majority of us support its political basis? It is plain that yesterday's Vladivostok is tomorrow's Bradford or Brighton, and an enquiring mind as to the means by which we die must be of interest to us all.

### Anti-Missile Demonstration

There is to be a strong protest demonstration on Saturday, December 6th, at the Thor Intermediate Ballistic Missile base at North Pickenham, near Swaffham, Norfolk.

There will be a public meeting at Swaffham at 12 noon, followed by a march from Swaffham at 1.0 p.m., arriving at the base at 2.0 p.m. A group of volunteers will then undertake non-violent obstruction at the base, while those in sympathy will picket the base for an hour.

For further information contact the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, 344 Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4., telephone STAmford House 7062.

Yours sincerely, PAT ARROWSMITH, APRIL CARTER.

### MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

#### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Regular Sunday meetings now held at "Marquis of Granby" Public House, Rathbone Street (near Percy Street and Oxford Street), 7.0 p.m.

Dec. 7.—Donald Rooum on THE BOMB-TROWER MYTH

DEC. 14.—Max Patrick on AN ANARCHIST ANALYZED.

DEC. 21.—Philip Holgate on EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE

#### CROYDON LIBERTARIAN GROUP

For details of meetings and other activities, please write to:

S. E. PARKER, 228 HOLMESDALE ROAD, LONDON, S.E.23.

### 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  
 London, W.C.1. England  
 27 Red Lion Street  
 Tel.: Chancery 8364

**FREEDOM PRESS**

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol. 1, 1951, *Mankind is One*  
 Vol. 2, 1952, *Postscript to Posterity*  
 Vol. 3, 1953, *Colonialism on Trial*  
 Vol. 4, 1954, *Living on a Volcano*  
 Vol. 5, 1955, *The Immoral Moralists*  
 Vol. 6, 1956, *Oil and Troubled Waters*  
 Vol. 7, 1957, *Year One—Sputnik Era*

each volume paper 7s. 6d. cloth 10s. 6d.

The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/- a copy

**E. A. GUTKIND:**  
*The Expanding Environment* 8s. 6d.

**VOLINE:**  
*Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed)* cloth 12s. 6d.  
*Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21*  
*The Unknown Revolution* cloth 12s. 6d.

**V. RICHARDS:**  
*Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* 6s.

**PETER KROPOTKIN:**  
*The State: Its Historic Role* 1s.  
*The Wage System* 3d.  
*Revolutionary Government Organised Vengeance* 3d.  
*Called Justice* 2d.

**MARIE-LOUISE BERNERI:**  
*Neither East nor West* paper 7s. 6d.; cloth 10s. 6d.

**HERBERT READ:**  
*Art and the Evolution of Man* 4s.  
*Existentialism, Marxism and Anarchism* 3s. 6d.  
*Poetry and Anarchism* cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d.  
*The Philosophy of Anarchism* boards 2s. 6d.  
*The Education of Free Men* 1s.

**RUDOLF ROCKER:**  
*Nationalism and Culture* cloth 21s.

**JOHN HEWETSON:**  
*Ill-Health, Poverty and the State* cloth 2s. 6d., paper 1s.

**F. A. RIDLEY:**  
*The Roman Catholic Church and the Modern Age* 2d.

**ERRICO MALATESTA:**  
*Anarchy* 9d.

**K. J. KENAFICK:**  
*Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx* paper 6s.

**TONY GIBSON:**  
*Youth for Freedom* paper 2s.  
*Who will do the Dirty Work?* 2d.

★  
 Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications:  
*Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A Tribute* cloth 5s.  
*Journey Through Utopia* cloth 18s. (U.S.A. \$3)

**27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.**