

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"A man whose limbs have been bound from birth, but had nevertheless found out how to hobble about, might attribute to the very bands that bound him his ability to move."

—ERRICO MALATESTA
"Anarchy."

LABOUR'S HISTORIC ROLE

THE 'Labour' referred to in the above title is not 'labour' in the sense of the working class, nor as used by Marx in his interminable analyses of labour, price and profit, and which Marxists have argued for decades on the question of whether a worker sells his labour or his labour power. It means quite simply the Labour Party.

A glancing reference in the *Observer's* Political Diary has produced me into considering for a moment whether the Labour Party is apparently so strong and permanent an institution in our national life—actually has much of a future to look forward to, in spite of the fact of its famed, glossy, policy pamphlet.

The *Observer's* political correspondent wrote last Sunday:

Three or four months ago it was difficult to find one Labour M.P. in a market who was prepared to bet on the chances of being returned. The party would infallibly lose the next election; it had even fulfilled its mission to would presently go the way of the Liberals. This defeatism was common especially in the Radical wing of the Government.

And it seems that there certainly is something in this idea that whatever historic mission the Labour Party had, it has now fulfilled it and has come to a deadend.

animated its membership. The feeble back-sliding during the General Strike of 1926, the failure of Ramsay Macdonald's government and the triumph of Bevin over Lansbury in 1937, finally destroyed any possibility of the party presenting an alternative to the Tories.

Since then Labour has played a part which can only be described as the consolidation of capitalism by the elimination of its worse excesses and most glaring anomalies. A role which has earned the opposition of the more reactionary and paleolithic of the Conservatives but which, ironically, has now been usurped by the advanced and 'progressive' Tories.

Demonstration

The Conservatives, after all, have always been progressive in that which they have conceived to be in their interests. Where they have been most backward is in recognising where their true interests lie.

They should now be thanking the Labour Party for making it clear to them.

For the Labour Party has demonstrated to the Tories exactly how a capitalist society should be run—or not run. And those Conservatives

who are sufficiently alert to rate survival pretty high among their priorities have not been slow to learn the lessons, with the result that the Labour Party is now seeing its welfare statism being taken over by the Tories and run with very little difference from the way a Labour regime would run it.

This, then, may well have been the historic mission of the Labour Party. Not to act as a harbinger of socialism, as so many of its more thoughtless but enthusiastic supporters have supposed, but simply to be the midwife of the Welfare State—a capitalist state with bureaucratic checks upon the excessive greed of the economically powerful.

Much remains to be done, of course, in this direction. The extravagant waste of surplus wealth is still flaunted by our smart set—but even the Queen, in terminating the high spots of the debutante racket, is playing her part in the process which can only be described as "medicocratising" our society.

Extinction

Well now that its fifty years of existence has had this effect, where does Labour go now? The answer

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Reflections on Mass Education

ACCORDING to a United Nations report only a little more than half of the world's children go to school. One is not surprised by these revealing statistics if one pauses only for a moment to consider how and why education (or rather schooling) for the poor ever developed in countries such as Britain—where today it can be boasted that probably all children go to school.

It was only with the rise of industrialism that the need for some form of elementary education was considered necessary for the mass of the people. Prior to that, education was looked upon as a privilege reserved for a select few. It was not until 1839 however, that Parliament voted grants for the purpose of elementary education in England and Wales, and 1883 before the first real steps towards state intervention in education. It is significant that the post-1918 period gave a great impetus to university training, and was almost all centred in scientific and practical studies, and great extensions took place in Liverpool, Bristol, Leeds and Manchester, while such cities as Southampton, Reading, Nottingham and Exeter made definite moves toward securing their

own charters. As one authority puts it: "In any educational review of that post-war period it is important to recognise the great influence of the commercial world upon higher education". Again, the outbreak of the Second World War appears to have been a spur to further reform and in this post-war age of nuclear fission and cold-war the call for more scientists, more technicians comes from government spokesmen and industry alike. Higher education on a mass scale is now considered as much a necessity to the health of the State and Commerce, as was mass ignorance less than 150 years ago (and still is in many parts of the world today).

State-sponsored mass education today cannot be considered as an example of "enlightened" government. In a world of mass communications whether they be government orders or advertisers' announcements, Income Tax forms or Football pools to complete, a minimum of literacy is essential for the smooth functioning of society. And mass-production, competition in world markets and the struggle for power between nations—based on the development of the best and most deadly weapons of destruction that science and industry can combine to produce,—make even greater demands on brain-power for their achievement. This brain-power can no longer be drawn exclusively from an economically and socially privileged class in society if only because the demand far exceeds the supply. Those in authority have no alternative, therefore, but to look for the brain-power among the masses. The present system of elementary education is designed to serve as a rough and ready clearing-house where at the tender age of eleven plus one has sorted out the sheep from the goats, the bright children from the dull ones, the potential egg-heads from the duffers. For the former a future of subsidies and universities, for the latter a trade and perhaps the General Certificate of Education, if they manage to rise above their educational surroundings!



TO return to our United Nations report. Of that "little more than a half of the world's children" who go to school of what proportion can it honestly be said that schooling has served any useful purpose? True, it is better that children should

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The Steel Nationalisation Snoop Are the Questions Really Necessary?

THE British nearly made it! While in France political scandals were being dragged up every few days, and hurled at each other by supporters and opponents of de Gaulle, nothing was happening to disturb the placid flow of the river of British democracy.

Suddenly, it seemed that trouble was afoot. The secretary of the Labour Party, Morgan Phillips denounced what was described in *Reynolds News* as "the mystery survey on nationalisation". The facts were that a firm of "management consultants" were sponsoring the survey, which was being carried out by the British Market Research Bureau. The strange aspect of this was that the Bureau were using 100% interviewing. The survey was confined to electoral marginal constituencies, and this meant that every single resident there was asked the set of five questions, and the answers recorded together with names, addresses and electoral numbers. Morgan Phillips' accusations, which were turned into parliamentary questions by Harold Wilson during the following week were that the survey was phoney and dishonest; that far from being an objective attempt to discover opinion it was an effort by the steel capitalists to frighten the Labour Party away from nationalisation, and at the same time to provide the Conservative Party machine with information which would be invaluable to it on election day.

"Made it an Issue"

Quite apart from the wider issues, this particular survey does betray quite a few peculiarities, but these were far outdone by the reactions of its political opponents and the organisers. The Labour Party were determined to make it a weighty issue. The news leaked out to the Sunday papers first, and *Reynolds*



'Now, tell me would you like more nationalisation, or less?'

went to town with an inside article by Tom Driberg in which he paid tribute to those devoted workers for socialism who had written to party headquarters and helped reveal the devilish plot, and violent denunciations on the front page. It almost seemed as if they didn't want public opinion to be made known. It was equally apparent that the sponsor of the survey, Mr. Colin Hurry, was interested not in investigation, but in proof. He was reported to be rubbing his hands with glee because the referendum had shown that nationalisation was unpopular, and that generally, even among Labour voters only a minority wanted more of it. The week ended with his remark that the so-called referendum was going to be cut short on Feb. 14th, since it had fulfilled its purpose in making nationalisation an important issue.

On the question of the 100% sample, no one who wanted information for a purely objective reason would dream of taking one. Despite the natural doubts of people who are not in the know, sample surveys can give remarkably precise estimates of opinions on certain types of questions, and since errors of various kinds creep into even a complete investigation, a sample of a few thousand, properly planned would be just as effective as one of two million, unless the investigator really wanted to know the actual details of each small area.

Biased Questions

Another charge made by Phillips was that the questions were so biased that a survey of answers to them would be of no value as information. A glance at the questions as printed in the *Observer* shows that they are alternatively 'angled' so that the answer 'Yes' will favour, then oppose, support for nationalisation. On this general issue an American psychologist during the war looked at the questions put by interviewers on labour affairs, and found a general tendency for them to be slanted against the working class viewpoint. This is probably a simple consequence of the fact that the types who go in for opinion research are anti-working class by background, which is significant rather than sinister.

The most severe charge however, was that the completed questionnaires, together with names, addresses and numbers, might be handed over to big business and the Tory agents. The Market Research Bureau denied emphatically that this could happen, and gave reassurances designed to maintain public confidence in its work.

Can it be possible that a firm of Management Consultants would

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GREAT WHITE QUEEN MOTHER WITCH DOCTOR

NAIROBI, Monday.

For hundreds of scantily-clad Masai tribesmen, glistening with liquid red ochre, today's tribal gathering in the Masai capital of Narok produced what looked like a near-miracle.

The Queen Mother, who is touring Kenya, told warriors and monkey-skin-clad elders that she knew of their love of cattle.

Looking out on to the parched grazing lands, she said: "I earnestly hope that in the coming season you will be blessed with good rains."

The warriors gravely raised their painted shields and burnished spears.

Ten minutes later came thunder and torrential rain which swept the little administrative station and made the Masai delirious with happiness.

The warriors left for shelter—to protect their lion-mane head-dresses, their waving ostrich plumes and their paint.

Old men smiled mysteriously and said that the deluge was the best possible omen for the future prosperity of Masailand.

News Chronicle 10/2/59.

In view of the trouble the farmers have with the weather in this country, can't the National Farmers' Union persuade the Queen Mother to do her stuff for them next summer?

Where's the Surplus?

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!
WEEK 6

Deficit on Freedom £120
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Doctor Chisholm's Dilemma

BROCK CHISHOLM (whose recent conversation in Toronto with Sir Robert Watson-Watt about botulinus, set the world talking about the possibilities of germ warfare), is a Canadian medical man, turned public health administrator, with a record which at least shows that he knows what he is talking about. A psychiatrist at the Maudsley Hospital in the nineteen-thirties, Director-General of Canadian Army Medical Services from 1940 to 1944, Deputy Minister of Health from 1944 to 1946, and Director-General of the World Health Organisation from 1948 to 1953, when he says of the experiments with bacteriological weapons that "If anyone is still not convinced that war and suicide are synonymous, this should convince them", we are very ready to agree with him.

But the Microbiological Research Establishment at Porton, like the Nuclear Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston, or the East Anglian missile bases, is merely a dramatic symptom of the sickness of human society, the sickness which, when he was with the World Health Organisation, Dr. Chisholm diagnosed as an "irrational behaviour pattern resulting from unsuccessful development and failure to reach emotional maturity". Can we, he asked in 1951, identify the reasons why we fight wars, or even enough of them to form a pattern?

"Many of them are easy to list—prejudice, isolationism, the ability emotionally and uncritically to believe unreasonable things, excessive desire for material or power, excessive fear of others, vengeance, ability to avoid seeing and facing unpleasant facts and taking appropriate action. These are all well-known and recognised neurotic symptoms. The only normal motive is self-defence to protect ourselves from aggression, but surely we should be able to see the aggression coming long before it breaks out in warfare, and take appropriate action to satisfy or suppress it. Even self-defence may involve a neurotic reaction when it means defending one's own excessive material wealth from others who are in great need."

The failure to reach emotional maturity, he declared, was usual in the human race, and had been so throughout historical time, and in looking for the reason, he posed the question "what basic psychological distortion can be found in every civilisation of which we know anything?" and produced this impressive answer:

"In the old Hebrew story, God warns the first man and woman to have nothing to do with 'good' and 'evil'. It is interesting to note that as long ago as that, 'good' is recognised as just as great a menace as 'evil'. They are the fruit of the one tree and are different aspects of the same thing.

"We have been very slow to rediscover this truth and to recognise the unnecessary and artificially imposed inferiority, guilt and fear, commonly known as sin, under which we have almost all laboured and which produces so much of the social maladjustment and unhappiness in the world. For many generations we have bowed our necks to the yoke of the conviction of sin. We have swallowed all manner of poisonous certainties fed us by our parents, our Sunday and day school teachers, our politicians, our priests, our newspapers, and others with a vested interest in controlling us. 'Thou shalt become as gods, knowing good and evil,' good and evil with which to keep children under control, with which to prevent free thinking, with which to impose local and familial and national loyalties and with which to blind children to their glorious intellectual heritage. Misguided by authoritarian dogma, bound by exclusive faith, stunted by inculcated loyalty, torn by frantic heresy, bedevilled by insistent schism, drugged by ecstatic experience, confused by conflicting certainty, bewildered by invented mystery, and loaded down by a weight of guilt and fear engendered by its own original premises, the unfortunate human race, deprived by its incubi of its only defences and its only reasons for striving, its reasoning power and its natural capacity to enjoy the satisfaction of its natural urges, struggles along with its ghastly self-imposed burden. The results, the inevitable results, are frustration, inferiority, neurosis and inability to enjoy living, to reason clearly or to make a world fit to live in."

★
WHEN I read these lines seven years ago I thought them a most remarkable utterance for a top international public servant, and I have looked forward to the appearance of Dr. Chisholm's book *Can People Learn to Learn?* (Allen & Unwin, 15s.), which is being published today. In some ways this book is simply a reiteration of what we have heard before from other transatlantic pundits like Lewis Mumford, Ashley Montagu or Erich Fromm, or over here, from people like Julian Huxley, Lord Boyd Orr, and Bertrand Russell. The conditions of our survival on this planet,

he says, is that we outgrow the parental, religious, local and national taboos and obsessions, and learn to think on a world scale, extending the range of our sympathies and loyalties to those of citizens of the world. This may be a commonplace or platitudinous argument but you don't need to look very far to see how little it is heeded. The particular insights that Dr. Chisholm brings to it are those coming from his experience as a psychiatrist and as an international health administrator.

Suggesting that we make the attempt to see the world from a point of view other than that which we absorbed as children through the accident of where we happened to be born and brought up, he gives us a series of world-outlooks, that of an Arab, a Canadian, a Chinese, a Frenchman, a German, an Indian, an Israeli, a Japanese, a South African, a South American, an Englishman, an American, and a Russian. What do we find in common in the variety of culturally determined attitudes that he sketches? The symptoms of a deep and pervasive anxiety, even though "usually it seems that the degree of anxiety felt is grossly out of proportion to the amount of real danger in their actual situation." Anxieties arising from "feelings of guilt and sin or inferiority or insecurity, unacceptable desires, unknown hates or loves, unrealised rebellions or any such tensions within the personality" and complicated by "spirits, gods, saints, devils, and other manufactured protectors, enemies, which can be dealt with only by magic and protective rituals".

A significant condition apparently essential to this load of anxiety seems to be that it is imposed in childhood:

"It is not usually done directly; indeed most parents probably do not know what they are doing to their children in giving them an early introduction to the concept of sin and guilt and supernatural beings. As though these were not enough, many parents add additional anxiety-breeding burdens, superstitions, astrology, local prejudices and faiths which defy intelligence and paralyse it. Many parents even arrange to have their small children taught things which quite specifically they no longer believe themselves, in Sunday school, for instance. It is somehow thought to be 'good' to offer up children to the same intellectually paralysing influences from which it may have taken their parents many years to effect even a partial escape... Imagin-

ation, which should be utterly free, seems to have been fenced within boundaries prescribed by parental, religious and civil authority, in homes and Sunday and day schools. There has been a widespread pattern of control and distortion which has robbed most children, and later adults, of the valuable functions of a free and well-developed imagination. One of these functions should be free exploration, unhampered by local taboo, of all possible human experience...

★
BUT apart from the psychological background to hostility and aggression there are, behind international tensions, the problems of pressure of population and of access to natural resources. Dr. Chisholm reiterates the gravity of the world's population problem. The Population Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has examined the facts about world population, and

"it has drawn a true and terrifying picture of the calamitous rate of increase in numbers of people in the world but is very shy of offering recommendations toward solutions. Its terms of reference include the responsibility of making such recommendations to the Economic and Social Council, and through that body to the United Nations General Assembly, but a widespread taboo and organised resistance on the part of one religious

sect has prevented any results."

"Perhaps the greatest need from the world now, he declares, is discovering or inventing a cheap, certain and harmless method of birth control. A few million spent on such research could save millions of people from death by starvation or war in the future, but

"Such action has not yet been taken because the politicians of too many countries are afraid to defy the status quo established by one sect or one religion. It is as simple as that. The World Health Assembly of 1952 showed a good example of that disastrous control of national and international policy. A delegate of Norway suggested sending an expert committee to study the aspects of population problems. He was supported by a very few, at least of them in knowing defiance of his government's attitudes, but immediately the delegates from Belgium, France, Lebanon, Spain, Panama, Costa Rica and Ireland registered their movable opposition, stating that they might be forced to withdraw from the World Health Organisation if the Assembly decided to set up such a committee. Delegates from any other country avoided any commitment and did everything possible to avoid a vote, the most constructive thing they could do not daring to vote for the Norwegian proposal. Delegates from the U.S. ... Continued on

Inside Out

INSIDE OUT, by George Burgher. Holborn Publishing Company. 12s. 6d.

THE author, in his own person, tells a satirical story of a sort of pilgrimage through modern belief. His hero lives in a bed-sitting-room and wants to write novels but can never write more than book-reviews for which he is not paid. (He reminds me of someone I know very well indeed. Feeling fed-up with this sort of life he goes to an analyst, whose doctrine is "adjustment". It so often is nowadays. Only this analyst is brutally frank about it.

"... everything you say gives me a stronger impression of an illicit individualism which has finally isolated you from the rest of the world," he says.

"But," the patient asks him, "why

illicit? Isn't individualism one of the great ideals of this civilisation of yours extol so highly?"

To which the analyst replies:

"Only in the case of those who have attained a certain eminence. At lower levels the attempt at full self-expression results at best in a kind of pseudo eccentricity which society, quite rightly, stigmatises. As I explained to you before—we can't all be individuals; we can all support a way of life that conferring individuality on a choice of keeps that splendid concept alive."

Burgher tries to show his independence by fleeing from London to Newquay, Cornwall, but owing to an accident misses his train and never gets further than Paddington. After this he falls with a series of seedy eccentric neurotics that seem rather to beat what the analyst has said. The chapters are numbered backwards for a reason that will become apparent when the end of the book is reached.

To me the characters seem too exaggerated, even as caricatures. They belong to the twenties and the early novels of Aldous Huxley rather than to our own age. A.W.U.

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VIPS & ROMS & KEMS

The Good Life

AN acquaintance of mine (we'll call him Vawser), a friendly man, invited me to a week-end party in what he often referred to as his country cottage. One need never be surprised if a country cottage turns out to be, as in this case, a fine house with a dozen bedrooms, all beautifully equipped, furnished, and standing proudly in impressive grounds of about thirty acres. A charming place in Surrey such as one sees advertised at almost any price from £10,000 upwards. Vawser also has what he calls a *pied-à-terre* in London, a glossy, luxury flat in a Babylonish block. "He must have a lot more money than I ever dreamed of," I thought. I went to the party, being interested in the variegations of human nature.

Vawser introduced me to a man whom he described as "an ex-VIP now in business for himself". We were chatting amiably about nothing as we sipped *Veuve Cliquot* when suddenly the ex-VIP looked me straight in the eye and said: "What's your racket?" Rising to the occasion, I replied: "That's just it! What I do for a living doesn't pay very well, and I'm beginning to think that I ought to find some racket but I'm not sure that I know even how to go about it. I wish you'd give me a few hints."

"Hints! That's jolly good!" He laughed heartily and went on: "Why, all you have to do is keep your eyes and ears open and you'll be well away. The most important hint I can give you is to cultivate the right people; and there are plenty of them here. Come along and meet some." I went with him and soon he introduced me to a man called 'Fitz'.

Fitz spoke a kind of telescoped language full of jargon and often using initials like VIP for describing the vocations of individuals. For example, he said to me at one point: "Most of the people here are PEMs" and in full innocence I had to ask him what a PEM is.

"A PEM! A PEM is a Perquisites and Expenses Man. Most of the PEMS here are in some sort of job in which they can live extremely well on perquisites and expenses, so that they have to pay Income Tax only on their modest salary (really a retainer). There are dozens of such jobs but they are not always easy to get. Many of those here this evening are PEMs who have become ROMs, which is even better."

I asked him to forgive my ignorance, but what might a ROM be?

"Why, a ROM is a Rake-off-Man" said Fitz smiling indulgently. "See that man over there? The rubicund chap with the Scottie moustache: he's old X, and nice work he's got. He used to be a traveller in warships. You know: found out about the old warships which big nations were about to scrap and placed them with small countries that were glad to buy some. He didn't have to sell many to make a packet! Now he's a contact man for a huge concern that makes chemicals (I think it's a continental show). I know they make and market a colourless, tasteless liquid which enables caterers or anybody else to use pretty sad old eggs and turn them out poached, fried, boiled or as omelettes as if they were fresh from the hens' bottoms. They pay him £1,000 a year plus expenses and a rake-off on sales. He gets an entertainment allowance for

his wife too, a high-powered blond who mixes extremely well with men and women. I wouldn't be surprised if she made the ROM (I mean ROW) grade as well. It's a big step from PEM to ROM, and not all of us make it."

I began to enjoy the party, for it provided not only lavish entertainment but also instruction. One lives and learns. There were some wonderful patter-men at the party: men who know the arts of making friends and influencing people. And they had some good allies. For example, there was Mr. Accountant A; and Mr. Solicitor B. There were described in the jargon as KEMs: key men, who opened many doors and shut many others. Very discreet, very tactful, but that evening they let their hair if not down then half-down. Mr. Accountant A said that he specialized in the income tax problems of PEMs and ROMs and remarked at one point: "These are good chaps but without people like me they wouldn't have nearly so much spending money. I do quite well from just keeping them on the rails."

By about ten o'clock the party was well warmed up and buzzing nicely. I tried to take stock and thought to myself that none of those present struck me as very interesting though good healthy animals with an eye to the main chance. Oh yes, now I remember: there was one man who was described to me as a 'very important ROM' and I got myself introduced to him, which was not difficult. Over a friendly glass I edged round towards finding out what his particular line was. In a roundabout way he told me: Property. Real estate, they call it in

Reflections on Mass Education

Continued from p. 1

spend their time in school than slave on the mills and mines or in the fields. It is ridiculous to believe that because a nation is statistically speaking literate its people are either more intelligent, happier or wiser, for that matter, freer, than a people that statistically is illiterate. It should be so, of course, if education were designed both to impart knowledge and develop intellectual curiosity. Obviously literacy opens up to the individual a whole world of knowledge and ideas which are largely denied to the illiterate. But with few exceptions education for the poor has been a weapon in the hands of Church or State to coerce the minds of the young into subservience to authority, into acceptance of the *status quo*. In a society which boasts of encouraging "free enterprise", the State educational system has invariably been designed to turn out God-fearing, boss-fearing conformists, trained to perform those menial jobs, socially useless (but useful to their bosses) and personally soul-destroying, and little else. Even those who at the age of eleven have been marked out for higher studies, are, it would appear, as much the slaves of their speciality as their less fortunate brothers are of their inherent dullness. Somewhere in FREEDOM we quoted from a medical journal in which it was pointed out how many medical students were to ill intents and purposes illiterate—and from one's own knowledge, such reflections do not apply only to medical students!

So long as education is viewed as an institution, a conditioning system which equips the young to fit into a society organised for the benefit of their fathers and grandfathers, it can serve no progressive, liberating, ends. Neither, however, can education serve these ends when it crams knowledge into the heads of children as if they were mere objects on a mass assembly belt system. In this connection one is reminded of the story of the French Minister of Public Education who, as he took out his gold presentation watch from his waistcoat pocket, proudly told a visitor: "Monsieur, I can tell you what every child in the French Union is doing at this very moment!"

IT is a subject for rejoicing that in spite of the apparently overwhelming domination of education by governments, the R.C. Church or Industrial Foundations, a minority of teachers and educationists who look upon their jobs as something more than jobs, and the children in their care as something more than clay to be fashioned in a common mould, succeed in conducting their schools, or bringing about changes, which are in the interests of the children. In the past week, we have read of two experiments in education which warm the heart and feed our unquenchable optimism in humanity! The first is Longmoor County Primary School in Derby, which Mr. Roy Perrott describes in a feature article in last Monday's *Manchester Guardian*, with the title "The Child Sets the Pace". "A State School gone 'Progressive'". The second "A School without Classrooms" by James J. Morisseau appeared in the *New York Herald Tribune* (4/2/59). We have reprinted Mr. Morisseau's article elsewhere in this issue of FREEDOM, and we hope interested readers will obtain a copy of last Monday's *M.G.* for themselves. It is interesting to note that what the American educator, Dr. Cocking is wanting to achieve through the

architecture of the school building. Mr. Webb, headmaster at Longmoor, is attempting in spite of the architecture:

The class doing arithmetic had its desks arranged in four circular groups so that—significantly—the boys were facing each other rather than the teacher. Arithmetic is taught here with the barest minimum of blackboard work. In all but a few lessons the boys work on their own, learning the methods and doing the problems straight from the textbook. They work at the pace that suits them, so that you might find the boy who is strongest in the subject a whole textbook ahead of the boy who is weakest.

The practical advantages of this, it seems, are that those with a natural bent for figures can plough ahead through the curriculum, free from the boredom and time-wasting involved in waiting for the averagely slow. Several boys have got so far ahead in this way that they have done one or two terms' grammar school work before they get there. But the system, Mr. Webb emphasises, is not designed so much to produce results like this as to allow each child to find his own speed without pressure. The system allows the teacher more time to attend to the weaker arithmetician who most needs help and explanation.

But coupled with this development of individual capacity is that of co-operation (as opposed to competition which is, after all, the basis of examinations and the "free enterprise" of capitalist society):

Even the teacher can be a little superfluous on the classroom floor, since the boys are encouraged to help each other ("an important part of their social training," said the head); "cribbing" is obviously a thing of the past. It seems to work surprisingly well. You see 30-odd boys working with deadly concentration, but no apparent anxiety, on long division, fractions, or whatever stage they happen to have reached. Four boys are queuing up at the teacher's desk for advice; two others find it more convenient to ask the 9-year-old sitting next to them who easily mastered fractions some weeks ago. The teacher keeps a weekly record of progress for each boy (how many pages of textbook worked through, how many sums right) so that special attention can be given to any boy who is not doing as well as he should. By "should" they mean his natural capacity and not some imposed "average" level of attainment. Mr. Webb explains: "We get to know all our children well enough to understand what we can expect from each one of them and what we can't..."

Mr. Webb, unlike that French Minister of Public Education, could not take out his watch and say just what his pupils were doing at any given moment for:

The class follows its own nose largely and no teacher can say down what strange paths of scholarship the trail will lead. One class spent some time doing research on the Bible story. This led—naturally—to the Middle East oil wells, so that below the rows of paintings of the disciples on the classroom walls you find more paintings of oil derricks, Arab chieftains, palm trees and essays on the date trade, camels and the Suez Canal...

And by following their own noses these youngsters (who are between the ages of 7 and 11) show an "appetite" for work which is striking.

In the past six months, encouraged by their freedom of activity, the head said, the boys have used about ten thousand sheets of writing paper for their stories and research notes.

And as to whether the children like this "system" or not, Mr. Webb pointed out that "a good many of them are waiting to come in half an hour before the school opens each morning".

ALTHOUGH, to our minds, not isolated cases, the two experiments we have quoted represent nevertheless a minority trend in education; not because of the unwillingness of teachers to experiment along the lines of "a free society" as the underlying aim of education but because of the resistance they would meet from local authorities quite apart from many parents.

One can hope to "educate" the parents. At Longmoor for instance, The children's parents, after perhaps a few preliminary doubts about what all this had to do with the 11-plus, are now said to be keenly interested in the school's

BOOK REVIEW

An Ex-C.P.'ers Memoirs

THE STORY OF AN AMERICAN COMMUNIST, by John Gates. Thomas Nelson & Sons, 30s.

IT seemed five years ago as if the flow of "ex-Communist" books had spent its course. A more recent line has been accounts of experiences purporting to come from Hungarians involved in the risings of two-and-a-half years ago. That crisis however caused further defections from the Communist cause, and this present autobiographical story may prove to be only one of several.

For all that it is an interesting book, beginning with the author's schooldays in New York, describing his increasing interest in political affairs and discussions, being galvanised into action and commitment by the Wall Street crash of 1929. It was at that point that he chose the Communist Party because of a feeling, that Communists did things, while Socialists only talked about them. He threw up his studies at the City College, and went to act as a party organiser in Ohio. After several years of agitational work, trying to organise workers in factories guarded by private police forces, and in the face of unemployment, the Spanish War broke out, and Gates volunteered for the International Brigade. He fought with the Brigade until its disbandment, then went home to resume party work. Surviving the Russian-German Pact of 1939, he stayed on to welcome the reversal of policy following Hitler's attack on Russia, and with the enthusiastic support of his comrades, enlisted in the army, to spend the war-time period showing everyone that communists were the best patriots in America.

The end of the war saw the American Party with 75,000 members, Gates a leading bureaucrat soon to be appointed

editor of the party's *Daily Worker* and with an internal crisis on its hands. The point openly at issue was an organisational one, but it involved implicitly questions of the independence of national parties from Moscow, freedom of criticism and thought, and basic ideologies. The upshot was the expulsion of Earl Browder, and the triumph of a rigorist attitude.

In 1958 Gates and a group of Party leaders were brought to trial under the Smith Act for conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. After a manifestly unfair trial (since admitted as such by the Supreme Court), they were sent to prison for five years. After release Gates was soon back in the game, but this time became involved closely in the trend to entirely revise the party's approach to fundamental issues, both in ideology and immediate work. He claims that this was making headway slowly, but that the disclosures of the 20th Congress in Moscow, and the events of Poland and Hungary turned the discussions into personal recriminations. These ended with his resignation in January 1958.

The style of the account is recollective rather than purely narrative. The author constantly allows himself parenthetical comments based on later experience: "As I followed the Tennessee trial over the advocacy of evolution, it never occurred to me, of course, that one day I would figure in a trial over the right to advocate revolution." This habit makes the account more a personal story and less a historical one, and leads straight to the question of why people support the Communist Party. The fact that Gates has the mind capable of realising the horrors of the Soviet regime, and of its work in Hungary, and the obvious errors in policy regarding America, and its organisation, is proved by his actions

in leaving the party and yet producing a well-balanced book about it. Why then could he put up for so long with shutting his mind to these facts which were the common knowledge of everyone, radical left included, for forty years before he tumbled to them.

He himself dismisses the idea that personal abnormalities have a large share in producing communists, except that "It is possible of course to define neurotic so broadly as to take in all of mankind, and so become meaningless." This is like saying that if all mankind were suffering from lack of food, the concept of 'malnutrition' would be meaningless. It seems fairly clear that the man who 'needs' to identify with a party in the political fight, needs to ignore anything which may be amiss on his own side, and that qualitatively there is no difference between the communist and any other party political activist. It is just the fact that confronted with social problems, they feel it necessary to choose the political way out, that leads people rather loosely but with some justification to regard them as neurotics.

John Gates is now a democratic socialist. My impression is that that is what he always has been. He has never been able to get away from the idea that social benefits can come, and come only, from political revolution.

The printing and production of the book make it very pleasant reading. P.H.

OH YOUR HOLINESS!

After reading your article "The Royal Family and the Pope" (*Page Twelve, last week*), I thought of an amusing incident told by Fulford in his book *The Prince Consort*.

When Prince Albert was received by the Pope, a Roman Catholic accompanied the Prince and his friends. But he turned the whole proceedings into a farce by his valiant efforts to kiss the Pope's toe.

He lay flat down on his stomach and suddenly grasped the Pope by the ankle, throwing him off his balance. On recovering the Pope kicked his devout worshipper full in the mouth.

Letter in *Sunday Express*, 8/2/59.

People and Ideas

Continued from p. 2

States of America, United Kingdom, Canada and many others were in that position. The delegate from the United States of America put the situation very mildly when he stated "W.H.O. might lose much good will if we set up a population committee".

There is now, Dr. Chisholm says, an increasing acceptance of the belief that peace and freedom from fear in the world can be found only when a roughly equal standard of living has been attained throughout the world. This, at a time when the gap between the advanced and the underdeveloped nations is actually increasing, seems a remote enough possibility and it seems even more difficult to achieve when we learn that North America is using approximately half of the world's production of natural resources, oil, coal, iron, aluminium, copper, tin, nickel, and many others, and that "more of the world's irreplaceable natural resources have been used by North America than were used by the whole human race throughout all their history before that time".

The prosperity of the wealthy was based on successful aggression in the days when it was still respectable:

"Many of the prosperous people of the world are prone to ignore that fact that, in almost every case, their own comfort is built on the same type of aggression they now forbid to those people who have the misfortune to have been born

activities. The parent-teachers' organisation, a hundred strong, acts as a kind of community centre for the neighbourhood.

But because it is against everything government stands for and against the present order of society, one cannot imagine a State education system encouraging the free development of the child within a free environment, however successful it proved to be for the child. Society is more important than individual freedom and happiness. As if society can in fact exist outside the individual! It is because it is made to function irrespective of human needs and aspirations that society is the inhuman monster it is today, and mankind, with material comfort within its reach, goes hungry, is spiritually insecure, and men are divided and unhappy.

Man will only organise for the needs of man when he realises that no centralised machine can take over his responsibility towards himself and his fellow beings.

of less aggressive, or less successfully aggressive ancestors. For these same prosperous people to talk of territorial justice is regarded as a bad joke by the hungry peoples. Aggression was regarded as admirable when engaged in all over the Americas by the Dutch, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish, and in Africa by the Americans, Belgians, Dutch, English, French, Germans, Portuguese, and Spanish, but it was just a little too late when the Italians tried it. Moral styles had changed, not at that time enough to prevent the Italian aggression, but enough to justify forced restitution later on.

"Aggression was still respectable when the Americans, Butch, English, French, Portuguese, were taking territory in Asia and the West and South Pacific, but not by the time Japan was strong enough to take her turn. It is tragic for Japan but fortunate for some others that their attempt did not take place earlier."

Perhaps, he suggests, the lucky people have some responsibility to help ease the lot of the unlucky ones. "Those who would speak of justice in this context must surely recognise such an obligation." In any case, the less economically developed countries will increasingly seek to retain more and more of their own natural resources and raw materials at home, and will be reluctant to export anything but finished products.

"The ability of the United Kingdom to support its present population is based very largely on the import of raw materials, the export of finished products and the transportation involved. Increasingly the United States and other industrialised countries are dependent on raw materials from the less developed parts of the world, and on foreign markets for their manufactured goods. . . . What will be the situation when, in the near future, many more countries reach that same stage of industrialisation?"

THEY will certainly not be interested in keeping up the standards of living in countries already far ahead of their own. Dr. Chisholm sees widespread economic disaster and misery in store, unless the most highly developed nations will realise how deeply their own prosperity is involved in the problem of the poverty of the poor nations, and he looks to what he variously calls, "some sort of world government" and "some form of world federation" to ensure the equitable distribution of world resources.

This is Dr. Chisholm's dilemma. He pins his faith on the United Nations and its specialised agencies, though he shows that these have a merely hand-to-mouth existence, dependent upon political campaigns and vote-catching in the member nations, whose political antics alarm and amaze him:

"Study should be made of what can be done about the attitudes of the kinds of people who elect irresponsible, untrained, even uneducated people to positions of great trust and responsibility. Clearly there is something wrong with those electors. They are not thinking truly in terms of cause and effect or they would see the danger to themselves and to their children in electing such misfits and such dangerous people."

Like ourselves, puzzled by the spectacle of human irrationality and irresponsibility, he looks ultimately to education:

"The great necessity in this generation is to try to catch up in practice with what knowledge is already available.

"We know, for instance, that love is the only really socially constructive human motivation, yet we teach our children our own patterns of prejudice, intolerance and hate. We know that our nationalistic attitudes are out of date and socially destructive, yet we teach our children our own narrow national loyalties.

"We know that colour of skin has no correlation with intelligence, with nobility of character or social value, yet most of the pinkish, so-called white people persist in their completely unreasonable prejudices against marriages between themselves and those with more brown, or black, or copper, or yellowish pigment in their skins. Of course, what is really frightening to whites about the coloured peoples is their own repressed guilt and shame for the savage ways in which they have treated them for so many generations. . . .

"We know that while poverty does produce misery and a dangerous state of desperation, wealth does not produce happiness; yet many of us spend our whole lives in quite unconstructive work, just to accumulate more dollars than we need. . . .

"The implications of all these and countless other lags in all our cultures can be avoided by retreat into mysticism, or patriotism, or some panacea that will avoid the unpleasant necessity of facing facts and paying whatever may be necessary in the difficult coin of change in our own attitudes."

Can people learn to learn? Dr. Chisholm asks. An equally important question is: Can we learn in time?

C.W.

Anti-Semitism

DEAR COMRADES,

Response to the letter to the Editors in No. 4 of FREEDOM, January 24, 1959. What D.C. says in his letter applies to me also, I have no personal axe to grind but I am for justice for a badly persecuted people. The Jews have been persecuted now for about 3,000 years, it started with the departure from Egypt. By many persecutions, pogroms, and last but not least the gas-chambers of Hitler, the numbers of the Jews has never reached its natural development, 12 millions may be about the number of living Jews today, with a natural development, and without persecutions the number would be fairly estimated at 100 millions.

I have associated with Jews since my earliest childhood, and later on when I travelled in Africa and West Asia I took the opportunity to visit that part of Egypt where they lived 3,000 years ago, and from there I went through the desert across the Suez Canal to Palestine (today Israel). And Palestine I crossed and re-crossed several times on foot, so I was well acquainted there. But when I was there, only a few Jews were living in Palestine, and on the place where today the big city of Tel-Aviv is built, were in those days only sandhills, and inhabited by jackals and poisonous snakes. The roads in Palestine were infested by robber Bedouins, who robbed the travellers who were mad enough to travel alone, and not in groups. I was robbed myself, because I was alone. It was a typical desert country, infested by robbers. But that was 50 years ago.

Israel today is quite another country, and it gives the lie to everybody who asserts that Jews do not like hard work, or cannot work hard. Everybody who affirms that let him only try desert farming. I guarantee that he gives it up when he has to raise every tree, blade and stalk by artificial irrigation, and insufficient water, that is the case with the farming in Israel.

Reading their history, and by practical comparisons during my travels in the Near East, I have come to the conclusion

that a Jewish Race does not exist, I have met Jews from a dark brown skin colour in Southern Arabia to the complexion of an Anglo-Saxon, blue eyes, blond hair in Eastern European countries. That is natural, the Jews have mixed up with the populations of those countries where they have remained for a longer or shorter time. Another case, part of people, have in the course of history turned to the Mosaic religion, for instance the Goths in the fourth century. These people came from the Baltic Sea (near related to the Anglo-Saxons), and settled near the Black Sea, and there they stepped over to the Mosaic religion. A Mosaic religion exists, but a Jewish Race is only the product of a wild phantasm like the Nazis had.

Of course, all the Jews who are not, or not much mixed with other races have the typical features of the Semitic race. But who are the Semitic races? I have asked Nazis high up in their hierarchy this question, of course they could not tell me, and I never expected that they could tell me, the question was only a feint on my part. They were like sheep who at the order of their 'Führer' bleated 'baa, baa', and that was all their knowledge of human races. The original Jews were a part of the Semitic race, and like the Arabs they belong to this race, in ancient times the Jews were a tribe of Arabian people, and like them, cattle-owning nomads. All South-Western Asia with the exception of Persia, has been inhabited by peoples of the Semitic race, from the border of India to the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Amongst them were the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Babylonians and Samaritans, the latter are the people, as far as researchers have been able to discover, who had the first culture in the world, thousands of years older than the culture of Egypt. At that time the people of Europe had hardly arrived at the culture of the Stone-Age; it is not a fault to belong to the Semitic race. The relation between Arabs and Jews is proved by their languages, Arabic and old Hebrew. I have never learned Hebrew, but I had to study Arabic when I was in the Near East for my trade of printer. I was not surprised when I met Jews in the Near East and could understand much of their conversation. Of course the languages have drifted apart, but not so much as the languages in Europe, in the last 2,000 years. Think of modern English, and the old Anglo-Saxon. For instance I give here the name of the old place in Palestine: "Bersheba" thousands of years old, in Arabic the name is "Bersaba". In English: Ber=Well—sheba or saba in English=seven. The name in plain English is: Seven Wells.

I had last week a conversation with an old Jewish lady about the everlasting persecution of the Jews. The lady was of the opinion that the persecution was partly due to the Jews, about 10 per cent., who were flashing their jewellery and diamonds as soon as they were in possession of money and property; and by that behaviour rouse the envy of the populations, and their hatred. The lady

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

may be right in some cases, but that does not apply to the prevailing conditions we have today here in Germany. After the terrible persecutions of Hitler only a small number of Jews have returned to Germany, about 5 per cent., and they mix very little with Germans, unless they know they are their friends, and I have never seen a Jew flashing diamonds or jewellery.

But in spite of this fact, it seems that the people of Germany have learned nothing from the Hitler dictatorship and the last war, the fact is that the Jew-baiting has commenced again, and is growing and growing, until a few months ago it had even reached the limit for the government, to punish it with prison sentences. But this bill is double-edged, it can be used for other purposes. For about a year has lasted the so-called German trade miracle, this wonder of big business has been taking on another face, i.e. a "recession" which is knocking on the doors of workshops and factories, and more and more workers are discharged. Of course, nobody knows how it will end, war would be an outlet, but a little too dangerous nowadays. For a safety valve, keep the Jews in reserve, and blame the "recession" onto them if nobody else is at hand.

Fraternally,
Wuppertal, Germany. W.F.
Jan. 27, 1959.

Steel Nationalisation

Continued from p. 1

undertake a survey costing, on their own admission, between £300,000 and £500,000 without knowing the details of working and ethical codes of Market Research? They let the cat out of the bag at the first opportunity and then call the whole thing off, not with chagrin at having had a scientific survey spoilt, but pleased at having caused a commotion. It seems equally suspicious that the Research organisation, if its ethical code is so high, was prepared to further what was obviously a thinly disguised propaganda trick, and the thin disguise only put on to take in gullible people likely to be impressed by the pseudo-scientific methodology.

Research for Markets

The crux of the matter is that all Market Research is fundamentally a swindle. A correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* welcomed the idea of surveys, and said that he would "be delighted to give my opinions on capital punishment on Monday, the eleven plus examination on Tuesday, whether Mr. Selwyn Lloyd should resign on Wednesday, parking meters on Thursday, and whether the BBC or ITV should have the third channel on Friday... I should then feel that my opinion on some important questions was of some use. I don't feel it is at the moment!" Such a letter betrays the fundamental popular misconception, that people undertake this kind of survey for the good of the customer, or the elector. Some opinion surveys have been carried out with highly creditable objects, such as to study racial tensions with the idea of reducing them by education. However, when market research comes along, there are no more ethics in it than there are in the idea of producing for a profit market, or creating markets for products in order to take the profit. They could only think of asking opinions on an important issue in order to manipulate them in the interests of clients, either commercial or political.

As a political scandal it was a flop. Bad luck Labour Party! At least the survey has been called off—but if one is interested neither in nationalisation or capitalism, but in running the steelworks in the interests of the whole community, then the answers to a questionnaire will do no more good than the traditional cross on a ballot paper.

SYNDICALIST.

A School without Classrooms

NEW YORK.—Architecturally American education has come a long way since the days of the little red school-house with its hard wooden benches and pot-bellied stove.

Educators, increasingly concerned with the needs of the student, demanded and eventually got well-lighted, centrally heated classrooms.

Still later, they managed to relax the rigid classroom arrangement, doing away with the rows of bolted-down desks in favour of movable furniture that could be rearranged for different student groupings and class projects.

But the school of today is still based on that four-walled educational cubicle called the classroom.

This month, however, the nation's school administrators will get a preview of what may be the school of the future—a school without classrooms.

This school of the future grew out of the conviction of a prominent educator that school procedure, formalized in the classroom atmosphere, has tended to over-emphasize the group.

The educator, Dr. Walter B. Cocking, editor of *The School Executive*, and former State Education Commissioner in Tennessee, handed his ideas to Charles W. Brewbaker and Lawrence B. Perkins, of the firm of Perkins and Will, school architects.

The underlying aim of education in a free society, Dr. Cocking told the architects, is "the fullest possible development of the individual." He added:

"But this goal has become obscured by mass education. Sheer numbers and the formalizing of school procedure have tended to shift the emphasis of the school from the individual to the group, and especially to what is called the class."

Mr. Brewbaker put it another way: "We have come to think in terms of 30 instead of in terms of one."

The problem, Dr. Cocking told the

architects, was to design a physical school environment that can foster individual learning and eliminate the conflicting forces which the general classroom procedure has produced, i.e.: "The creation of stereotypes or classroom averages of the teacher's concern with the class as a whole at the expense of his attention to the individual; the practice of keeping the group progressing at the same pace at the expense of individual ability, the effort to teach all members of the class the same things the same way."

The need, he said, was for the student to have a "home" of his own in the school, an individual study area, which he chose to call the "Q Space"—"Q" for "quest" (for learning). Similarly, teachers would be provided with individual studios. Group spaces of various kinds would be set up for joint projects, lectures and other group activities.

The architects took the "Q Space" concept and came up with some design. The idea, Mr. Brewbaker said, can be applied in campus-type buildings, multi-story metropolitan schools or even in existing conventional buildings, tearing out existing classroom walls.

Will the "Q Space" be the nucleus of the school of 1965?

Dr. Cocking and the architects intend to find out. Full-colour sketches of architects' concepts will be prominently displayed in the Atlantic City Convention Hall, Feb. 14, when 20,000 school administrators gather for the annual convention of the American Association of School Administrators.

Said Mr. Brewbaker: "We think that this will generate a great deal of excitement—so much so that we'll find some who will be willing to try it."

JAMES J. MORISSEAU JR.
New York Herald Tribune
(Feb. 2, 1959)

[This article is referred to in our Editorial columns.]

On Wheels in the Head

DEAR COMRADES,

May I thank Donald Room for correcting me on the use of Byington's mis-translation of Stirner. I am rather disappointed since "wheels in the head" seemed an appropriate description of mental convolutions. Please note that although "the loose screw" may be the idiomatic equivalent of Der Einzige, I would not apply it to Arthur Uloth or his ideas.

I would like to apologise to Comrade Uloth for carelessly writing of "oneness" with "nature" whereas his letter refers to "oneness" with "life". It seems to me, however, that there is little to choose between both ideas.

Yours faithfully,
London, Feb. 8. PETER G. FEAK.

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Labour's Historic Role

Continued from p. 1

is very clearly—nowhere. It can only stay where it is, going round and round in ever-decreasing circles—and we all know what happened to the bird which could do only that.

From the point of view of British society as it is, therefore, the Labour Party is finished as an organ of change. Its positive contribution can be no more than that of a caretaker or maintenance man.

Can it be, however, that its negative contribution will turn out to be more fruitful? Is it not possible that we can regard the Labour Party's history as a demonstration of how a different form of society will not be achieved, and that this will prove to be a valuable, if costly, experience for the working class?

In asking this question, we beg a question which should be taken first: is the working class interested in a change in society? A question to which the answer is obviously 'No'. But this hides the futility of thinking in class terms and waiting for historical processes to move economic classes. There are thousands of individuals within the working class, probably more among the middle-classes at various levels, and even a number among the 'upper class' who are ready for fundamental changes in society, but who have pinned their faith to the Labour Party as the most likely medium for achieving those changes.

Recognition

If these people can be convinced of the futility of hoping in that direction, they could be free to think along two other lines: first, an alternative political party, secondly, an alternative to politics itself. Now if even Members of Parliament can think in terms of the Party having 'fulfilled its mission' and being ready for the museum along with the Liberals (even though they think like this through despair and thrust their morbid thoughts away when the Gallup Poll cheers them up), how much more cogently must the thought strike those many sincere

and intelligent Labourites with a job at stake?

Now should these people fall for our first alternative, we shall be back where we started in no time. But if they come to the conclusions behind our second one, that real progress and change can come about only through social activity as distinct from political, then we may see a recognition, if belated, of the validity of the anarchist position, which is, after all, precisely that.

And if this does transpire, then we can thank the Labour Party—for having led so many up the garden path and having demonstrated that it gets them nowhere. P.S.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

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

FEB. 15.—Jack Robinson on "HUXLEY'S 'BRAVE NEW WORLD REVISITED'".
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