

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

All voting is a sort of gaming  
... a playing with right and  
wrong ... even voting for the  
right is doing nothing for it.

THOREAU.

(Duty of Civil Disobedience)

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Threepence

## THE ENGINEERS' 15 PER CENT STRIKE ON DEC. 2?

WILL the three million workers in the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions resort to direct action to press their claim for 15 per cent. pay rise?

Among the rank and file patience is running out and bitterness flowing in. The employers' brusque refusal to yield a pay increase at this time has hardened the men's—and women's determination to bring pressure to bear upon them.

### Real Wages Lower

Like many workers faced with steady increases in their cost of living, engineers' real wages are lower to-day than in 1947 and they are compelled to work overtime in order to make a living wage.

This means that whenever anything happens on the selling side of the industries and the long hours are reduced to the standard working week, the workers discover that their basic wage is insufficient for their needs.

FREEDOM has consistently pointed out that the pressure of work since the war, resulting in the opportunity for most industrial workers to work long hours of overtime as well as Saturday and Sunday work, has hidden the fact that relative to prices, wages have not risen as was necessary even to maintain living standards.

Profits have, though, and during the post-war heyday for British engineering and shipbuilding, before the present competition from Germany and Japan began to make itself felt, dividend percentages reached fantastic levels.

### Call for Strikes

Now, however, the engineers are getting restive. Eighteen months ago, at their annual conference, they decided that a wage increase of £2 a week was what they needed. Their Confederation leaders settled for 7s. 6d.!

At this year's conference they unanimously fixed upon a 15 per cent. increase for all workers—and let the leadership know that there would be trouble if they didn't get it.

At last year's talks between the union and the employers' federation, the bosses knew that the union leaders had told the rank and file that their claim was unrealistic—and treated it accordingly. This year, however, they have had a solemn warning from the rank and file that direct action will follow if their demand is not met.

And Mr. Ted Hill, general secretary of the United Society of Boilermakers, Shipbuilders and Structural Workers, told a mass meeting at Sunderland last week:

"If the wage claim made by the

shipbuilding and engineering workers is neglected by the employers I can accept no responsibility for any action which may be taken."

Which is a fairly clear indication that, whether officially or unofficially, the workers will take action. On the prospects of success in such action, Mr. Hill went on to say:

"You people can do more in the workshops to change the minds of the employers than we can do across the table at national level. Never before have workers been so unjustly dealt with on a

just claim."

And he pointed out that twenty shipping companies had paid out increased dividends in the first nine months of this year.

The Manchester district committee of the Confederation, speaking in the name of 120,000 workers, has asked the national executive to declare a national embargo on overtime and piecework and a one-day token strike throughout the whole country of all members. This action was described as a minimum in a resolution passed by about 500 shop stewards in Manchester last Saturday.

### The "Moderates"

Naturally there is serious opposition from some quarters to the idea of resorting to direct action. All those union leaders who rejoice in

the reputation of being "moderate" are urging continued talks and are hoping to get their claim taken to arbitration.

Of these, Jack Tanner, president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and this year's chairman of the T.U.C., is the most influential. Tanner is due for retirement next year, when he will be 65, and quite clearly wants a nice quiet time for his last year in office.

He should remember, however, that in the workshops, helping to pay his salary—and next year helping to pay his pension—there are thousands of men of over 65 who cannot afford to give up work. Every penny they earn goes in week-to-week expenses, and Jack Tanner could help their plight by being a little more militant on their behalf

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## Heavy Bombers for Kenya

IN spite of repeated assurances from Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, the Colonial Secretary, and other Government spokesmen, that the situation in Kenya is improving, the decision to use heavy bombers against Mau Mau can only be described as a desperate measure.

Four-engined bombers have been designed for use against concentrated industrial and military targets. They are terror weapons against mass populations. They carry block-busters which can wipe out whole districts in modern cities together with their inhabitants. They are certainly not weapons usually thought of as suitable for use against small scattered groups of primitive tribesmen. Nor can they be effective to their fullest capacity in open country.

Nevertheless, law and order is now being defended in Kenya by four-engined heavy bombers. These choice products of our civilization are being used to bomb the prohibited areas from which Africans have been banned.

Seeking to have debate on this decision in the House of Commons, Mr. Leslie Hale described this as "a policy of extermination of innocent people". Mr. Lyttelton, however, pointed out that "if anybody endangers his life by being in the prohibited areas he has a very simple remedy, which is to get out of it."

For governments, things are as simple as that. You simply declare large areas prohibited and then if anyone goes into them—well they deserve to be bombed, don't they!

### No Military Solution

The fact that this determined and ignorant cruelty is very clearly not going

to solve the problems wracking Kenya does not seem to have entered the head of our Colonial Secretary, although General Sir George Erskine, the man in charge of military operations, said recently that the problem in Kenya "is not military and there is no military solution to it. It is a purely political problem."

Now undoubtedly the bomber is a political weapon, but the solution it offers is hardly likely to be lasting—except for its victims. And the Mau Mau, seeking an answer to the heavy bomber, are now said to be taking hostages into the prohibited areas, hoping that the presence of innocent persons forcibly held there will dissuade the Government from bombing.

But they are underestimating the ruthlessness of both General Erskine and Oliver Lyttelton if they imagine a few more innocent lives more or less will really worry them.

### Economic Resistance

A significant move by Mau Mau has recently come to light. Reported in the American magazine *Time*, after being

carefully ignored by the British Press, we now learn the real reason for the recent round up in Nairobi of all Africans not carrying the proper passes.

This was a move to bring the Mau Mau struggle into Nairobi itself by the use of economic boycott. The call went out to all Africans in the city to stop travelling by the British-owned trams and to stop smoking the British-produced cigarettes. This boycott was 100 per cent. successful—except, we hear, for one African who was thrown in the river for smoking in the street.

One newsman—James Cameron of *News Chronicle*—tells us that General Erskine regards this as the beginning of a civil disobedience campaign, and then says:

"In a subtle sort of way this is being stimulated—possibly the first recorded time any authority has tacitly encouraged a passive resistance movement against itself, as being at least more manageable than throat slitting."

## "Fears" for Export Trade

ONCE again the nature of our economy is exposed by the fears for British export trade. "Vital markets outside the dollar area are being lost to Germany, the United States, and Japan. While world exports over the past two or three years have been rising, the volume of British exports has been falling, and her share in total exports of manufactures has been shrinking" (front page article in *Observer*, 22/11/53, by their Economic Correspondent).

Now if "Britain" is losing markets to Germany or the United States, or Japan, it follows that these countries must be gaining markets. And if "Britain" gains a particular market it can only be at the expense of some other competitor who either fails to gain it, or loses what had already been gained. Whenever exports are mentioned they immediately expose the merciless competition which market economy produces.

But the newspaper-reading public is apparently quite content to applaud "our own" successes in the economic sphere, without reflecting that (insofar as capitalist prosperity reflects itself on the working class—through increased employment and security of employment, and higher wages) "our" gain is "their" loss. So little is there of international spirit or sense of concern for the inhabitants of other countries.

### Factors in Success

Such a situation provides a more serious general indictment of our economic system than any single

charge. But the lesson is only driven home by any deeper consideration of the export problem. For example a cursory examination of the factors which make for success in competitive markets equally denounces the whole business.

For years British Trade Unionists regarded as "unfair" the ability of Japan to undersell the British manufacturers because wages were so much lower in Japan. But from an employer's point of view, keeping labour costs down is an obvious way of competing more effectively. No wonder the linking of such desirable aims with patriotic endeavour towards national recovery has become such a general (and wearisome) slogan of governments. There can be no doubt that high wages defeat competitive success.

But what of the United States. Do not the high standards of living there belie this argument? At most the U.S. example shows that high standards of living can be made compatible with successful competition abroad, by accepting yet another unsatisfactory method.

All the working parties (to use the modern jargon) which have been visiting the United States from this country have pointed out that American success is due to a completely whole-hearted acceptance of the machine. "Never do by hand what a machine can do for you" is described as the motto of U.S. industry. So the remedy for high wages in a world of competition is out-and-out industrialization.

On the other hand every common-

### Power of the People

What this latest move will really do is to mobilise the strength of the Africans and will hit the Europeans where it hurts. The Africans being the majority are the mass market for all the goods and services produced by the European capitalists. If that market closes, more effect can be made upon the economy of the country than by the terror tactics of Mau Mau so far.

The two lines of attack together, however, will present the rulers of Kenya with a real headache. The effective Mau Mau are described as a "tattered mob of hungry outlaws hiding in the woods and hills". This tattered mob, however, are occupying the time of 40,000 troops with all their supply organisations, numbers of Harvard aircraft and now a detachment of Lincoln heavies. They clearly have the backing of their people and indicate the power of the people when they pass from acquiescence to resistance.

For us in this country, the task is straightforward. Whether we agree with Mau Mau or not, we should miss no opportunity of expressing our contempt for the governments which talk of democracy, but act with heavy bombers.

sense view, and every investigation of social problems, tells us that half the social sickness of modern western man is due to—industrialization. The American "remedy" therefore simply is to embrace another unsatisfactory course.

The "necessity" to export therefore disregards the welfare of other peoples (and in the end produces wars as well), tends to make low wages a desirable end, and where this is not possible drives men into a pattern of life known to be harmful and destructive.

### Local Self-Sufficiency

It is difficult not to draw the conclusion that competitive market economy is a most disastrous human activity. Yet the suggestion that particular areas (fairly small ones) should seek to be self-sufficient and produce to satisfy their own needs, is treated with derision, especially in socialist and progressive circles. Yet it is becoming more and more obvious that a local economy founded on the land and primary production (i.e. production of primary needs) can provide a far more satisfactory basis for existence. But such a concept is absolutely alien to the "export" type of mind, and requires a complete revision of our methods of economy. In brief, it is a revolutionary concept. Yet more and more is it coming to be regarded as the right way for people to live, as the competitive economy of to-day is seen ever more clearly to defeat human aspirations towards "the good life".

## FREEDOM FOR Mr. ATTLEE

THE City of London, centre of British capitalism and of the British Empire, paid its respects last week to Mr. Clement Attlee, leader of the British Labour Party and of the Opposition in the House of Commons.

Mr. Attlee, who likes to call himself a socialist, was given the Freedom of the City of London, at the Guildhall, after he had inspected a guard of honour of pikemen from the Honourable Artillery Company.

Several quaint features belong to this historic ceremony, but surely the quaintest of all is the spectacle of a man who leads a party which is supposed to fight for the working class, being wined, dined and honoured in the very financial stronghold of the ruling class.

But then, as Attlee himself said, "This is a thing that could happen in hardly any other country but this." Whether our hypocrisy is something we should be proud of, he did not say.

### Churchill's Tribute

The more interesting speech, as is usual, came from Sir Winston Churchill, who turned up at the luncheon to propose Mr. Attlee's health.

Churchill is a most cunning party politician, and he knows well that the most damning thing he can do to the Labour Party and its leaders is to praise them. Especially in the terms he praised Attlee at the Guildhall.

Assuring the distinguished assembly that he still thought of Attlee as "My Rt. Hon. Friend", Churchill went on to say:

"He has many qualifications that entitle him to the respectful tributes of us all.

"We must remember that he played the leading part in the formidable and costly rearmament programme, including the establishment of National Service in time of peace, and the development and culture of the atom bomb."

And referring to the wartime coalition in which Tory, Labour and Communist stood shoulder to shoulder, the Old War Horse went on:

"May it long remain a fundamental law of our country and a deep instinct of the nation that, whatever may be our party quarrels and divisions, when we fall into mortal perils we shall stand together and fight to the death for all that Britain and her cause mean to us, and, indeed, to all mankind."

We hope that Mr. Attlee can square with his socialist conscience the certain knowledge that he helped many men to fight to the death in two world wars (he was a Major in the first), and has encouraged the production of the most appalling means of destruction, in the defence of the City of London and all it stands for.

No wonder the stockbrokers and financiers drank his health!



# State Education or State Stupefaction

"The art of teaching everything except what will be of use to the recipient, is national education."  
—THOMAS LOVE PEACOCK, *Gryll Grange*, (1860)

NATIONAL education is false in theory and pernicious in practice; it suppresses individuality, superinduces uniformity, and a constrained and unnatural manner of action; it cultivates a spirit of submission and authority, wholly at variance with the spirit of independence and self-reliance which are the sure marks of a free people. The child receives a niggardly dole of not very accurate information; cleverly assorted scraps of suprious science and inculcated upon it to prove necessity of law. The child's mind is crammed with a knowledge of facts without the exercise of thought in the comparison and arrangement of those facts, which is like overloading the stomach with food it cannot digest. But they have to be swallowed by the beginner in the art of living whether he likes them or not, and is hungry for them or not. A child, if left to itself, will seek the knowledge it wants, and will not require any severe mental process to master it. It will develop its own individuality, and not another's. It will become capable of strong, vigorous and independent thought, a thing impossible under any system imposed from without. A child should not be expected to learn anything, but because he desires it, and has some conception of its utility and value. No idea should ever be established in a child's mind otherwise than by what the child can see for itself. But in State schools, instead of developing the child's own faculties of discernment, and teaching it to judge and to think for itself, the teacher uses all his energies to stuff its head full of the ready-made thoughts of other people.

State schools must always promote a definite form of development, so far as they do not actually repress the acquirement of real knowledge, notwithstanding the greatest precautions. Even where they seek to encourage the spontaneous development of the faculties, they must prove impracticable, because, wherever there is uniformity of organisation, there must be uniformity of result. In proportion as it is efficient and successful, State education establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body. State education imprints ready-made ideas and opinions on the mind of the child, and it is thus that he afterwards comes to view the world, and to gather experience, through the medium of these prejudices, rather than let his ideas be formed for him out of his experience of life, as they ought to be. Every institution which acts to thwart individual development, and mould men into common types, directly counteracts the current of civilization; the grand leading principle towards which every advance in human civilization directly converges is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity.

It is because they are perverted by State education, which is a mere contriv-

ance for moulding people to be exactly like one another, for killing the spirit of revolt in children and developing that of submission to authority, that the great majority of men and women carry about a burden of wrong notions all their lives long—delusions, superstitions, prejudices, which at last become fixed ideas. Delusion is the father of a large and respectable family, including religion, duty, patriotism, obedience. By the education they receive in school, and later at the hands of writers of political propaganda, and a multitude of official poisoners of all sorts, priests and laymen, most people are conditioned to believe that government is an intrinsically beneficent thing. Thus their intelligence is successfully befogged, and always to maintain their respect for law, to make them obedient to authority, and to accept religious traditions without criticism and in the lump. The mould in which State education casts people is that which pleases the predominant power in the Government. Governments are systematic poisoners, interested stupefiers of the masses.

The child who has never learned to act alone, to govern itself, grows into an adult who is easily led, and must always lean upon others. If we would have children capable of self-government in adult age, they should practice the rights of self-government in childhood. Children are principally the creatures of example. If they see us attempting to govern each other, they will imitate the same barbarism. State education is a training for existence under ferule of law, which regulates every event in life, a society in which people are abjectly obedient to their superiors and inhuman to their inferiors. The historical hero of the schoolroom is the man who obeys the law, and defends it against rebels. The instruction that is given in State schools is based on the supposed eternal necessity for a division of rich and poor, and on the principle that social harmony consists in the fulfilment of the laws. What the children are not told is that the wealth of the wealthy is the result of the poverty of the poor, that the million and one laws that govern mankind fall into one or other of three categories: laws for the protection of poverty, government or

# SMOG GETS IN YOUR EYES

THE season of mists and mellow fruitfulness brings no joy to Londoners. In the fall the fading sun and the haze across the Thames warn them that soon the fogs of winter will be upon them. Then the mixture of carbon monoxide and sulphur dioxide that serves them for an atmosphere will become an opaque yellow mass, and they will have to grope their way through it, choking and spluttering, like frustrated laboratory rats in some psychological experiment. Even the sodium fog-lamps cannot penetrate a London fog for long, and as their golden light fades in the gloom the slow traffic stops altogether. Then every journey becomes a gamble and every breath a wheeze. And all the time thousands of chimneys are vomiting smoke into the thickening murk as "the champion coal-wasters of Europe" heave another shovelful onto the fire.

I was rather surprised that Giovanni Baldelli did not deal with *homo stultus* in his recent categories: it is a singular omission for one who has lived among the English. Having mixed genes my-

self, I have always been as baffled as foreigners by their passion for the open fire; and their enthusiasm for "a nice cheerful blaze" has always appeared to me as a form of insanity. The English open fire scorches the legs and warms the face, but the howling draught it sets up freezes the back and gives you a stiff neck. Even the villas built by the Romans when they were here two thousand years ago were better heated than most present-day English homes. The Romans may not have had television sets, but they had more sense than to send most of the heat from their fires up the chimney. And if they had had coal it is unlikely that they would have wasted much of it in the form of smoke when there are so many useful by-products to be made from it.

But perhaps the English are not as much stupid as superstitious and romantic. The open fire has become a national fetish, and its dubious virtues have for long been extolled by our more patriotic writers and the fogs they help to make unbearable have also become a sort of tradition: Londoners have for long boasted of their "pea-soupers" and spoken in tones of amused contempt about the mists that adorn less fortunate towns. Who can think of Victorian London without envisaging Sherlock Holmes bound on some mysterious errand as he is borne through fog-wreathed streets in a hansom?

It must have been a rude shock for the sentimental, fog-loving Londoner when he learned that last December's great fog had killed thousands of his bronchitic and asthmatic fellow-citizens. Even the more hysterically patriotic newspapers, which might have been expected to assure their readers that British fogs are the best in the world, realized that something was wrong and declared that Something Ought to be Done About It.

The public has since been waiting with its usual supine indifference for something to be done about it, and at last their patience has been rewarded. Their masters have found time to debate the matter; and the Ministry of Health, after unsuccessful attempts first to ignore and

then to deride the agitation in parliament, has authorized its doctors to prescribe gauze masks for patients whose lungs are thought likely to be in danger. The smog-mask has become a new joke and a new fashion. The great masquerade is on, and the makers of surgical gauze are no doubt hoping to pay a bigger dividend next year. Photographs of orientally mysterious Englishwomen adorned with yashmaks have appeared in the papers, and every chemist displays a selection of more utilitarian models. No doubt the masks will soon be as commonplace a sight in the barber-shops as the already familiar packets of French letters—yet another of the boons that modern civilization has granted us.

THE whole business is typical of life in a modern State. There has been no attempt to deal with the problem at its roots—the steadily increasing pollution of the air in our big cities. The smoke from coal-burning fires in open grates, from power-stations, factories, and locomotives, and from petrol and diesel vehicles turn what started off as fresh air into a mess of noxious vapour that tastes as if it had been breathed twice already. Every day London's traffic provides 3,000 tons of carbon monoxide for its citizens to breathe. And the sulphur dioxide from its chimneys, converted to sulphuric acid in the atmosphere, attacks and disfigures its buildings.

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It is not a little extraordinary, while the legislature and the judges are straining every nerve to suppress low gambling and punish its professors, they are the passive observers of a system pregnant with ten times more mischief in its consequences upon society, and infinitely more vicious, fraudulent and base than any game practised in the hells westward of Temple Bar . . . In this way has the Stock Market been established and forced from its original situation by a set of jobbers and brokers, who are all . . . interested in keeping their transactions from the eye of the public.

BERNARD BLACKMANTLE (C. M. WESTMACOTT), *The English Spy* (1826)

# ENDOPSYCHIC\* COMPLEXITIES

"We regard mind as the mediator between instinct and environment. This rôle of mediation has led not merely to a vast increase in the range and plasticity of human motor responses, including the mental motility we call thinking, but to the progressive development of ways and means of endopsychic adaptation. The complexity of our mental organization is now so great that we may say that human beings have definite psychological, in addition to basic organic, needs. It seems not improbable that all those human needs frequently called spiritual will, in course of time, be generally recognized as psychological needs."

THUS Marjorie Brierley (*Trends in psycho-analysis*, p. 100) gives the psycho-analytical version of a reality underlying much understanding and misunderstanding about men, and between men and men. As for the forecast, it seems also not improbable that all those human needs frequently called psychological will, in course of time, be generally recognized as spiritual. It all depends on whether man will be generally recognized as subject, as he is in existential philosophies, or as the object of a psycho-analytical or other scientific form of enquiry. Both approaches are legitimate, and can be taken as complementary instead of mutually exclusive. What matters is that whether acting from within or studied from without, the presence of needs that are not basic organic should be recognized.

Basic organic needs, when thwarted or starved, may produce rebels, but never anarchists. Anarchism is a spiritual or psychological need, the result of an endopsychic adaptation that cannot easily be sacrificed even when the sacrifice is demanded by needs of social adaptation. It is, in fact, the choice of an inner harmony at the price of conflict with society, instead of the more commonly sought harmony with society at the price of inner conflict. An anarchist capacity for sympathy, his ethical sense, his loyalty to reason, and his vision of the ideal are such an important and vital part of his being that he scorns so-called social success, and willingly faces a fair amount of discomfort, isola-

tion and persecution rather than undo his mental development, and suffer atrophy or maiming of his inner human form. Rather than adapt himself to society he endeavours to adapt society to his endopsychic needs, and sees in this endeavour the fulfilment of his destiny and his highest social function.

The reason for this choice, whether he cares to admit it or not, is that his endopsychic development is a social product. His sympathy, ethical sense, reason and ideal are an inheritance from the best men of the past, and such gifts as have proved the most genuine and effective factors both in the refinement of animality into humanity and in the extension of society by the inclusion of ever larger units formerly hostile into a bond of mutual aid, tolerance, and respect. Even when most iconoclastic, his guiding motive is to preserve and add to his heritage so that others in generations to come may be more fully anarchist in a less archist society.

It would be stupid to believe that only anarchists have complex endopsychic needs to satisfy through a more or less hearty and sustained effort to transform, deepen and extend society. Men of other creeds, perhaps also of greater faith and vitality, may achieve vaster or more durable results. But other creeds contain some archist principle, that is an element either of exclusion or coercion of other individuals' endopsychic complexities, the spirituality of which they are either denying or wish to extirpate. Most of them are also linked to some particular economic structure, to a racial, national or traditional prerogative which limits the capacity for sympathy of their devotees, warps their ethical sense, blurs the light of their ideal, and distorts their reason. The less universal their appeal the more difficult is the endopsychic harmony in truth that is their movement and their goal.

I AM blatantly and shamelessly guilty of the sin of idealism which one thought dead and buried with the Victorian era. With basic organic needs that are refused satisfaction in so many areas of the world my talk of endopsychic harmony may sound an insult to humanity. But it is neither my fault nor my merit that basic organic needs happen to

be satisfied in me or, for that matter, in anyone who has the leisure and interest to read this paper. The question is whether a man with spiritual needs has a right to cultivate and satisfy them while other men are deprived satisfaction of their basic organic needs.

If a man with spiritual needs decides himself to sacrifice them he is doing so still in obedience to a spiritual need, and in a context of freedom. But if other men decide for him that he has no right to satisfy them, then the decision is an archist decision, in a context of slavery, and comes from some bully's need that is neither spiritual nor basic organic. It is difficult to see how the enforced renunciation of a man's spiritual needs can make appreciably easier the satisfaction of the basic organic needs of another. The bad faith of the fanatics of the primacy of basic organic needs shows itself nakedly in their readiness to truncate thousands and even millions of lives allegedly to improve the economic conditions of other millions. The first and all-embracing organic need is that of being and remaining alive; a genuine recognition of the primacy of organic needs leads to Schweitzer's "reverence for life", and not to the hunting and shooting of so-called traitors and enemies of the people.

In the days of capitalist imperialism archist forces declaring themselves at the service of civilization, that is of psychological complexities, brought suffering and death to millions of primitive people. Now the situation appears reversed as if by an historical nemesis. The truth, however, is that archist forces declaring themselves at the service of that barbarian called the proletariat have brought and threaten suffering and death to millions of civilized people. For archist forces, in fact, it is the same crime to be primitive or civilized; it is the crime of being different, with the aggravating circumstance of having no power.

The civilized loathes the barbarian, and the barbarian loathes the civilized, which means that one is not altogether civilized and the other not altogether a barbarian. Their existence side by side, whether as nations or social classes, is a constant threat of murderous conflict, and there is accordingly a powerful tendency abroad to abolish human differ-

ences by reducing human complexities, the goal envisaged being a uniform mass with simple needs, easy to satisfy, to govern, and to control.

THERE are many who for the sake of the peace and happiness resulting from a simplification of needs are ready to give their support to any movement fostering this tendency. But anarchists oppose it because a tendency towards uniformity has always been the hallmark of an archist will, and because it would eventually mean the end of anarchism, even as an aspiration. The choice of complexity and diversity, on the other hand, may mean a long series of conflicts ahead, but even these would be less disastrous than those resulting from archist powers struggling to impose upon mankind different types of uniformity.

We may or may not believe with the Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet that with the progressive mingling of races and constantly increasing social contacts differences in men will grow in number and decrease in sharpness, but we can take it for certain that increasing complexity is not only in itself a more peaceful process but will also bring greater peace to mankind than the opposite trend towards forceful simplification. There is a complexity that thrives in isolation, but it soon exhausts itself, turns morbid and suicidal. Healthy and lasting complexity is one that derives from an enlargement more than from a refinement of human potentialities. It grows from awareness, understanding and internalization of traits appearing in other men and in their works. The enormous variety of cultural elements in our civilization would seem the most favourable field for this inward enrichment. But a farago is not a complexity. Different cultural elements have not to be simply juxtaposed, but organized and integrated. A classless society is one that gets rid of its proletariat, that is of those of its members that are its necessary economic basis, and yet are excluded from the complexity of its culture. Any new element added to an endopsychic complexity is one more destructive difference disappearing between man and man, it is an election to wider and deeper brotherhood, a substantiation of the claim "Nihil humani a me alienum puto." ("I hold nothing that is human to be alien to me.")

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

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\* Be within the *Psyche* or mind in the Psychological sense—Ed.



## GOVERNMENTS AND "PUBLIC OPINION"

THE "Lord's revolt" over commercial television—the extent of which was not known when these lines were written—and the measures taken by the government to ensure that its Bill goes through, serve as yet another illustration of the farce that masquerades under the name of "democratic government".

When it was announced that prominent supporters of the Government would be among those to lead the attack on the Commercial T.V. Bill it was suggested that the Government's reply to this revolt would be to mobilise the "backwoods Peers", who normally never attend debates, simply in order to ensure a voting majority in the event that the Lords divided. Though such a proposal was in fact not carried out, (there may have been something in the suggestion that "backwoods Peers" are so conservative that they might have opposed all Television as one of those new-fangled past-times!)—that it should have been mooted is itself an indication that governments are interested not in doing what is right or best in the general interest but in securing majorities for themselves. And this attitude is made clearer by official statements regarding the forthcoming debate in the House of Commons on Commercial T.V. in which a free vote will not be agreed to by the Government on the grounds that the Labour Party is opposed in principle to Commercial T.V. and the debate in the Bill will therefore be a "Party issue". So involved are these politicians in playing at party politics that they completely forget the really "interested party"—the T.V. public! What their views are on the question is an unknown quantity, since they have not been consulted. We shall be told that to hold a referendum on such questions would be from the point of view of administration quite impractical, even assuming that the public were competent to express view on subjects about which they lacked all the facts on which to base their opinions. It is the old argument used against anarchists when they say that in the anarchist society decisions will be taken by the people.

But in fact such "objections" to a real working democracy are now an anachronism. The development of communications and of electronic devices in this half century have made democratic expression on an international, as well as on a national, scale, more than a possibility. It could be a reality but for the fact that governments are not interested in public opinion. After all it is their job, with the help of their friends of the National Press, to form, and not to inform, "public opinion"!

★

MILLIONS of forms have been distributed recently throughout the country in connection with keeping the electoral register up to date. When a general election takes place more than 20 million votes are cast and counted and the results known throughout the world in less than 24 hours. Every week private enterprise sends out, and receives back, some five million football pool coupons covered with mysterious noughts and crosses and accompanied by millions of money orders. Within forty-eight hours private enterprise has worked out all the dividends, the names of the winning entries, and has probably even arranged with the local cinema for the £75,000 cheque to be presented to

## More Light on Communist Conditioning

A FEW years ago a Polish lawyer named Stypulkowski described in some detail the preliminary treatment to which he was subjected by the Soviet police as preparation for a propaganda trial. He was one of 16 members of the London Polish Government in exile who, after the war were invited to Moscow, and then disappeared. They reappeared after several weeks and, all but Stypulkowski, pleaded guilty to the usual charges. Stypulkowski pleaded not guilty and received a sentence of eighteen months imprisonment. He was released at the conclusion of this, and succeeded in making his way back to the West. None of the others did and their fate is unknown.

Further new light has been shed on Communist police methods by Alistair Cooke in a broadcast recently. He was describing the film put out by the Chinese government which purported to show American Air Force men confessing to taking part in germ warfare, before an international commission on which sat an eminent Cambridge biologist, Professor Joseph Needham. Needham wrote several letters to the *Times* about the truth of this evidence a year or more ago.

Alistair Cooke interviewed one of the men who "confessed" after his release from prisoner-of-war camps and return to the United States. It is his evidence which is so interesting and important. It appears that as many as one hundred U.S. Air Force men were chosen and groomed to give evidence. Only thirty of these were satisfactorily broken down and appeared before the international commission. It is clear that the whole object of the Communist authorities was directed to this final proceeding, which was filmed—the carefully selected commission itself, consisting of eminent fellow travellers, especially men like Needham from Western countries; and the men who gave "evidence" of germ warfare. These latter were chosen for various points: good appearance and good health, so as to make a good impression in the film; and no doubt also certain factors in their individual life situations which gave a handle to their Communist interlocutors. Thus the man whom Cooke interviewed was sent to Korea just after his wife had had a serious illness and he was naturally

Mr. X by the Mayor in full regalia! But when it comes to sending out questionnaires about matters affecting the very lives of the people, we are told such a method of finding out what the people want is cumbersome and slow and unworkable! A moment's reflection, in fact, shows that these are not the real objections at all. It is one thing to give the people the opportunity to express with an X who shall be their rulers. Quite another that they should have the responsibility of expressing their views on matters affecting their daily lives, for not only would this threaten the executive powers of governments, but would also seriously threaten the privileged position of those minority sections in society for which governments are the vocal expression and only on the perpetuation of which, can they hope to maintain their privileges.

★

THE responsible member of society is the one who thinks for himself and acts accordingly. Unfortunately the majority of our fellows have been conditioned not to think for themselves. They look upon thinking as some rare faculty with which only politicians and journalists have been endowed, and they leave it to them, lapping up their regurgitations and repeating them in parrot-like fashion as their own opinions.

No wonder governments have such open contempt for the governed!

Which newspaper thinks for you?

F.B.I. Chief Backs Truman.—"News Chronicle" headline, November 18.

No. 1 G-Man Joins Attack on Truman.—"Daily Express" headline, November 18.

anxious about her. The Communists used the bait of news from his wife as one means of breaking him down.

### The Methods Used

What were these means? No physical violence was used, but the utmost refinements of psychological pressure. Cooke points out that the essence of the treatment was an application of Pavlov's method of inducing conditioned reflexes. In rats, for example, a certain pattern of conduct can be achieved by rewarding it whenever it follows the desired course, and applying an unpleasant stimulus (mild electric shocks were usually employed) whenever it deviated from it. So these men were treated unpleasantly when they refused to co-operate, rewarded by slight remissions in the rigour of their conditions if they came even a small way to meet their captors requirements.

To achieve their purpose the Communist authorities were exceedingly watchful for things a man disliked. The case described by Cooke, mentioned that he disliked rice. His diet which formerly consisted of rice and fish heads, was promptly reduced to rice alone. They noticed that he recoiled when they spat near his feet: after that they were careful to spit in his bedding.

Cooke did not enlarge on the analogy with Pavlov. But another factor besides the method of inducing conditioned reflexes was utilized. An overflowing of the river Neva, flooded the laboratories where Pavlov's animals were kept, and many of his dogs were subjected thereby to the utmost terror and fatigue. They were then found to have lost their previous "conditioning" and to be in a peculiarly malleable state for condition-

MR. GRYLL.—While we are on the subject of misnomers, what say you to the wisdom of Parliament?

THE REVEREND DOCTOR OPIMIAN.—Why, sir, I do not call that a misnomer. The wisdom of Parliament is a wisdom sui generis. It is not like any other wisdom. It is not the wisdom of Socrates, nor the wisdom of Solomon. It is the wisdom of Parliament. It is not easily analysed or defined; but it is very easily understood. It has achieved wonderful things by itself, and still more when Science has come to its aid. Between them, they have poisoned the Thames and killed the fish in the river. A little further development of the same wisdom and science will complete the poisoning of the air and kill the dwellers on the banks.

THOMAS LOVE PEACOCK, Gryll Grange, (1860)

ing of other types. An article in one of the leading medical journals pointed out a year or so ago that such "de-conditioning" was used in many cases of religious conversion by semi-hysterical evangelist methods, and also in Communist propaganda trials.

In Korea, the Americans were given poor and insufficient food: if recalcitrant they would be made to spend the freezing night in open pits. Many were told they were to be shot and in some cases were placed in front of a firing squad, whose rifles clicked on empty magazines at the order to fire. They were given foul water to drink out of rusty tin cans, and the dysentery they thereby contracted was treated or not according to their amenability regarding confession. Whenever they showed themselves willing to come across, they were rewarded with warmth, slight improvements in food or comfort, slight remission of the mental tension. Even so only thirty of the original hundred were finally broken down though some died under the treatment.

### The Confessions

Cooke's informant was finally broken down to the point where he declared his willingness to sign a confession. But he was then told that he must himself write the confession. When he did to, he had to add more details of dates names of officers who "briefed" him and so on. In doing this he managed to incorporate certain inconsistencies, and certain statements which U.S.A.F. records would be able to prove false.

When his confession was complete, he was required to write it out over a hundred times in order to memorize it. He was told exactly how to conduct himself before the Commission, and advised that if he retracted any detail he would be taken out instantly and shot. This happened in one case, and the threat was carried out. One would like to know what members like Needham thought about such a retraction?

### The Fellow Travellers

What of these people who lend themselves to the Communist game? There seems little doubt that men like Joseph Needham are "sincere", in that they believe in what they are doing. But Soviet methods, police system, justice, concentration camps and so on are as well known over the past twenty years as the atrocities of the Nazis. What is one to think of men who allow their own eminence to provide a gloss for Communist propaganda? (Needham, though a biologist and geneticist, incidentally played his part even after the Lysenko affair had proved too much for *Daily Worker*

editorial board member, J. B. S. Haldane).

A few years ago the present writer attacked this soft-headedness in such men as Lord Boyd Orr on the occasion of his visit to Moscow on an unofficial East-West trade mission. Several readers of *FREEDOM*, some of whom should have known better, expressed great indignation at this attack. Do they now support Needham and his letters to the *Times*?

### General Issues

The point here is that Communist propaganda defeats itself because the evidence is so well prepared that it ceases to have any validity as evidence. They have so plainly showed that when they desire evidence they will prepare the witnesses to supply it. It is an important matter, because one rejects these "commissions" not from faith that the U.S. government would not use germ warfare (Nagasaki and Hiroshima are still too fresh memories even after 8½ years), but from lack of evidence that they did, and from the very care with which the Soviet authorities provided such evidence—i.e. created when it did not exist.

And this process draws attention to the finally more important matter: the use of individuals by various methods of mental torture, to provide political gains. Though far behind the Russians the West are not morally free from this crime, as the Rosenberg's case showed.

Perhaps the most significant feature, in the end, are the seventy men who refused to give evidence—for out of one hundred only thirty were satisfactorily processed. At the end of his life, and in 1948, George Orwell came to believe that the Communists could do anything with men: break them down utterly. That it was not possible (despite, for example, Petkov) to withstand psychological methods ruthlessly applied. We believe that this Korean confession business, shows such pessimism to be unjustified. Anarchists have always founded their politics and their social beliefs in faith in the individual man. Socialists (and in this Orwell was acting typically as a socialist) think in terms of masses of men, of classes, and found their estimate of human conduct on the behaviour of groups, usually so very much less ethical than that of individuals. The Americans who held out on this germ warfare were presumably not especially strong characters but may reasonably be assumed to have been mostly average individuals. Yet they refused to be conditioned. There is much in the world to condemn human beings: but these men, at least, testify to the superiority of men to rats and dogs.

J.H.

## Telephone Tapping Again

IN all the party flurry and electioneering scandal-mongering of the Truman-Dexter White controversy one fact has emerged quite clearly—the use of telephone tapping as a means of obtaining information by the secret police. This admission is even more important than the assumption that White was a Communist spy although the evidence against him failed later to convince a grand jury.

"Was White really a Communist spy?" asks Robert Stephens in the *Observer*. "This can never be properly answered because White is dead and was never legally tried. Much of the evidence on which the F.B.I. (Federal Bureau of Investigation) based its allegation against him was obtained from tapping telephone wires and is legally inadmissible in a United States Federal Court."

### Proposed Amendment of Law

But so far from being in any way reticent about the use of police wire tapping to obtain information, the U.S. Attorney-General, Mr. Brownell, only deplors that such information cannot at present be used as evidence. He has asserted that Congress will be asked in January to consider a new law which would allow the government to use wire-tap evidence to prove espionage cases. It is a measure of the distance we have travelled down the totalitarian path that the *Times*' correspondent in Washington should (on 19/11/53) describe this proposal

as "certainly seeming a reasonable law".

No national newspaper reporting this affair has raised the smallest protest about this matter. White is now dead and therefore can never be brought to trial. But because on the admissible evidence a grand jury has already failed to denounce him as a Communist, the Attorney-General—the highest law officer in America wants to change the laws of evidence and admit telephone tapping.

It is almost certain that before the war no government or police force in the English speaking world would ever have admitted that they tapped telephones. And any such practice would have been most vigorously denounced by liberal opinion. "Evidence" obtained in this way places an individual completely at the mercy of the police. And, of course, the knowledge that one's phone may be tapped creates a state of apprehension on the part of the ordinary citizen which is not far from the state of fear in a frank police state.

### Does it Happen Here?

Are such happenings confined to America? We have seen that the *Times*' correspondent far from recoiling at the fact of wire-tapping, calmly thinks it "reasonable" to make such information legally admissible as evidence. Only a few weeks ago *FREEDOM* drew attention to evidence that the police in this country opened letters in cases of

suspicion. During the war, when Herbert Morrison was Home Secretary, he admitted that telephone tapping was used, but refused "in the national interest" to say how much it was used.

The State has therefore moved a long way down the path to the open admission of total control over the citizen. In the past opposition to such methods used to come mainly from the socialists and liberals, though many conservatives also, to their credit, were absolutely opposed to them. Much of the dislike which reasonable people feel for such police devices has undoubtedly been undermined because the Communists do employ an extensive spying system. Most people to-day think it rather extravagant to defend civil liberties and individual freedom if the agents of a foreign power are going to use that freedom and immunity to disrupt such a system. The argument is familiar and is unacceptable to most anarchists. But the point that should be made now is that the adoption of a particular cause ("socialism") by the Russian government, and the particularly unscrupulous methods openly advocated by Lenin, have immeasurably damaged the political left, and must be held partly responsible for permitting reactionary measures to pass through virtually unopposed.

When all this has been said, telephone tapping and all the other invasions of individual rights ought to be absolutely denounced.



## Power for Sir Ivone - A Frightening Thought

JUDGING from the newspaper reports Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, who this week succeeds Sir William Strang as Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, is an obvious and excellent choice. His personal attributes combined with his Foreign Office experience—first in Germany during Hitler's rise to power and interpreter for Chamberlain at Munich, later in 1950 as High Commissioner in Germany—would seem to justify these reports.

### The Man

What then are Sir Ivone's attributes? According to the *Sunday Observer* he is ambitious, "in love with the concept of the perfect public servant, infallibly efficient. He has ideas of his own and a force and subtlety of intellect that enables him to readily impose them on others. He is an Irish Roman Catholic and a most ardent British patriot. He is deeply devout, taking time from public affairs to go into 'retreat'; but he is also a strong handed practitioner of *Realpolitik*".

With such qualities there can be little doubt of his success in his new office. Any man who can 'retreat' and advance with such ease, possess at once such ardent loyalty for Rome, Ireland and Britain, will be a priceless asset in political and diplomatic life. His exper-

ience in Germany coupled with his common religious ties with Dr. Adenauer—whose latest blow for liberty was to lend support to the attempt to form a *Ministry of Propaganda* based on the Goebbels pattern—should help to build an effective bulwark against communism. What better to meet the totalitarian creed from the east than a totalitarian dogma from the west?

It is no new thing, especially in these days of "double think" for men, like Kirkpatrick, to be possessed of a "deep spiritual" faith, and still display calculating realism in political life. It is an interesting facet of totalitarian absolute creeds that they encourage a division of the mind into compartments, allowing for what appears to be a contradiction in thinking and acting. Thus any moral problem which may face an individual possessed of an authoritarian creed will immediately be relegated to a section of the mind which will not interfere with thought and action in other directions.

### The Job

The appointment of Permanent Under-Secretary carries with it a great deal of power. We pointed this out at the last General Election, demonstrating that much of the real power lies in the hand of the civil servants rather than the figures who are elected to Parliament.

This has only varied in degree according to the strength of the political personality in power.

We learn from the *Evening Standard* that since the days of Lord Palmerston ("We have no permanent friends or enemies—only interests") who kept the reins of the Foreign Office firmly in his own hands, effective control has been increasingly in the hands of the Permanent Under-Secretaries. In theory this is not so; but according to the *E.S.* "Theory and practice under the British constitution seldom correspond". This control by the permanent civil servants is often reflected in the continuity of policy under successive Governments of differing political hues. This gives further strength to our own argument that whatever the Government in power the result for the ordinary people will be the same.

It is however, worth noting that a civil servant can be harmlessly put out of the way by the Government. Sir Robert Vansittart who conflicted with Chamberlain and Eden in 1937 over appeasement with Germany was removed to the position of Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the Government, "a higher but in fact powerless position".

Nevertheless, it is a frightening thought, bearing in mind the brief outline of Sir Ivone's allegiances, that it is to him and not whoever nominally stands above him "that we have to attribute the important decisions of the next few years." R.M.

## Anarchists Win By-Election! or Government by Minority

WE wrote last week that it looked as if the Anarchist were going to win the by-election in Holborn without even trying, and—as usual—we were correct.

When the results were announced it appeared that only 556 per cent. of the electorate could be bothered to walk round the corner to express a choice between the three candidates.

Out of a constituency of about 54,000, only 30,287 used their votes. This leaves no less than nearly 24,000 persons over 21 years of age in Holborn and St. Pancras South who expressed no wish to be governed by anybody. This is over 50 per cent. more people than voted for the winning candidate.

Out of 54,000 potential voters, only 15,784 chose Mrs. Lena Jeger, the victorious Labour candidate—a total equaling about 29 per cent. of the electorate. Here then we have the position in which 29 per cent. of the people of this constituency foist upon the remaining 71 per cent. a candidate for whom they did not vote.

It can be argued that if the other people did not vote against Mrs. Jeger they should not mind if she gets in. The fact is however that by the ballot system you cannot vote *against* any candidate—you can only vote *for* another candidate. And when the choice was what it was in Holborn—small wonder that folk stayed away.

So the 44 per cent. who didn't vote are

not represented—or if they are it's against their will—while the remaining 27 per cent. voted for Mrs. Jeger's Tory and Liberal opponents. They can hardly be satisfied with the electorate's choice, since they actively opposed her. Any way you look at it, Mrs. Jeger has gone to Parliament, having "won" an election, with the support and approval of less than one in three of "her" constituents. But she will now be known as "the member for Holborn and St. Pancras South" and will be considered as representing all the people who live there.

No, the people who really should be described as the winners of that by-election are those whose numbers exceed those voting for any one of the candidates—those who refused to vote.

The Anarchists are the only group who consistently advocate the refusal to vote. We can then truthfully say that our election policy was carried out by nearly half of the adult population of Holborn. We wonder if there is any connection between that fact and the existence of an Anarchist bookshop in the same district?

## The Anti-Election Campaign in Paddington

AS was announced last week, anarchists are carrying on an active campaign in the Paddington by-election. Leaflets, urging the people of Paddington not to vote are being distributed at every meeting that our comrades can cover. This leaflet shows well the difference between those who do not vote through apathy and the positive anarchist attitude of refusing to vote because we are determined to think and act for ourselves.

"Do not expect to get your rights from a gang of vote-catching politicians" says this leaflet "Give them the answer they deserve".

And the answer every vote-catching politico—capitalist or socialist—deserves is—an empty ballot box.

London comrades are invited to lend a hand distributing these leaflets and supporting the campaign in any way they can.

Communications and enquiries to: S. E. Parker, 79 Warwick Avenue, W.9.

## Letters to the Editors from America American Hysteria

A comrade recently returned to the U.S. from Europe writes:

WE have been receiving FREEDOM regularly and are glad to be kept in touch with events outside our beloved homeland. Coming back here was no great joy: The first thing that hit us were signs pointing to air-raid and bomb shelters! A friend told us that in New York City identification tags had been distributed to all school children. Someone else wrote from the west coast: "Daily we hear over the radios, here in the West Coast area, the necessity of storing a three-day supply of canned food, canned milk, and drinking water in case of an atomic attack." I think this was taken from an article, but I am not sure.

These preparations in the U.S. seem fantastic when you do not see any such preparations in Europe, the future battleground, presumably.

One big thing our trip did; it showed up the hysteria here. It is funny—but when you are subject to constant bombardment of one type of propaganda, even though you do not accept it, you begin to be influenced by it to the extent of becoming more watchful, etc. Of course if you hold a government job or want to go into the professions, you have to be "careful" now.

How are things in England? I should know better than to ask such a question. We are asked each time, "What does the British worker think?"—or the French—or the German. Our reply is: "Tell us

what the American worker, New York worker, Chicago worker thinks." That's enough to stop 'em. However, I hope you won't stop us in the same manner. Certainly, if you want to know something specific, we'll try to answer. Chicago. R.G.

### BOUQUET

W.O.H. of Minneapolis writes: Since I began reading FREEDOM, I have become increasingly dependent upon it for stimulating theoretical discussions and also even for news, especially news concerning Africa and British labour matters. Also in the last year articles have appeared signed by Giovanni Baldelli which I admire greatly; they represent a refreshing change from the dogmatic anarchism which at times threatens to vitiate and completely stultify anarchist thought.

Keep up the good work.

### AMERICAN VIEW ON HEALTH SERVICE

As an American who has seen how private medicine kills people who can't afford high medical prices, I agree with M.P. and disagree with S. E. Parker on their dispute about the British national health service. It seems definitely progressive and libertarian.

We Americans would be lucky if we had anything like it. New York, Nov. 7. JOHN LOEB.

## Strike on Dec. 2? Continued from p. 1

before he finally puts his own feet up.

But this does not in any way decrease the necessity for the rank and file to look to their own strength and use it on their own behalf irrespective of the attitudes of their leaders.

Whether leaders show militancy or moderation, the real way for the engineering and shipbuilding workers to wage their struggle against their bosses is by using their strength at the point of production. They will find opposition sooner or later from all their supposed leaders, but that should only show them whose side their leaders are on.

SINCE the above was written, the Confederation of Shipbuilding & Engineering Workers have announced that they will hold a one-day strike on December 2nd.

At a meeting in London, delegates from all the 39 unions in the Confederation heard that the shipbuilding employers had rejected their 15 per cent. increase claim, following the example of the engineering employers.

Mr. Harry Brotherton, chairman of the Confederation said that the strike will commence at 7.30 a.m. on Wednesday, December 2nd and end at 7.30 the next morning. The

Ministry of Labour has been notified to that effect.

This is the first time that the Confederation has ever called for strike action, and it is expected that two million of its three million members will be out. It is announced that workers in essential services—gas, electricity, etc.—and in Government establishments will not be effected.

No doubt that by the time this appears in print the Press will have described this decision as a triumph for the Communists. It would be quite false, however, to ascribe it to anything else but that the workers concerned are in an amazingly militant mood and it is their pressure which has pushed the leadership into having to accept—against its will—the decision to turn to direct action. P.S.

## Smog in your Eyes

Continued from p. 2

One would suppose that a community would be sufficiently concerned about its health and comfort to tackle a problem of this sort with some energy. The reason for the present state of affairs is well understood, and it should not be difficult to find a solution. Unfortunately the solution might call for some drastic changes, and drastic changes often cost money and may mean treading on somebody's toes. It is all very well for New Yorkers to banish coal- and oil-fired locomotives to a distance of thirty miles from their city, but we can imagine the howl that would go up if British Railways were asked to electrify all their lines within thirty miles of London. They are losing too much money already; and in present-day society money is the most important thing there is. And, of course, if you are selling coal you will sell more and make more money if your buyers waste most of it up their chimneys; so you will point out the fine character-building qualities of the open fire and keep quiet about its drawbacks.

Even though the individual may value his health more than the bank balances of the vested interests, he is likely to feel frustrated and helpless when faced with the vast and complex machinery of government and administration. He has some sort of choice at election times, but he can only choose between alternatives already decided upon by his would-be masters. If he does make his wishes known he is likely to have his suggestions brushed aside by the politicians, who can always find a plausible reason for not doing something.

But in a society whose members took responsibility for their own lives and co-operated with their neighbours to make life as pleasant and purposeful as possible such horrors as smog would never be tolerated.

E. PEAKE.

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### NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS  
IN EAST HAM  
Alternate Wednesdays  
at 7.30 p.m.

DEC. 2.—BRAINS TRUST  
DEC. 16.—E. Priddy  
THE ARTS & THE ARTISAN

### GLASGOW

#### INDOOR MEETINGS

every Friday  
at 7.30 p.m.  
at 200 Buchanan Street.  
Speakers: Mark Kramisch, Hugh McCutcheon and others.

### MAIDENHEAD

at the Town Hall  
(Committee Room)  
on Tuesday, December 1st  
at 7.30 p.m.  
Douglas McTaggart

on "WHY GOVERNMENT AT ALL?"

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