

Freedom

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Threepence

"Liberty for the few is not liberty. Liberty for me and slavery for you means slavery for both."

—SAMUEL M. JONES.

THE GREAT HOAX

IN last Saturday's *News Chronicle*, the banner-headline announced "H-BLAST No. 2 IS DELAYED". "This year's second hydrogen-bomb was to have been staged in mid-Pacific yesterday—cabled the N.C. reporter in New York on Friday—but it has not yet taken place, say authoritative reports to-night. And there is reason to believe the test may be delayed for several days at least. Congressional sources confirmed this to-day. . . . Some Congressmen are already in the Pacific awaiting the test. But others expected to attend have not yet left the United States." Senator Johnson, who is a member of the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee said that a second explosion was "being held up while stricter precautions are taken". President Eisenhower at his press conference on the previous Wednesday (March 24) said that he did not intend to discuss the H-bomb situation any further until Lewis Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission returned from the scene and reported to him.

A *Reuter* report from Washington (Sunday, March 28) stated that:

The chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Lewis Strauss, returned from the Pacific atomic proving grounds to-day to report to President Eisenhower on the recent hydrogen bomb test at Bikini.

The date of the next big explosion—which is expected to be even bigger than that of March 1—has not been specified, but Mr. James Van Zandt, a Republican member of the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, indicated yesterday that it would probably take place between April 19 and 22.

Famine Involves 100 Million Chinese

THE official "Peoples Daily" in China reports that about 100,000,000 peasants are suffering from famine or a grain shortage. The Ministries of Labour and the Interior have issued a directive that peasants must be prevented from swarming into the towns, thereby disrupting normal life, and threatening the success of the spring sowings. This directive states that in some areas "the situation is assuming serious proportions."

One wonders how starving peasants are going to get ahead with the spring sowing. But it is also apparent that neither a change of government nor the lynching of landlords and better-off peasants has prevented famine in China.

A FLUTTER IN THE HOUSE

As Mr. J. Stuart, the Secretary for Scotland, was speaking in the House of Commons last night a young man in a light raincoat walked to the edge of the Strangers' Gallery, showered leaflets into the Chamber, and shouted: "The State must die. Sign these to live." He threw several handfuls before he was carried, struggling and shouting, from the gallery by doorkeepers.

Mr. Stuart said: "I will resume after these excitements, which appear to have been quite harmless, though I don't know quite what was going on."

Members picked up a number of the leaflets from the floor of the House and read them. Most had fallen on the Government's side.

"Demolish the prisons!" was the title of one of the pamphlets, and "What is anarchism?" the title of another. The second pamphlet consisted of thirteen pages and contained such cross-headings as: "The practicability of anarchism," "The class society," "Structure of anarchy," and "Evolution of freedom."

(*Manchester Guardian*, Mar. 30).

On Tuesday, March 30, came the bombshell. *News Chronicle* headline that morning read: "H-BOMB No. 2 GOES OFF IN SECRET. SHOCK FOR WASHINGTON WHILE WORLD TALKS." And the news was that in fact the H-Bomb had been exploded in mid-Pacific on the previous Friday as originally scheduled; that when Eisenhower had said he was waiting to have Mr. Strauss' report, he really meant Mr. Strauss' report on the second explosion and not as the world had assumed, the post-mortem on what went wrong in the March 1 explosion! As we go to press (on Tuesday) the British Prime Minister has not yet made his statement on the H-bomb experiments, but it will be interesting to see whether he confirms the New York report that "despite the cloak of secrecy, however, it is known that the British Government has been kept informed of developments".

The complete disregard shown by the United States administration for the concern expressed in the world press at the possible consequences of the H-bomb experiments will cause despair and despondency in certain

political circles. The way "authoritative" statements were being issued in Washington, which lulled everybody into believing that the newspaper campaign had forced the American government to postpone the second experiment, while in fact at that very time the experiment was being carried out, is a bitter pill for the press and politicians to swallow.

But, to our minds, the administration in the United States, which has on more than one occasion chosen to ignore world opinion, could on this occasion more than afford to ignore what was simply a newspaper campaign hastily improvised and which, be it noted to everybody's shame, has not resulted in a single demonstration, or mass protest. And that in itself would not be enough, as we pointed out in these columns last week. But at least it would indicate that there are the beginnings of an awareness that neither the scientists nor the Governments can be trusted with our lives. And if there is anything to be learned from last week's gigantic hoax it surely is this.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY ROMAN SCANDALS

ONE day in April last year Wilma Montesi, a pretty 22-year-old girl, left the house at Ostia where she and her family were staying and let it be known that she was going paddling on the beach. Thirty-six hours later her body, clad only in a blouse and a pair of panties, was found eighteen kilometres away on the beach at Tor Vainica, near Capocotta. The police theory was that she had been taken suddenly ill and drowned, her body being carried by the current to where it was discovered. On December 30, 1953, Dr. Sigurani, the Public Prosecutor, who conducted the inquiry into the cause of death, decided that there was no evidence of foul play and closed the case.

Meanwhile a different explanation of Wilma Montesi's death had been published in *Attualità*, a neo-Fascist monthly review. According to this account the girl's body had been thrown onto the beach by her companions after she had taken an overdose of opium at a hunting-lodge in Capocotta, where wild orgies were conducted by a Roman nobleman who ran a narcotics ring.

Thereupon Dr. Sigurani prosecuted the neo-Fascist editor, Silvano Muto, under a palaeo-Fascist law for having published "false and tendentious news to disturb the public order".

The trial opened on January 28. In the courtroom there was only a handful of curious spectators, who had gone there, as likely as not, merely to while away a few hours. The few reporters present were there more in the course of their profession than from curiosity. That evening, however, the papers carried enormous headlines: Muto had become the man of the day and his trial the "Case of the Century".

Two days before the trial opened Dr. Sigurani had affirmed the "manifest unfoundedness" of the new information. In the thirty-five days between Muto's first appearance in court and the resumption of the case the Public Prosecutor interrogated twenty-two persons. He was told for the umpteenth time by Wilma's parents and sister that she had spent her last hours in their company. He also had two long sessions with Silvano Muto's chief informants, Adriana Concetta Bisaccia and Anna Maria Moneta Caglio.

Miss Bisaccia, who is twenty-three years old, comes from a modest family, and her father is in prison. She came to

Rome in 1952, and there she lived among existentialist artists. She has been a proof-reader for *Attualità* since it first published its revelations. Dr. Sigurani interrogated her for more than four hours. According to the Public Prosecutor she could not remember having told Muto anything that had any connexion with Wilma Montesi, about whom she knew absolutely nothing.

Miss Caglio, also twenty-three years old, is the daughter of a Milan notary. She was educated at an establishment in Switzerland that the correspondent of *France-Soir* describes as "un college élégant". On her return to Italy she tried to get into the movies and the theatre. Soon she became the mistress of the self-styled Marquis of San Bartolomeo, one Ugo Montagna, who was able to help her in her theatrical ambitions. She now accuses Ugo Montagna of being the chief of a dope ring and the man responsible for Wilma's death. Last summer Montagna discarded her, and those she accuses have been quick to point out that the accusations come from a woman scorned. In her memoirs, published in a weekly paper, she accused a whole host of cabinet ministers, public men, and Vatican big-wigs of having taken part in the orgies at Capocotta.

She was closeted with Dr. Sigurani for seven hours, the longest interview between a magistrate and a witness at Rome's Palace of Justice in living memory. Whatever she said at the interview does not seem to have impressed the Public Prosecutor, who, in spite of the "sensational revelations" promised by Miss Caglio and published in part in her memoirs, decided that there were no grounds for reopening the Montesi case. Accordingly he archived his dossier, now grown to 1800 pages, for the second time.

Miss Caglio's version is that it was she who sought out Dr. Sigurani to tell him her story. "Sigurani," she said, "listened very carefully, patted me on the shoulder, and advised me to keep out of these things."

But although Dr. Sigurani seemed unimpressed by Miss Caglio's revelations, the carabinieri had evidently formed a different opinion. They prepared a report on Ugo Montagna, and its production in court caused a furor. The Marquis, it seems, is the son of a poor family in Palermo. During the war he was a spy, first for the Germans and later for the Allies. His activities have also in-

Proposed Arrest of 50,000 Kikuyu

THE mass arrests under Hitler, the mass deportations from the Baltic countries, the satellites, the Ukraine, under Soviet rule fill western observers with horrified indignation. Yet the same observers can read of mass arrests in Kenya or any other "troubled colony" with equanimity. The *Observer*, for example, a paper which prides itself on its liberal outlook, prints without comment this dispatch from its Kenya correspondent, Hugh Latimer:

"NAIROBI March 27

"A spectacular measure to remove half of Nairobi's 51,000 Kikuyu African inhabitants is expected to be taken shortly in an effort to clear up the Nairobi underground which supplies Mau Mau with weapons, medical supplies and recruits.

"The Kikuyu tribe's proportion of the town's African population has risen from 45 per cent. before the beginning of the emergency to more than 70 per cent. now.

"Three large prison camps have been completed at Mackinnon Road (originally intended as an Army base to replace the Suez Canal Zone), on an island near Lamu, and at Kahawa, near Thika. Each of these camps has a capacity of 7,000 but could, by overcrowding, hold twice as many.

"It is expected that all the Kikuyu in Nairobi will be taken into custody under emergency regulations by stages. About half will be released again if employers put in a reasoned claim for their services. The residue, containing it is hoped most of the criminals of the town, will be sent to the camps, which will be run on rehabilitation lines. If the pattern of the police operation carried out yesterday at Thika, near Nairobi, where 2,000 were affected, is followed the womenfolk will probably be allowed to return to the Kikuyu reserve."

It is not suggested that this operation is identical with the Russian's Baltic deportations. But it does show that any government can provide the machinery of concentration camps without difficulty—or scruples.

Kikuyu Wins Appeal

The East African Court of Appeal has quashed the death sentence passed on a Kikuyu, Mwangi Wambugu, by an emergency Assize Court for being in possession of one round of ammunition.

"Mwangi Wambugu at his trial admitted possession of the ammunition, but claimed lawful excuse in that when he decided to escape from the gang of which he was a member he stole one round as a token of surrender to corroborate his story in case the person to whom he surrendered did not believe him. He said in the lower court that he had been living with the terrorists since August, but escaped on January 26, his intention being to surrender to the police on the terms of the surrender pamphlet issued by the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief, copies of which were dropped from aircraft in the areas where gangs were operating.

"The judgment says that the trial judge had some doubts about the truth of the accused's story, but, having regard to the onus of proof, was prepared to believe when the man was arrested he was on his way to a police post to surrender and 'was in possession of the round as evidence of his Mau Mau status.' Clearly,

cluded the procuring of women for the comfort of German, and (after the "Liberation") of British and American officers. He has also been a black marketer.

This charming "aristocrat" is the friend of many high-ups in Church and State, including Tommaso Pavone, Rome's Chief of Police, who has been forced to resign by the Prime Minister, Mario Scelba, after he had been accused of "arranging" the Montesi inquiry.

Mr. Scelba, in an effort to save his government, has promised a terrific clean-up in the Civil Service and has appointed Mr. de Caro, a Liberal minister, to conduct an inquiry into Ugo Montagna's activities.

The Prime Minister has also promised a big drive against the narcotics traffic. According to the Finance Police (Italy has several varieties of police), who had been asked to investigate the possibility

Continued on p. 3

the judgment continues, the appellant had not, and did not claim to have, any lawful authority for the possession of the ammunition. In considering whether the circumstances provided the appellant with a lawful excuse the trial judge had said that this expression, unfortunately but perhaps advisedly, was not defined in the emergency regulations. It must mean, in his opinion, an excuse recognized my law.

"The excuse relied on by the accused had been the invitation and implied promise of immunity contained in a document of an administrative nature which had in itself no legal effect. The trial judge therefore held that the evidence did not disclose any lawful excuse, and accordingly convicted the accused."

(*Times*, 29/3/54).

Conviction meant the death sentence. The Appeal Court held that the judge had taken a too narrow view of the words "lawful excuse", and "had misdirected himself in respect of this point." He misdirected himself. He is judge and also jury; and he has power to inflict the death sentence. Indeed for these offences it is the prescribed penalty.

The Appeal Court ruled on the intention of the law (a man's life hung on the imprecision of the law's wording), but one must not imagine that their judgment is a criticism of the law itself, for the same day they dismissed the appeal of an African woman against the death sentence.

"The appeal court yesterday dismissed the appeal by a Kikuyu woman named Wangui Kimani against her conviction and death sentence by an emergency assize court for possessing without lawful excuse or authority seven rounds of ammunition which were found wrapped in sacking in a hole under the floor of the living-room in her house. The defence was that the ammunition was planted by an informer with a grudge against her. She was the first woman sentenced to death for an emergency offence, and is a widow with five children. The case has still to be reviewed by the Governor and Executive Council."

(*Times*, 29/3/54).

African Mineworkers Seek Better Jobs

THE strikes of African workers last year in the Northern Rhodesia copper mines were a reflection of the frustrations felt by African workers at being kept down in jobs where their capabilities were not being used to the full.

Their demands were not only for more pay—they were for more skilled and responsible and interesting work.

An editorial in the *Sunday Express* (14/3/54) shows how these demands are still being made, but are being countered in a cunning manner by the white copper workers, who see the Africans' rise as a threat to their own economic interests.

The *Express* reported:

"In the copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, where Sir Ernest Oppenheimer's rich Anglo-American Corporation wields tremendous power, are 6,600 Europeans, 46,400 native workers. Since 1946 the European average monthly wage for underground work has risen from £58 to £106; that of native workers from £2 1s. 8d. to £6 12s. 11d. a month.

"Now comes a strange paradox. The union that represents the African workers demands better jobs but at less pay than the whites get.

"Yet the union representing the white workers pitches demands for the African workers much higher; it asks for equal pay for equal jobs between African and white workers.

"Why? According to a mine official the white unions believe they can keep out the Africans by putting in impossibly expensive demands.

"On Monday, Sir Will Lawther, British miners' president, flies here to mediate between the two unions. It may surprise him to find that one of the few white leaders who supports the Africans' claim is Premier Sir Godfrey Higgins.

"If the African can do the job," Sir Godfrey said, "he should get the money." But he added this warning: "I am afraid there will be industrial trouble for some time to come in this Federation."

PRESCRIPTION FOR REBELLION—2

SO now let us examine this concept of normality a little more closely. Lindner's main thesis is that we are under a constant terrific social pressure to be or become "normal". Surprisingly enough, despite their reputation for rugged individualism, this pressure to conform is far greater in the U.S.A. than in Britain. Partly this is due to the large population of recent immigrants who wish to get the feeling of belonging and so relieve the anxiety that goes with not being a member of the in-group. By ardently subscribing to the current fiction of what constitutes a genuine red-blooded American the conformist hopes to escape the discrimination which as a foreigner he fears. So it is that often the more recent the immigrant the more stridently American he is.

Another contributory factor towards the production of the American version of Mass Man, as Lindner calls him, is the concept of pseudo-democracy that holds sway in the States. Since according to the Constitution all men are equal it is indecent to be obviously unequal. In the educational realm this has the merit of making higher education available to all and sundry, and the drawback of swamping the small minority of real talent in an ocean of mediocrity.

Those who extol the virtues of normality forget that it is a statistical concept with respect to a particular culture at a particular moment in its history. Probably it never occurs to the clowns of conformity that the norm for other societies is vastly different from our own. Some, like the Dobu and Kwakiutl, encourage norms that would be certifiable as paranoid according to our ideas. Others, like the Zuni and Lesu, would find our competitive and sexual norms quite as pathological.

Any society which demands that all its members should be cardboard cut-outs of some arbitrary template is doomed to extinction. By definition, the norm is the average, and the average is mediocre. Without variation among its members a social group is a barely living fossil.

According to Lindner's analysis it is this danger that faces us now. Mass Man is pouring off the assembly belts like confetti at the Coronation. Unless this process is somehow halted and reversed the modern world is going to disintegrate with an ear-splitting roar.

Having devoted the first two thirds of his book to a diagnosis of the gangrenous patient, which includes a devastating attack on shock "therapy" as the latest symptom, he then proceeds to offer a prescription for rebellion. This, if it is to succeed, has to take a special form. A swig from the wrong bottle and we achieve a cure that is worse than the disease.

Negative rebellion is the sort that is motivated not by the desire to be free

*Prescription for Rebellion, by Dr. Robert Lindner, (Gollancz, 1954).

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oneself and to liberate others, but by a lust for power that puts one next in line of succession for the authoritarian throne.

Then there is the chronic rebel who strikes out blindly in an immature fashion attempting to do nothing more constructive than relieve his sense of frustration. This is the pattern of the psychopath, the Rebel Without a Cause, who generally spends the better part of his life in jail for fraud or a sexual offence or alcoholic violence.

The main body of unsuccessful rebels is composed of those we label "abnormal"—the spectrum ranging from mild neurosis to full blown psychosis. These are the unfortunates who have internalised their protest and turned their hostility against themselves instead of acting it out anti-socially as a psychopath does.

Finally, there is the small band of successful rebels, typified by Socrates and Gandhi, whose resistance to infection will repay study. Theirs is the rôle of catalyst—the agent through whom society is transformed. It is a pity that Lindner's terminology suggests that such dynamic personalities are maladjusted. In fact they are the only really well-adjusted people to speak of. Their adjustment is healthy because it is achieved not by denying basic needs but by adjusting the social environment so that these needs are met. Theirs is the only true adjustment.

In the same way, Lindner weakens his argument by talking of an "instinct to rebel" where someone like Erich Fromm would talk of the "need to fulfil oneself". But that is by the way. Let us look at the prescription.

It contains two main active principles; selective breeding and a sane education. The first of these is a touchy issue. Lindner is prepared to use legal sanctions to prevent the unfit, and by this he means the feeble-minded as well as the syphilitic and tubercular, from reproducing biologically inferior material. This is a very understandable desire, but it skates over some thin ice. Just who is to decide what is inferior material? And how are we to protect ourselves from their whims and personal prejudices? It is no small matter to impose surgical interference on an unwilling victim. Is it not precisely this sort of heartless practice that Lindner so ruthlessly attacks when it masquerades under the title of shock "therapy"? Perhaps we should be on safer ground if we were to advocate a programme of positive eugenics which would encourage the fit to reproduce rather than ban the unfit. It is a difficult problem and we have yet to produce an acceptable solution.

Educational reform may be subjected to a similar criticism. As Aldous Huxley pointed out, if the ends are ape-chosen then the ingenuity with which they are pursued is no recommendation. But since the programme Lindner suggests is essentially non-authoritarian it escapes this dilemma. Under it children will realise whatever potentialities they possess and will fulfil themselves rather than an arbitrary rôle imposed by authority.

Lindner lists six qualities which he believes the mature individual must develop. He should be *aware, identified, sceptical, responsible, employed and tense.*

By *aware* he seems to mean *self-aware*. That is aware of the motives that normally remain unconscious in Mass Man and aware of the techniques for consciously controlling them.

Identified could be interpreted as *self-regard* or a sense of worth as an independent individual. *Scepticism* is the habit of questioning authority, of taking nothing on blind faith. Every idea must be subjected to critical scrutiny before it is accepted and incorporated. Curiosity must have free rein.

Man is *responsible* for his acts since he has the capacity to foresee the consequences of them. To quote, "To put it succinctly, it may be said that only by being permitted to experience the consequences of his actions will the child acquire a sense of responsibility; and within the limits marked by the demands of his safety this must be done. From such training we can expect many benefits to the person, one of which certainly will be the development of a natural rather than an imposed control over unconscious motivants, and the spontaneous, harmless inhibition of selfish desires that ordinarily (or otherwise) operate in disregard of consequences." In psychotherapy the crucial importance of reality testing for recovery has only recently been stressed, although Freud coined the term. If only people could do their reality testing from the word go there would be no need for them to undertake the painful business of psychoanalysis in order to understand how they

came to distort reality in the first place. Maturity is impossible so long as the victim is trying to live in a world that does not exist. It is only by learning the value of co-operation rather than coercion early on that a sense of social responsibility can develop.

To be *employed* implies a sense of purpose. To be satisfying it must be in a socially significant context. Lindner suggests that this ethic might well take the place at present usurped by organised religious superstition.

Tension appears equivalent to *reformatory zeal*.

All this still leaves us with the problem of what to do with the human debris produced by our present miseducation system. It cannot be ignored since it is this wreckage that stands in the way of introducing a real education system.

The only answer is a genuine psychotherapy, says Lindner. That is, re-education of the victims of our present system.

In his eagerness to expose the malpractices that pass for therapy in some quarters Lindner seems less than fair to a good many of his fellow therapists. Psychotherapy generally falls into one of two categories, although it may be a combination of both. Either it is supportive or uncovering. The supportive variety is indicated where the patient is not capable of making a fully mature adjustment but merely seeks alleviation of unpleasant symptoms. With this type of patient insight is no blessing. Every neurotic pattern expresses an attempt to solve a conflict situation. It is no use robbing the patient of this unhappy solution, no matter how unsatisfactory it is, unless there is a real chance for the patient to learn a more successful approach for dealing with the problem. If in fact the patient is neither capable nor desirous of achieving a more mature integration by working through the painful material then the best the therapist can hope to do is to make the patient's present quasi-solution less disabling.

This may seem a defeatist attitude, but if the therapist is faced with the choice of employing supportive therapy or precipitating full blown schizophrenia, then like the surgeon he is obliged to sacrifice the ideal of healthy whole and accept the more limited aim of survival, of even a mutilated patient. No doubt this remains a damaging indictment of the social system that poses such cruel dilemmas and of the inadequacy of the therapeutic techniques at present available, but the individual therapist cannot always be held responsible when with the best will in the world he is sometimes obliged to accept less than the whole man as his therapeutic goal.

On the other hand, if the patient is willing to face uncovering analysis and able to benefit from it then he almost inevitably becomes a rebel in Lindner's sense of the term. In working through events of his childhood he is obliged to re-assess attitudes that were foisted on

Exhibition AUGUSTUS JOHN

IN these days of sloppy drawing and muddled painting when artists seem to feel the necessity to explain each new work by writing even more muddled books and indulging in even sloppier controversies, I have always looked forward with relief and pleasure to the special exhibitions arranged at the Royal Academy. It was, therefore, all the more pleasing to learn that before the dizzy standard which was reached by the "Drawings of the Old Masters" and maintained by the "Flemish Art Exhibition" descended to the slough of the annual R.A. Summer Show, we were to have a large comprehensive show of the works of Augustus John. This proves to be a fascinating exhibition, and one to which we shall continually return.

"The greatest living draughtsman"—one has often seen this written of John's drawings, and these which are exhibited here so easily confirm this tremendous claim. John's ability to command one's fascinated attention by his sheer accomplishment is no brief or transitory trick. The greatness of his achievement lies in his power of control of a gift of drawing no less wonderful than that which was the instrument of Rubens and Rembrandt. One gives to the contemplation of these works the same scrutiny and interest with which one regarded the drawings of the old masters last summer, and, as on that occasion, we shall be conscious of a great and deeply satisfying experience.

John's portraits are, of course, the high achievement on which his fame rests, and the magnitude of this is well demonstrated here; his honesty and integrity never fail—these por-

traits of men and women painted with deep insight and sympathetic interest never attempt the maddening revelation, the probing and indecent comment. John's style, his immense power and control, his economy of means, poetic outlook and intelligence go towards the creation of the fine portrait—the work that contains that dignity and wonder which is the stamp of the great work of art.

And there will always be that magic period when, among the mountains and valleys of Wales, he painted those evocative, poetic landscapes inhabited by his friends and his family, these paintings, so perfect in their completeness, will remain among John's greatest achievements.

★
JOHN has somewhere asked the question "Does it not seem as if the secret of the artist lies in the prolongation of the age of adolescence with whatever increase of technical skill and sophistication the lessons of the years may bring?" This is more than confirmed when we regard his past and present work. One recalls the book "Chiaroscuro", and even while one remains highly critical there is, nevertheless, running clean through the fragmentary account a thread of youth and poetry that never ceases to vibrate with delight and curiosity, and there we realise how true John's suggestion on the secret of the artist may be—for it is an expression of life itself.

There is enchantment in this exhibition, broadening our experience and stimulating our sense of wonder and freedom which Augustus John, artist and anarchist, communicates so perfectly. R.S.

him, and with them the set of values that they implied. Once he recognises the anti-biological nature of these values he is in a position to develop attitudes and patterns of behaviour that permit him to give full expression to his latent capacities for growth and creative living.

It seems odd to suggest, as Lindner does, that psychoanalysis is used to produce a mood of passivity and cow-like contentment with one's sorry lot. To understand is to act. Once the patient discovers the cause of his discomfort he can hardly be prevented from seeking to remove it. As the cause is the anti-life set of values fostered by the social order, all the time seeking to modify the social code that is restricting his growth.

Why Lindner should deny the term "adjustment" to such a process is not

clear. It is the adjustment of the successful rebel; of people like Lindner who manage to find a satisfying rôle within the society without subscribing to its warped values. It is the rôle of the anarchist.

There can be no shame attached to the reed that bends before the hurricane. It is pig-headed folly to fly in the teeth of forces that are only too glad and able to destroy those in whom the flame of self-realisation burns strongest. But it is a miserable reed indeed that gives a fraction more than is absolutely necessary in order to ride out the storm.

What it all boils down to in the end is the fundamental question, "Who, in the name of the Pregnant Virgin, wants to be well-adjusted to a cock-eyed society?" BOB GREEN.

WELFARE AND PROBLEM FAMILIES

The Danger of Over-Simplification

SOCIAL criticism is an important activity for Anarchists and it is, of course the more effective if it is trenchant and radical. I was rather astonished by the article by P.A. in FREEDOM for March 20th on the problem family, for the social criticism it contained seemed to me to be wide of the mark, for reasons which I will try and make as brief as possible.

Problem families present a human problem of a tragic and intractable kind, and it does not seem in good taste to treat of it in a satirical way, even if the satire covers, and proceeds from, considerable indignation. Satire, however, loses its edge and its point if it is compounded of so many false impressions as P.A. managed to cram into his article in his attempt to prove that the Welfare State is a prime cause of the problem family.

First, families containing an unemployable husband (e.g. from epilepsy or tuberculosis) may easily come to near-destitution, but that is not quite the same thing as a problem family presents. There is in such families an inability to cope with the (admittedly considerable) difficulties of life under capitalism, and this inability usually proceeds from the personality of the parents. It is not difficult to discover the causes of such personality difficulties when one discovers the history of individual cases, but that does not make the task of trying to help a problem family any the less complex. To present the question as simply one of a family persecuted by the Welfare State is simplification with a vengeance.

I have a good deal to do with problem families independently of social agencies and my experience seems to be rather

different from P.A.'s. Health visitors are usually broadminded and not at all easily shocked: if maternity benefit is not available because not enough insurance stamps have been paid, the national assistance board will pay out an almost equivalent sum: if the parents live as man and wife and represent themselves outwardly as such, social agencies do not greatly concern themselves much with legal marriage (such concern usually arises when a man has another family legally dependent on him, but not in a straightforward union without marriage certificate): the paragraph about housing seemed to me overstated to an absurd degree: Charities will usually assist on a simple note from a doctor, usually without visiting local authorities: officials do not wear uniforms.

Important errors of fact also occur in P.A.'s satire. Thus, people who conceal from the N.A.B. that they are earning more than £1 a week are not as a rule gaoled: their assistance money is stopped instead. I know of a recent case in which a widow received more than £100 from the N.A.B. "illegally". The Court ordered her to pay it back, but gave her time to pay and meanwhile the N.A.B. still pays her her allowance. The Welfare State has no power to order sterilization, nor to order the Cat (flogging is now abolished except for prisoners who assault prison officers).

These errors and distortions have as their aim to represent that the Welfare State "victimizes" the problem family and also *causes* it. The Welfare State is open to serious criticism, but surely it is absurd and ineffectual to make these sorts of allegations. Problem Families existed before the Welfare State came to

its present stature, and its social agencies in fact do much to mitigate their lot. In actual fact (in London, at all events) local authorities show themselves at their best and most human when they have to deal with children whose social environment is plainly bad, (and this is especially true since the publication of the Myra Curtis Report). P.A.'s attempt to represent social workers as inhuman, unsympathetic, unimaginative bureaucrats is simply untrue as a generalization, though of course some individuals are inevitably inadequate. These, however, are, in my experience, very exceptional.

Social workers are at last beginning to think in terms of prophylaxis, of preventing families degenerating to the point of becoming problem families. One way to do this is to try and bring knowledge of birth control effectively to the mother before she has so many children that her problems are practically insoluble. But work on the emotional reclamation of "deprived" children (work which the Children's Committee of the L.C.C. is actively and intelligently promoting) should also do much to reduce the number of problem parents. Needless to say the provision of rewarding work for everyone and the abolition of economic destitution by a social and economic re-organization of society along anarchist lines will further reduce the number of problem families.

The political parties reduce social problems to politically useful slogans. But however much anarchists may criticise the Welfare State, let us not also pretend that difficult and complex problems are simply due to the wickedness of the State persecuting the wretched individual. It is poor propaganda to attack reformism at points where its main successes lie. J.H.

CINNA THE POET

A RECENT issue of FREEDOM reported a new policy in Russian agriculture which constituted a reversal of a policy inaugurated by Stalin before his death. It is probably quite wrong to see in this any significant "rejection of Stalin's policy". Stalin was dictator of Russia for close on 30 years and repeatedly reversed his "own" policies, so there is no reason for his successors to preserve for all time the policy which happened to be in the ascendant at the time of his death. In other ways however the manner of the new policy has much significant about it, and not simply for Russia alone. Here is Edward Crankshaw's account in the *Observer* for 28/3/54:

"A key feature of the great 'Stalin Plan for the Transformation of Nature' was the widespread introduction of ley farming throughout the U.S.S.R., and particularly in the Ukraine, to conserve the fertility of the soil and serve as a basis for increased livestock production. It has now been discovered that the ley rotation does not suit the conditions of the Southern Ukraine and the Black Earth zone, and its sedulous application has reduced grain production and failed altogether to produce a corresponding gain in grass. So the system, for great areas is to be scrapped."

One sees here the central planners only discovering after the mass experiment that it won't work in some areas, and one may guess that no one who foresaw failure would dare to voice his doubts for fear of being branded a fascist, a spy, a hyena, an enemy of the people.

Khrushchev, in fact, applied similar terms in his speech announcing the reversal of policy. The Minister of Agriculture was "swallowed up in red tape": the former Minister of State Farms "proved himself to be a worthless organizer and a shortsighted worker" (one wonders what led to his appointment to office?): the head of the Department for Agricultural Planning, Dmitriev, was denounced as a "would-be scientist, who strutted about like a hero, posing as an agricultural expert."

What extraordinary language this is! Yet it is becoming the language of internal politics over increasingly large areas of the world and is not unknown in the West. It is thought that Khrushchev is gunning for Lysenko, the charlatan who has bedevilled Soviet genetics for the past decade. It seemed impossible that Lysenko's unscientific arguments could ever gain credence, yet they became the credo of Russian official agriculture. Now probably Lysenko is to be disgraced, but no one will ask what is thought of a government which allows itself to be deceived?

It may well be that the ignorant and uncultured Stalin was in fact imposed upon, for he was the type of man who hated and had no understanding of rational arguments and broad views. Yet the manner of Soviet policy changes is always the same—the innocent confiding public and "their great government" have been deceived by fools or knaves or traitors. The dreadful thing is that the most ignorant and brutal sections of the community argue just in this manner. Let something go wrong, and someone has wickedly blundered and must be blamed. An adroit demagogue can turn such ignorant paranoia (the sources of which are not inaccessible to study) to advantage. In *Julius Caesar* Shakespeare makes the Roman mob set on the poet Cinna, who protests that he is a poet, not Cinna the conspirator. "Hang him for his bad verses" retort the crowd. This is the crowd that makes the demagogue.

It is also the crowd that makes the newspapers intent on mass circulation play up to just these ignorant and cruel ideas. Ideas which repre-

The End of the Worker Priests?

THE Abbé Pierre, who received considerable publicity during the freezing spell in Paris with his aid to the homeless and who is billed to appear at a meeting in Westminster Hall, London, must seem like a Godsend to the Catholic Church, having just emerged from a crisis over the rôle of the French worker-priests.

To many French workers and to the worker-priests, it will take more than the publicity given to a generous man to repair the damage the Church has done to her own cause through her decision to withdraw the worker-priests from their full time jobs in the factories and workshops.

Readers who have followed the development of this movement will remember that in reply to the order from the Vatican that all priests should relinquish their official positions in the trade unions and their full-time jobs in the factories by March 1st, 73 worker-priests issued a signed letter expressing distress at the decision of the hierarchy, the tone of which suggested that they were not prepared to be ordered out of the life they had chosen, with, incidentally, the full permission of the Church.

Since March 1st no official figures have been available, but according to a newspaper report from Paris 32 of the 73 priests have refused to comply with the order. An open break with the Church would seem likely, but too little information is at hand to say whether the priests or the Church are prepared to go this far. A glance at some of the comments of the people involved might give us a lead.

From the moment it was made known to Rome the extent to which the priests were involved in the struggles of the French workers, the intention of the hierarchy was clear. Even as far back as two years ago an emissary of the General of the Jesuits arrived in Lyon to remove several of the Dominican order from their posts and send them elsewhere. Last month seven Fathers of the Dominican Order were removed from the Paris area. One of the Fathers was the principal contributor to a Left-wing Catholic weekly. Another is the

Director of the Dominican publishing house and Editor of *Actualité Religieuse dans le Monde*. It was *le Monde* that commented several weeks ago on the "diversity of functions with which the priesthood had been found compatible—deputies, bankers, teachers and even officers. That was why the hierarchy believed that yet another adaptation was necessary (i.e. that some priests should become industrial workers)". Nevertheless, "If to-day the hierarchy considers that this experiment cannot continue . . . the hierarchy is sole judge. We simply seek the light, but even if various obscurities are to remain we know and proclaim that when the Church speaks we must submit".

Since being removed from his order the Editor of this paper is less cautious. He writes:

"It is for the bishops, the successors of the Apostles to determine within the Church what is essential discipline and what is abuse of bureaucratic power; what is required for the protection of the faith and what is a dangerous return to the most dubious methods of the Inquisition through panic fear of communism. If they fail in this, those responsible for French policy, whether Catholics or not, cannot indefinitely ignore the possible consequences for the whole country of such a situation, especially if it is to grow worse. New difficulties and new sufferings are on the way, it would seem, which might easily have been spared France and the Church."

There is little doubt in the minds of some of the worker-priests which way they will go. A priest, working as a riveter in a Toulouse factory made this statement to a French newspaper:

"We are accused of having used Marxist language (in the protest of the 73). That is wrong. We use the words the worker understands most easily, whatever his party. The Church does not understand the workers. The language of the Church is different from that of the workers. We thought that the Christian faith was possible in the working class. By forbidding us, the Church has proved that she thinks this faith im-

possible. She is so far removed from the workers' world that her lack of understanding of the workers' life is complete.

"The Church obeys, consciously or not, political motives.—At the Liberation she allowed the worker-priests because we were in a 'progressive period'. Now we are in a reactionary period. It disavows us and reverses. I think the majority of the worker-priests will remain with the working class. The Church fails to realise that it is a moral impossibility for us to abandon the working class. If we did, we would betray the confidence of our working comrades who have faith in us.

"We do not wish to cause a disservice to the Church, for we are priests; but we do not wish to betray the workers whose joys and sorrows we share. In becoming worker-priests we wanted to take our share of responsibility."

Another priest working with a gang of navvies in Nice commented that people living in an overheated room always complained of a draught if the windows were opened. This was obviously an answer to a Vatican radio broadcast pointing out that although the priests had made their positions clear to their fellow workers, they had caused a scandal in other quarters by their "imprudences".

Three Demonstrations in Chicago

CHICAGO, MARCH.

MATTERS are looking up for the radical movement in Chicago. No less than three demonstrations were staged by leftist groups during the week of March 13-20. Anarchists participated in all three.

Chicago, which might justly be called the cradle of the American revolutionary movement, has for many years fluctuated between the several extremes of collective ennu, sectarianism and mass militancy. The militancy of former years has, however, been conspicuous by its absence recently—with the possible ex-

ception of trade unions in the area. (Chicago's unions have traditionally been among the most progressive in America's labour movement and continue to be so to-day, even under the reign of pie-cards who are trying their utmost to "make capitalism work.")

This week in Chicago marked a departure from the past, though, as relatively small, but growing, groups of people took to the streets to broadcast the message of revolt. On Saturday, March 13, the pacifist group, Peacemakers, picketed the Bureau of Internal Revenue in recognition of the deadline for filing income tax returns, March 15. This group, a large proportion of whose members are tax-refusers, carried posters and distributed leaflets explaining their position that taxes assessed by a government in order that its ruling classes may pursue their imperialistic and militaristic aims should not be paid.

On Wednesday, March 17, St. Patrick's Day, three groups made a great stir in the capitalist press by picketing the appearance of Joe McCarthy at a Loop hotel. The Libertarian Socialist Committee initiated and largely executed the project, and was joined in it by the Peacemakers and the Young Socialist League. Two thousand leaflets were distributed at the hotel, and about a thousand more prior to the meeting. Signs carried by the marchers bore out the theme of the leaflet, "McCarthyism is the Whip". They emphasized the fact that McCarthyism is used as a whip by the ruling classes to break labour unions, stifle free speech and thought, impose a fascist-type régime on the people by creating fear and hysteria, and otherwise enforce conformity in a drive to prop up a decaying economic system with war and imperialism.

A number of other more-or-less radical groups, nominally opposed to McCarthyism, some of whom had even announced plans to stage demonstrations, failed at the last minute to appear. Even the fact that the Velde committee had been in town the earlier part of the week on one of its routine union-busting expeditions failed to cause even one union or other "friends of labour" to protest McCarthy's arrival in town.

Those who did go through with the demonstration, however, were rewarded by unusual success. Pictures and/or stories of the demonstration were carried in all Chicago newspapers, on television, radio and newsreel. This treatment by the capitalist press is in sharp contrast to the conspiracy of silence by which the radical movement and its activities are usually surrounded. The police and F.B.I. also favoured the picketers with copious photographic coverage.

On Friday, March 19, about 200 people picketed the City Hall in protest to the race riots which have been occurring for some months past in Trumbull Park, Chicago suburban federal housing project. The riots began over a Negro family moving into the project. The demonstration was nominally to force Mayor Martin Kennelly to provide adequate police protection to the area, and utilized the slogan "Anarchy is rampant in Chicago." This aspect of the demonstration mirrored its instigation by the Negro Chamber of Commerce. Participating, however, were many Negro mili-

Roman Scandals

Continued from p. 1

of dope smuggling along the part of the coast in the region of Capocotta, the drug traffic was concentrated in the zone between Anzio and Tor Vaianica, but there were no signs of smuggling between Tor Vaianica and Ostia Lido. One smuggler, Francesco Coppola, had been caught with 5.8 kilograms of heroin.

The Finance Police also reported on Ugo Montagna, whom they politely describe as "an adventurer who has made a fortune". They mention one of his methods of getting money: he formed a limited company and milked it of "huge sums". As the Marquis has the tastes and habits of a millionaire the income disclosed in his income-tax returns can only be regarded as nominal, and the Finance Police are now looking into this. Even if the other accusations against him cannot be proved, it seems likely that the Marquis can always be hauled in, as Al Capone was in America, for income-tax evasion.

Montagna does not seem to enjoy being investigated and has threatened to do some talking on his own account, remarking that "the end of the world is not to be excluded as a possibility."

Mr. Scelba has also promised a big drive against the Communists. This is understandable enough, since the Montesi affair has come like manna to the Communist press, which has been using it in an effort to discredit the government, a task the Communists should not

have found difficult in any case.

The government had good reason to be worried; for as the case continued it soon became clear that it was not Silvano Muto, hitherto an unknown journalist, but the Italian ruling class itself that was on trial. Gradually there was revealed a story of corruption that rivalled the worst excesses of the Borgias. Now in Italy, as in most Catholic countries, the rich are very rich and the poor are very poor. There are millions who cannot afford to eat meat or drink wine—in a country where wine is cheap and plentiful. Some of these unfortunates may have begun to ask themselves why they should sweat their guts out for a pittance while their betters dodged their taxes, cheated and swindled their way into the high-life of Roman society, and caroused and revelled on a scale almost unknown in modern times. Of course, such questions can be answered. Cardinal Schuster, Archbishop of Milan, has already explained that there will always be poor people (the Almighty has decreed it) so that the rich can perform works of mercy and thus gain eternal salvation. But such answers, for all their logic, sometimes fail to convince; and the possibility of popular unrest and revolt cannot have been absent from the anxious politicians' thoughts.

On Saturday, March 20, the case was again resumed. The principal witness was Miss Caglio, a girl who knows how to make the most of her opportunities, and there are some who suspect that her predilection for the theatre has helped her to make the trial the dramatic success it has been. If Miss Bisaccia knew nothing ("I know only one thing for certain, and that is that I know nothing.") Miss Caglio knew too much—and she has not been reluctant to talk. The Italians have dubbed her "Miss Lawsuit" because of the twenty-eight libel actions pending against her. She has been the star turn of the trial, and it was perhaps her flair for the histrionic that enabled her to dominate the scene at the climax, which was now fast approaching.

Her "testament" was then produced. This now-famous document is dated October 30, 1953, and is in Miss Caglio's own handwriting. It is alleged to have been sent by her to her landlady, Mrs. Adelmina Marri, before she left for Capocotta on one occasion with Ugo Montagna, with instructions that it was only to be opened in case of legal necessity. Unfortunately it went astray; but it turned up providentially and dramati-

cally as the trial was nearing its end.

In an intense silence the President opened the envelope and read the "testament" to the Court. In it Miss Caglio says, *inter alia*:

"I want everyone to know that I have always been in the dark about the illicit traffic of Ugo Montagna . . . I never suspected his double life. I had my suspicions, but I always believed it was a case of women, money, and debts. If I should disappear see that justice is done, not for my sake but so that other poor girls may not share my fate in the future . . . My principles are too Christian and Catholic for me to kill myself, but, knowing the nature of Montagna and Piero Piccioni, son of the Honorable [Attilio Piccioni, the Foreign Minister], I am afraid I may disappear without trace. I know that the chief of the gang of drug traffickers is Ugo Montagna, who is also responsible for the disappearance of many women. He is the brain of this organization, and Piero Piccioni is its assassin.

"I could prove plenty of what I suspect, but I leave the task of doing so to you. I only know that one evening I went with Ugo and Piero to see the Home Secretary at the Chief of Police, Pavone's place to put a stop to any inquiry into the Montesi case. I waited outside in the car for an hour and a quarter, after which Ugo told me they had gone there for that purpose . . . I hope that Justice will settle accounts with these criminals."

Miss Caglio then deposed to the authenticity of the document and affirmed its truth.

After this *coup de théâtre* the government's invitation to the magistrature "to throw full light on the death of Wilma Montesi" was supererogatory. When the court resumed on Monday the president ordered it to be adjourned so that a new inquiry could be opened.

Nobody knows how the affair will end; but one thing is certain. It is being used by those who would like to be in power as a lever to prise the government away from its uncertain grip on the country, and the government is just as determined to stay put. This struggle will certainly obscure the affair even more in spite of declarations that everything will be made clear and put right. It will not really matter who governs. The indignant defenders of public morality would be just as bad once they were in power. We can be sure that Mr. de Gasperi's call for austerity is not really intended for the ruling class: austerity is only for the common people.

EDWIN PEEKE.

Continued on p. 4

Organisation for Catering Workers?

The standards of living of all workers are under attack, one way or another, at the moment. When the Catering Wages Act came into operation in 1948, it was hailed as a great advance for workers who up till then had been very badly paid—although the minimum wages the Act fixed were by no means magnificent.

Now, however, an attack is being made even on the provisions of that Act, and it is proposed that the first £1 of tips shall count towards the minimum wage—in effect, an income cut of £1.

Faced with this situation, catering workers find themselves with no effective means of fighting back. It is therefore with pleasure that we publish this article appealing for catering workers to organise themselves on syndicalist lines, since we believe it is only by such endeavours that workers can defend themselves to-day.

NONE of us can make a new world overnight. But we know that a decent wage, a comfortable home, health and a leisure which we use, some creatively, and some passively, at least make our fundamental struggle—far easier. It perhaps makes self respect far easier.

We each of us have our vision of a world we would like, but that is another story, and is not the purpose of this article.

This article proposes to stress the vital need for organisation of all sections of catering workers.

No one can deny that compared with the remainder of the working class, catering workers are a century behind working class progress; it is because of this backwardness that we find ourselves subject to interference with the Catering Wages Acts (except for minor feeble protests) and are drifting back to the do-as-they-like-with-us days.

What Prevents Organisation?
An added danger is that we hold back to some degree other workers who are striving to emancipate themselves—in short to abolish themselves as a working class! But this latter of course is part of that "other story".

Regarding ourselves, what is it that prevents us from organising? Is there something—biologically, inherently, or

physiologically—in our make up that prevents us organising? If not, then what are the barriers to organisation?

Listening to colleagues, I find that the situation is fraught with complexities and difficulties. For example: some tell me that a highly paid lounge waiter or banquetting wine waiter would be reluctant to join in. It is "human nature", I am told, that prevents him worrying or being concerned about the lesser paid service waiter, chef-de-rang, commis, chambermaid, kitchen porter, etc.

In fact I am shown a whole host of antagonisms. But do they not exist in other trades and industries? And is it not, owing to the uncertainty of "permanent" jobs or banquetting jobs, better to hang together than to hang separately?

Affiliation is Useless
I am told by others that we have had previous experience of trade unions, even of forming a union for catering workers, but individuals have wrecked it by various means.

All I can say is that an organisation must belong to the members and not executives or "leaders" who obviously cannot lead without willing sheep to follow!

As far as affiliating to a Trade Union is concerned—such as the Catering section

of the T.G.W.U.—it is useless. Apart from taking subs and providing "jobs for the boys" it has not pulled off one successful strike.

Lesson from the Past

It is through the bitter experience of the past, and the immobility of the present, that I came to the conclusion that 70,000 catering workers can, if they want to, get together, discuss and organise in a union of their very own.

Admitted this will take money—and time from one's leisure, but time is very well spent if one realises it is for personal satisfaction—for something that one belongs to and takes part in actively.

With this in mind I read through a pamphlet entitled "The French Cooks Syndicate."

This pamphlet describes the activities of a Syndicalist organisation composed of catering workers of all grades and of various nationalities, formed prior to the 1914-18 War, but unhappily because of that War was broken up. However, it had, during its existence, 33 successful strikes, without victimisation or violence. The tactics it used, which are well illustrated in the pamphlet, which all catering workers should get hold of, were far in advance of the present foolishness (give the boss 21 days' warning to prepare) of the Trade Union hierarchy.

From 1824 when Trade Unions were legalised, it has been a long, hard, bitter and vicious struggle, not only to gain demands, but to retain what has been gained.

Absurd "Superiorities"

Any catering worker conscious of his or her class position in society, must somehow have misgivings at accepting the small advances made at the expense of other sections of workers.

Somehow the positive recognition of the disparity of income must have been

*By W. McCartney, Freedom Press, 3d.

felt by some workers who came into personal contact with the luxury side. Yet, here we are running about like sheep, with our foolish 19th century notions of so many goodness know how many degrees of staff: the "superior" staff. The Housekeeper looks "down" at the cashier, the cashier down at the waitress and so on.

What a position for the advanced guard of twentieth century working class ideas!

The unions now to a large extent have become "respectable". They no longer exist for the purpose for which they were founded, but have integrated into a pressure group on the worker. To make him work harder without letting him see it!

There is no room for working class servants to sit at "top tables" with the bosses—wining and dining. What for? What form of working class activity is this supposed to represent?

Bases of Organisation

Now I must come to the suggestions for forming an organisation for the sole use of catering workers.

But here I must point out it is in no way tied to any political organisation. Industrial action—by bitter experience of "leaders" leading up the garden path, careerists, etc.—must be entirely separated from political organisations to be effective for the worker.

Our organisation should be open to all workers in the catering industry, irrespective of their grade or nationality. Its members must aim at carefully keeping control of their organisation in their own hands and should guard against growth of a bureaucracy by having no permanent paid officials.

Organisation should be based on the place of work, through "works committees" if the number of workers warrants it, and co-ordination should be carried out by delegates instructed by the rank and file. These delegates should be subject to immediate recall if they don't carry out their instructions, and should be compensated for time spent on organ-

isational work at the rate they earn at work, no more. But as far as possible all work for the organisation should be voluntary—and certainly this will apply at first.

Our methods of defending and improving our standards of living should be the most effective—direct action. The exertion of our strength as workers at places and times of our own choosing must be the responsibility of the workers on the spot, and not by dictation from above. To build an organisation based on solidarity, to encourage consciousness of working-class rights, and to use the strength unity will give us, represents the only way to defend ourselves against present and future attacks on our living standards.

Remember on organisation can only advance along with the understanding of its members. What you make of it is how much interest you put into it as a whole. It is futile to look to leaders to do things for you, and as equally foolish as to be so naive to trust them! You should own it: you run it! That is the task you take upon yourselves. Many hands make light work. Do not look for spiritual or other "leaders".

"The fault dear Brutus—lies not in the stars, but in ourselves that we are underlings".

CATERING WORKER.

P.S.—Do not forget the proposed "cut" by taxation of tips will be on us soon. There has been no proper increase in the basic wage comparable with other sections of the workers since the C.W.A. came into force in 1948.

INTERESTED?

Any readers interested in assisting in creating an organisation for catering workers on the lines outlined above are invited to write to:

Catering Worker,
c/o 27 Red Lion Street,
London, W.C.1.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS CONSERVATIVE ANARCHISM

SINCE 'revisionism', 'Inconsistency', and 'betrayal of our basic principles' have been spotted in my article appearing in FREEDOM of March 13th under the title "Conservative Anarchism", I think I am entitled to a few words of explanation.

The not purely imaginary situation I had in mind was one presenting the three following features:

(1) An improvised and inexperienced government not meant so much to govern as to co-ordinate revolutionary demands, and keep the peace among the various organized forces that have taken part in the revolution. Another task entrusted to it is to see that whatever remains of the old instruments of power are not used in any way against the people, closely watched by the people, including moderates and idealists, men usually respected by the people and with a record of active opposition to the overthrown régime. Although for the sake of avoiding bloodshed and through what they believe to be justice they have a tendency to put the brakes on the revolu-

tionary impetus and to frustrate the aspirations of the masses, they are not in a position and lack the power drastically to carry out reactionary measures.

(2) An anarchist movement strong enough to have to be reckoned with by any other organization, and with considerable influence and prestige over the masses, sections of which on the morrow of the revolution have started putting anarchist and syndicalist principles into practice. Their final aim is the disappearance of any form of government and an extension of the anarchist way to inspire the whole life of the country. As some parts of the country or some sections of the economic life are now run according to anarchist principles the task of the movement is no longer simply one of attacking and undermining authoritarian institutions and practices, but one also of defence and preservation of genuine revolutionary achievements.

(3) A well-disciplined and well-organized party, with leaders and technicians well-versed in the manipulation of the masses, possibly with funds and other forms of help from a foreign power, and with no scruples or inhibitions as regards means. While expanding its ranks by welcoming any frightened, resentful or repentant supporter of the ancient régime, it poses as the most advanced of revolutionary organizations, playing the others out or against one another, calling for joint action to discredit them in case of failure and to claim all merits to itself in case of success, its constant and ultimate objective being the overthrow of the weak revolutionary government, and the creation of another completely under its control, and to be used for the suppression of all rival organizations, including, of course, the anarchist movement.

Naturally, the self-styled revolutionary party aiming at the seizure of power will force a show-down only when practically certain of victory. Knowing the intentions of this party, will the anarchists leave the initiative to it, and in the case

of the weak government or other organizations being attacked by it, will they sit on the fence and watch, waiting for this party to consolidate its position until it decides to wipe off the anarchists as well? Or will they not instead, if the opportunity is given to join forces with the government and other organizations, try to eliminate or at least contain this most insidious enemy of the anarchist way and anarchist achievements?

In his letter to the editors, S. E. Parker (together with the authors he quotes) considers a revolutionary situation not complicated by the presence of the third of the forces I have listed. To imagine now a revolutionary situation without this force seems to me completely unrealistic. His criticism therefore fails to touch me, but I am eagerly waiting for him to suggest some possible line of action in a situation such as the one I have outlined, a line of action that will not assist our enemy—government—bearing in mind, however, that a party that aims at total power is already a government, and that any action or inaction that strengthens this party is an act of assistance.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

Southampton, Mar. 21.

S. E. Parker, writes:

BALDELLI'S arguments are strangely naive. Postulating a revolutionary situation in which there exists a 'self-styled revolutionary party' aiming at 'total power', he contends that the only way we can effectively oppose the menace of such a party is by joining with 'the government and other organizations'. In

Special Appeal

March 4th to March 24th

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Police Torturing Case in Kenya

The case of a Kenya Police Reserve officer accused of torturing a Mau Mau suspect by throwing paraffin over him and setting it on fire is now before the Supreme Court of Nairobi. The officer who is now 17 was enrolled in the police reserve when he was 15 years and 8 months old. Regulations give the minimum age as 18.

CHICAGO Continued from p. 3

tants and white foes of Jim Crow who realize that racism will never be abolished until the economic conditions which make it profitable are abolished.

The effect of this demonstration is indicated by the fact that the Mayor took to the public prints on Thursday with a conciliatory statement designed to stave off the march on City Hall. His Honour's extended olive branch did not, however, have the desired effect. This demonstration, also, was well covered by the press.

All in all, the three demonstrations, while they were a long way from Haymarket days, indicate that the spirit of rebellion in Chicago is not dead yet. McCarthyism thus far in Chicago has brought about this state of affairs. Let us hope that, as the witch-hunt and the march of fascism increase in ferocity, they will continue to have the same effects—ones somewhat different from those envisaged by the sponsors of the witch-hunt.

RICHARD DEHAAN.

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