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THE YALTA REPORT - LABOUR'S STRUGGLES - TORY LEADERSHIP POLITICS EXPOSED

THE past week has witnessed professional politics laid bare, without the trappings, without the glamour with which these petty men appear to the world as giants and "statesmen". The crisis resulting from the struggle for power within the Labour Party; the new rumours of Churchill's impending retirement from the leadership of the Government (which is announced by the Tory press with sighs of relief, and must occasion some crafty manoeuvring within the Party—behind the scenes of course, since the Tories are, if nothing else, gentlemen, and don't wash their dirty linen in public); and the publication by the American administration—against the wishes of their British "allies"—of the minutes of the Three-Power meeting at Yalta in 1945 . . . all these events have revealed politicians and the political game in their true light, and a pretty sordid picture it all is!

The Yalta document, published in a 32-page supplement to the *New York Times* (March 17) is no hair-raising revelation of the indiscretions of the great. In any case the Press has already done for this document what it did for the Kinsey report, that is, it has lifted the juicy morsels which have some kind of "sensational" or "news" value, ensuring thereby that few will bother to read the whole document. Yet it is only by reading the complete report than one can experience the feeling that politicians are not human beings at all* but grotesque caricatures, deformed by the power they wield over the lives of millions, blown up by the sense of their importance as supermen who, by a few

cryptic statements, a pencil mark here and a cross there disposed of nations and people for generations to come.

At Yalta the Stalin-Churchill-Roosevelt trio, with their aides, were carving up the world, their only concern in the bargaining that took place were the interests they represented at home, certainly not those of the peoples and nations they were allocating to their respective spheres of influence. "There was no need—in Mr. Churchill's opinion—to inform the Germans of our future policy—that they must surrender unconditionally and then await our decision". However, he did feel that they required "more than eighty minutes" to decide "the fate of 80 million people". And so with all the countries, enemies or allies, for the mood at Yalta was that the post-war world would be directed exclusively by the Three Big Powers. Stalin was emphatic about this saying that he could never agree to having any action of the great powers submitted to the judgment of the small powers. Roosevelt "said he agreed that the great powers bore the greater responsibility and that the peace should be written by the three powers represented at the

table. Mr. Churchill added his view "that there was no question of the small powers dictating to the big powers" but that they should exercise their power with moderation and respect for the rights of the small nations. What he meant was illustrated by the quotation he gave that "The eagle should permit the small birds to sing and care not wherefor they sang". (our italics).

★

THAT was the plan for world politics. But it in fact takes place on a reduced scale in the normal political life of any "democratic" country. The people are allowed to "sing" so long as the eagle (the ruling class) is able to rule unmolested.

Our interest in the present struggles for power in the Labour movement, the impending struggle in the reshuffling of the Tory Party, and the "inside" story of Yalta (not forgetting the circumstances which determined its publication, namely that certain sections of the Republican party hoped to gain party advantage in the next elections by the "revelation" that Roosevelt's attitude at Yalta aided Russia) is quite

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France wants to join THE EXCLUSIVE H-BOMB CLUB

FREEDOM (26/2/55) was among the very few journals, wise or honest enough, to put forward the view that the making of the British H-bomb had very little to do with military strategy and a great deal to do with power politics.

In France however there is no hypocrisy about the value of possessing the Bomb, and it appears that there has been a growing press campaign since Britain's plans in this direction were announced demanding that France should take similar steps. The Paris dailies *L'Aurore* and *Combat* both argue that France would lose her voice in world affairs unless "she had the means to make her respected". Not a word about Russian aggression but instead "world affairs", that is, America and Britain just as much as Russia.

This week's French Prime Minister, M. Faure, said at a press conference that "France cannot remain in an inferior category of nations because she does not have the thermo-nuclear weapons" and that a final decision would be taken soon.

"A demarcation line is being drawn between nations possessing thermo-nuclear means and those who do not. Can France let herself be assigned to the second category? I think I can rule out a negative decision, which would mean the resignation of France.

"Whether France will engage herself more vigorously on this path, or whether she will favour a formula of European organisation with certain powers to facilitate that progress, has not been decided yet. The Government will consider the matter."

"Who started the talk about the wisdom of old age? I suspect it was old men; If the old men of the tribe had had their way I doubt if man would ever have lost his tail."

—CHAPMAN COHEN.

What M. Faure seems to forget is that by the time France has the H-bomb (and up to now she has developed no atomic weapons) the others will have much more effective bombs and will belong to an even more exclusive club!

Who wants to belong to a first-class power anyhow? Having seen the colour photographs of Bali and the Balinese in the same issue of *Life* that contained a selection of pictures of Russians, who in his senses would opt for the first-class power?

TWO WRONGS MAKE A RIGHT

THE activities in Korea of four Britons named in the Defence Ministry pamphlet on the treatment of P.O.W.s. in Korea is still much in the minds of our witch-hunters in spite of the fact that the government does not appear over anxious to do anything.

Last week in the House of Lords Lord Vansittart recalled that for some time during the first world war he was head of the Prisoners of War Department, and said: "There is at least a strong resemblance between what was done by Casement and what was done by this woman [Mrs. Felton]."

"It seems to me unjust that one should have hanged, and that the other go scot-free—if that is the implication of the Minister's reply [when he said there was no evidence that Mrs. Felton had tried to suborn British P.O.W.s.]"

Many people do in fact think that it was unjust that Sir Roger Casement should have been hanged and long before they had heard of Mrs. Felton. So, though by hanging Mrs. Felton, Lord

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PARTY UBER ALLES

'Every man has the right to his conscience, but when it interferes with the good of the party, personal conscience must give way.'

—MR. CHARLES GEDDES,
(Chairman, Trades Union Congress).

IT has long been recognised that the first characteristic necessary for long membership of a totalitarian organisation is cynicism. The new member may have his ideals and may passionately believe in the fundamental principles behind the organisation's programme, but unless he is quite blind to reality, he very soon comes to realise that there is one principle that comes first:

survival—and survival in power.

This is understandable enough. If an organisation cannot survive, it will have no chance of putting into practice its fundamental principles. Unfortunately, if survival demands the betrayal of those principles, they still don't get put into practice. The organisation continues, and survival in power becomes the motive for its continued existence—power becomes the aim for its own sake, instead of it being a means of achieving the further aim.

If a party has a frankly reactionary aim; that is to say if it has no policy of change in society which will fundamentally alter that society, then a power structure and even a power aim is logical enough, for society is already organised in terms of power. But if a party's aim is revolutionary, that is, a fundamental change in the structure of society, then its own structure, and the behaviour of its members, should be different from that which it opposes.

Socialists claim to be opposed to the present social system. Logically then, their organisations should operate on different principles from those on which the present social system is based. If the capitalist State concentrates and defends power in the hands of a few, then a socialist organisation should seek to put power in the hands of all—to decentralise it, so that no few can dominate the many. If the capitalist State demands unthinking loyalty—"My country right or wrong"—then a socialist organisation should put reason and conscience first, as the arbiter and guide for the individual's actions.

ARE YOU HELPING
TO CONVERT THE
DEFICIT INTO A
SURPLUS?

(See Progress of a Deficit on page 4)

Official Churches Defend Bomb

ALTHOUGH the Anglican and Roman Churches are divided on matters of allegiance and ritual, they share a determined and outspoken concern for the "moral life of the nation". Narrowly interpreted, this solicitude generally begins and ends, so to speak, below the navel, and Church leaders piously attempt to enforce Christian principles on question of sex and marriage.

On waging war, however, we find that the spiritual leaders are not so anxious to enforce Christian principles, especially when these conflict with the State.

Last week a Catholic Cardinal and a Protestant Archbishop defended the manufacture of the H-Bomb in Britain. The Archbishop of York said, that the chief justification for making the bomb was that it would provide a "shield beneath which the work of peace would be continued". In arguing against the disarmament view held by many people, the Archbishop showed an unconvincing concern for democracy. He said:

"I am sure that no democratic Government could agree to this demand unless it was certain that it voiced the deliberate convictions of the great majority of those it represents. Not the strongest pacifist can claim that this today is the case."

It is fairly certain the majority of people are opposed to the Church of England's refusal to re-marry even the

"innocent" party involved in a divorce suit, does the Archbishop show much concern in this case for the majority view?)

The Roman Catholic, Cardinal Griffin, seems less hypocritical in his defence of the H-bomb, and uses the familiar Catholic argument about a "just war".

As he saw the problem, it had started with the first Pacific tests which gave rise to the fear that the effects were at present beyond human control. The problem, therefore, according to Cardinal Griffin is:

"Whether this bomb can ever be brought sufficiently under control that, given a just war, it can be directed only against unjust and violent aggressors. The answer to this must lie with those who have access to the necessary scientific knowledge.

"It is of the greatest importance that the policy of co-existence, necessary though it might be at present, should not be regarded as the complete and permanent solution to the differing ways of the world."

This, at least, is a straightforward un-Christian view of the necessary use of nuclear weapons.

But, while these "unjust and violent aggressors" are being burned with the latest method for dealing with heretics, Cardinal Griffin shows little concern for the millions of ordinary people who will suffer as a result.

the electors and convince them that it is capable of governing without tearing itself to pieces by internal dissension—hence again heads must roll in the interests of party unity.

Similarity

When a socialist party is small and struggling, however, and nowhere near achieving political power, one would imagine it would allow itself the luxury of full and frank discussion, always bringing its policies and principles under examination, feeling free, since it has nothing to lose and everything to gain, to welcome varied interpretation and approach to its ideas. The fact that this is not so; that the small Socialist Party of Great Britain is carrying on similar action against a minority of its members for questioning the Declaration of Principles as the large Labour Party is doing against Bevan and, possibly, his followers, for questioning party policy, indicates a fundamental similarity between the two organisations in spite of a great difference in policy.

That similarity is common to all socialist parties. It includes the Marxist ideology, in some interpretation or another; the belief in political action and the use or capture of the machinery of the State for socialist ends; an acceptance of majority rule; and, above all, that the party is more important than the individuals that compose it.

The fact that when parties holding these ideas come to power they tend towards totalitarianism should make those members of all of them concerned with fundamental principles and the achievement of a libertarian, equalitarian society, examine more closely the very bases of their faith.

P.S.

"We have the right to argue until we have formulated policy, but then we must forget the attitude we have taken and pursue the will of the majority."

—MR. ERNEST JONES,
(President: National Union of Mineworkers).

SCIENCE NOTES

Facts from Figures

WHEN the science news of the daily press is mainly concerned with the intensity of atomic flashes, the genetic effects of atomic radiation, or merely keeping score of the American 'big bangs' as in a one-sided ball game; and all scientists might appear to be nuclear physicists or radio-biologists, we are tempted to join them with estimates of the areas of atomic fall-outs, or the radiation dangers of a chest X-ray. (Although it isn't their chests that people are worried about.) But we will turn instead to the interesting point raised by A.W.U. in FREEDOM, March 5th that "Psychologists tend to fill their books with accounts of how they succeed where other psychologists failed, but of their own failures and their rivals' successes we hear nothing".

The difficulty is that individual psychiatrists and schools of psychiatry all use vague terms in estimating the success of their therapy, such as cured, much improved, and improved. Analysts being human tend to favour their own methods of therapy and their subjective judgments may obscure the "real" value of their work. Similarly, the lack of a standard for comparing and measuring results from various sources which use subjective judgments, has led to misleading conclusions.

Dr. A. Harris in *The Lancet*, Feb. 19th, examines the claim made by Denker (1946) that on the whole neurotic patients treated by general practitioners did as well as those treated by psychiatrists. Apparently Denker's examination of reports from psychiatric clinics in many countries showed that in most of them between 40-70% of the treated patients recovered or were much improved. He found much the same proportion of recoveries after general practitioner treatment of five hundred patients who had claimed disability benefit from an insurance company because of neurotic illness. From this he concluded that the general practitioners did on the whole as well for their patients as the psychiatrists, and that specialised psychiatric treatment for neurotics was not of obvious value.

To anyone experienced in follow-up studies of neurotic patients the comparison has an obvious fallacy. In the insurance company cases the criterion of cure or improvement was return to work, and ability to earn a living, but many of the clinic patients had sought help because of neurotic symptoms and personality difficulties which had never prevented the from working. It is in general much easier to secure some kind of work adjustment for a neurotic than to relieve him of his symptoms or to fundamentally alter his personality. In the comparisons made by Denker the types of patients and the therapeutic goals were so different in the two groups

that no conclusions are possible. Eysenk in his "Uses and Abuses of Psychology" draws conclusions similar to Denker's but, as he himself says, "A control group is needed of patients not being treated by psychotherapy but similar to the group being treated, if any useful conclusions are to be made." Until this is done the merits of the various therapies will remain obscure, and depress us as much as it does A.W.U.

Immunisation and Diphtheria

FOR the first time on record deaths from diphtheria fell below double figures last year, fourteen years after the start of a campaign aimed at securing the immunisation of at least 75% of babies in the first year of life. The proportions immunised were still only 28% in 1951 and 36% in the first half of 1954 but from the 722 deaths and 18,596 notifications in 1945 the figures have dropped steadily each year to 9 deaths and 182 notified cases in 1954.

We appreciate that this is not conclusive proof of the effectiveness of immunisation in diphtheria prevention but would be interested to hear of any satisfactory alternative explanation of this startling decrease in incidence.

How Crazy Can They Get?

AN American Congress house committee appointed to investigate tax exempt foundations and comparable organisations, such as Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Ford, has recently issued its report over the signature of its chairman. The report declared that an intellectual cartel made up of professional foundation administrators had promoted a great excess of empirical research as contrasted with theoretical research in social science. Some of the large foundations were found to have shown a distinct tendency to favour political opinion to the left, had promoted propaganda for collectivism and had directly supported subversion in the true meaning of the term, namely the process of undermining some of the vitally protective concepts and principles of the U.S.A.

The other two Republican members of the committee also signed the report but with many strong reservations and dissensions. The two Democratic members called the conclusions a crackpot view,

HONOURS FOR SALE by Gerald Macmillan. Richards Press. 15s.

ON passing through the swing doors, the visitor found one or more of Gregory's uniformed messengers, who would show him, whoever he might be, into the ante-room. These messengers' uniforms were carefully designed so as closely to resemble those of Government messengers, and they even had gold crowns on the lapels of their jackets. The remainder of his staff, an accountant and a secretary, occupied the third room. This room could be entered from the corridor, before the swing doors were reached, or by a connecting door from Gregory's room. The system of doors was such that no one could enter Gregory's room unannounced, yet, if necessary, he could leave unobserved by a visitor in the ante-room.

Gregory's own room was furnished magnificently. No expense had been spared in equipping it in the most lavish manner. Gregory sat in a vast red chair behind a large desk covered with signed royal portraits, telephones, and indicators that buzzed or flashed with coloured lights. The walls were papered; the floor thickly carpeted; in one corner was an imposing safe; against the wall an elaborate clock.

This was the office of J. Maundy Gregory, dealer in Honours. If in the 1920's a rich man wanted a handle to his name, Gregory was the man to go to. Naturally his prices were not cheap: a

BOOK REVIEW

BLUE BLOOD FOR CASH

knighthood cost about £10,000; a baronetcy £40,000; and a barony (which enables a person to use the title 'Lord') in the region of £100,000.

Gregory was an astute man who knew when to take advantage of a situation. In 1916 the Liberal Party was split when Lloyd George ousted Asquith from the leadership and became Prime Minister; he soon realised that his group, which had no access to Party funds, would be greatly in need of money to meet the expenses of the next election. In his position as Prime Minister there were several ways open to him by which he could fill his group's coffers, and one of the most lucrative was selling Honours. The system was simple: that part of the Honours List—which appears twice a year—known as the Prime Minister's list consists of awards given mainly for political services. Now these services may consist of nothing more than regular financial support of the Party in power, and Lloyd George merely logically extended this to awarding titles to any person who would make a sufficiently large contribution to his fund. It was in the position of middleman between the title-seeker and the Prime Minister's office that Gregory made himself so useful.

Nowadays there is an implicit or explicit suggestion that merit is the reason for the award of Honours (of course the word 'merit' may have rather a special meaning in this matter—it may mean an ability to exploit other people's labour, or to invent new weapons of war, or any other useful work in support of the State). But this is a fairly recent idea; until the days of Queen Victoria it was the usual custom for those who wanted a title to obtain one either by contributing to the King's treasury or by exerting influence through a Court favourite. To quote Mr. Macmillan (who gives an interesting account of the history of selling Honours in his book):

"When a baronetcy or any other title is conferred, Letters Patent are made out stating the name of the person on whom it is being conferred, the style of the title, the conditions on which it is held, and other similar facts. Charles II openly employed agents to hawk baronetcies for him. They travelled the country armed with blank patents which

they were empowered to fill up whenever they found anyone willing and able to pay the price asked."

IN his heyday Gregory was a very rich man. He had a house overlooking Hyde Park, another at Thames Ditton (where he kept two motor launches), a flat at Brighton, and a hotel in Surrey. He owned a club in the West End, the Ambassador Club, which was lavishly appointed and could be used to entertain his clients. He thought that owning a large car was too obvious a display of wealth so instead he had a taxi which was permanently at his beck and call. He had his office not far from 10 Downing Street and had made sure that his London house was a number 10, so that on receiving a phone call if he had a visitor he could say 'Number 10 wants me', or if anyone enquired for him at his office when he was at home the visitor could be told that Gregory was 'over at number 10'.

He was, however, eventually arrested on a charge of trafficking in Honours, and it looked as if there would be some interesting revelations about this trade. There must have been several titled persons—to say nothing of Lloyd George and his followers—who were worried when they heard of Gregory's arrest. But someone in authority had brought pressure to bear, for when Gregory appeared before the magistrate he pleaded guilty, thus relieving the Director of Public Prosecutions of the need to present detailed evidence. The dirty linen was kept discreetly hidden from the public gaze.

Gregory received the maximum sentence: a fine of £50 and two months imprisonment. As soon as he was released he went to France to avoid his numerous creditors (a decreasing turnover in later years had not been sufficient to meet his very high overheads), and the possibility of an inquiry into the rather suspicious circumstances surrounding the death of the woman he had been living with. In France he still managed to retain his façade of being connected with those in authority (he would hint that he was a Secret Service agent and that one of the two telephones in his room was a direct line to Scotland Yard). Mr. Macmillan suggests that there is some evidence for Gregory's claim that he received a pension from funds of political parties in this country: it could have proved most embarrassing for them if he had revealed the details of some of his transactions.

For the last few years of his life he who had been instrumental in providing titles for so many others, provided one for himself—he died as Sir Arthur Gregory, K.G.C.S. M.G.W.

and the investigation a complete waste of public money. Did these investigations into the social conditions of the people disclose facts which the gentlemen from Washington found contradicted their rosy picture of the American Way of Life?

Although a security curtain covers the work of some scientists in this country, it is difficult for us to appreciate the subtle way in which fear and suspicion are beginning to permeate all scientific activities in the U.S.A. Many must wish they could return to their anonymous 'back rooms', but others are protesting and in their protests they may realise their responsibilities to all men and women inherent in their work and knowledge. Bios.

On the Education of the Young

[The following article is taken from the March 2 issue of the American journal *Manas*, with which readers of FREEDOM are familiar if only through the thought-provoking articles we have reprinted from time to time. With the problem of youth very much in the news at present one would have hoped that the many teachers and parents among our readers would have added their points of view based on their experiences. In an attempt to incite them to take up their pens we are publishing this, to our minds, controversial viewpoint on the education of the young—EDITORS].

A COMMUNICATION from one of our readers provides the opportunity—and something of a challenge—to consider again the importance of intense physical activity as an essential ingredient in the education of the young. The letter at hand, while generally approving an article printed here July 7, 1954, proposes that "perhaps another field [than that of athletics and physical discipline] was omitted, which has an important place in the activities of children," continuing:

"The author... suggested athletic activity as the form which excitement and intensity should take. I feel that there are many worth-while, creative activities in which children and adults may engage with "intensity," and it seems unfortunate to limit them, or even to limit the suggestions, to athletics. Some children have delighted in building radios, or simply electrical circuits, in constructing things from wood, clay, or other plastic media. Even spinning may be fascinating to some, introduced as the way the Indian people made their rugs. Building model planes and boats—all these are creative activities to which children can devote themselves with great energy. What child doesn't take delight in camping, really roughing it? All these activities, I feel, help the child to orient himself with respect to the things and the people around him, help him to gain a sense of security in himself and provide much of the excitement and intensity cited in the article.

In order for parents to offer these activities to their children, however, they themselves must first have experienced the satisfactions which accompany at least some of them. And for their own mental and physical health, adults as

much as children need really constructive activities if they are to maintain a balance with TV.

In the first place, our hope that more rather than less athleticism would be encouraged by the schools was oriented around criticism of too much television watching and mere spectator participation. We did not intend to suggest that "physical intensity" is the most important form of intensity to encourage, but only that it is one form not receiving the type of balanced attention accorded it by the ancient Greeks. We wrote:

A youth needs physical challenge, and if he lives in an indolent culture surfeited with pleasures and easy living, he runs the great risk of suffering psychic harm because no forms of physical testing are available. Children need this sort of excitement, at least part of the time, because such excitement, in its turn, is the simplest source of intensity. We return, therefore to our familiar plea for further encouragement of athleticism among the young. Increased playground facilities and additional coaches in our high schools are not enough. Parents and teachers will have to promote an atmosphere in which every sort of physical exertion is appreciated for the virtues it possesses.

Our correspondent's emphasis upon useful crafts and his contention that these can also be a "real source of excitement and intensity" is certainly valid, but it is also true that our schools have, throughout recent decades, devoted more and more attention to promotion of these latter activities. At the same time, while increasing amounts have been spent for elaborate athletic fields in secondary schools, in imitation of collegiate athletics and their spectator-glamour, the ideal of rigorous discipline for every youth has been seldom remarked.

Prompted by the letter received we spent some time perusing literature on Gandhi's basic education for Indian youth, and noted that, even here—in what we have come to regard as one of the best balanced programmes—the ideal of physical vigour was somehow almost forgotten. The following comment on physical education, taken from a pamphlet from Wardha, India in 1938, might have come from any other quarter of the globe, somehow implying that a bare minimum of activity is sufficient to provide the young with physical discipline. We quote:

As a further illustration of the principle of co-ordination, we should like to make a special mention of physical education. So far as the theoretical aspect of physical education is concerned, the children will gain the necessary knowledge of Physiology, Hygiene and Dietetics through their General Science courses. As for practical training, the entire work of the school, involving craft-practice, games, gardening and active methods of learning, has been envisaged as an aid to the development of the child's health and physical vigour.

From the same pamphlet we extract an excellent proviso in respect to craft education, but suggest that much of the same devotion, though less time, needs to be given to physical discipline, *per se*, at Sevagram as well as elsewhere:

The object of this new educational scheme is NOT primarily the production of craftsmen able to practice some craft mechanically, but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work. This demands that productive work should not only form a part of the school curriculum—its craft side—but should also inspire the method of teaching all other subjects. Stress should be laid on the principles of co-operative activity, planning, accuracy, initiative and individual responsibility in learning. This is what Mahatma Gandhi means when he says: "Every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically as is done to-day, but scientifically. That is to say, the child should learn the why and wherefore of every process."

Our interest in physical activity—even physical activity—*per se*—does not come from the belief that any particular form of prowess is important of itself, but from a conviction that physical disciplines merit "exploration for educative purposes." The qualities of stamina and endurance, most easily learned by youth during the rigours of physical training, are important in every field of activity. This is why, we imagine, the Greeks paid so much attention to the gymnasium and to endurance sports in particular. The how and why of physical control are very much like the how and why of any learning, while also intensely interesting to the young. Admiration for the heroes of legend has its root, perhaps, in an innate feeling that a thoroughly mature human being has made the most of whatever physical capacities he possesses. We should not commend the sort of athleticism which results in specialities, nor do we feel that any single prowess

is important. What is important is effort expended towards improvement, whether or not the result is spectacular in terms of anything measurable. Attempts at physical discipline, no matter how poor the tangible results, will have important psychological results—or are we repeating ourselves?

A not-too friendly press recently poked fun at Prime Minister Nehru for his apparently childish remarks in an address on Indian education in which he "challenged" any man his age to a contest of running or swimming. Taken out of context, Nehru's words made him appear a sort of prideful Bernarr McFadden of the Eastern Hemisphere, but what we imagine Mr. Nehru to have been concerned with was an evident lack of basic physical discipline among the Indian people. Nehru knows, as Gandhi knew very well before him, that to stand successfully for the loftiest of political, social or ethical principles sometimes requires extraordinary physical resilience; there is a legitimate pride and confidence earned by possessing a body that has been taught to respond well under conditions imposed by stress and privation. So Nehru, we think, wasn't nearly as silly as he sounded, and it seems likely that whatever "intensity" one may develop for participation in the creative arts can be nicely supplemented by strenuous bodily effort.

We certainly agree with our correspondent that, if parents are to offer disciplines to children, "they themselves must first have experienced the satisfactions which accompany at least some of them"; and we add our defence of more intense physical training because the present decade seems to be one in which such values are habitually overlooked. More physical education instructors are not the need, though; we need more philosophers and psychologists who understand how great are the benefits which may result from encouragement of a more rigorous life during youth.

(Manas, U.S.A.)

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POLITICS EXPOSED

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a simple one. We believe that the uncovering of party politics reveals quite clearly that *primarily* it is a struggle for power, both power for power's sake as well as for the furthering of the interests of small influential sections of the community. Politics can be compared with big business. The industrialist produces commodities which can sometimes be of use to the public, but this is only incidental, a means to his ends, which are profits and power. The struggle going on in the Labour Party is not even remotely connected with the public good. Yet this is the impression which the politicians through the channels of propaganda seek to create in the public mind, and judging by the widespread and heated discussion at present taking place they seem to have succeeded.

That is the tragedy, for with the exception of the anarchists, no voice is raised to point out that the only hope against annihilation one day, by the H-bomb or its progeny, lies outside party politics and super-State men. Even the minority groups clutch at political straws. The resignation of Sir Richard Acland is enthusiastically acclaimed by the pacifists and the I.L.P. each seeking to jump on the Acland bandwagon, in spite of the fact that Sir Richard tells them that he is no pacifist, and in spite of his very wise observation on the advice often given to the holders of minority opinions within major organisations to "stay inside and argue your case from within". "Those who give that advice," Sir Richard points out, "do not notice that argument from within is often tolerated by the controllers of the organisation just so long as it will clearly fall short of being effective." Which is what we wrote earlier in comment on the Churchillian quotation of the eagle and the birds being permitted to "sing"! But Sir Richard seems to fail to realise that Parliament is itself a "major organisation"—of professional politicians and power-mongers—and all he will do there is to "sing" (when he "catches the Speaker's eye") but that is about all.

WE would like our readers to ask themselves this question: Why is it that thought to-day is revolutionary only in the science of destruction? No sooner was the atom bomb developed than the scientists had discarded it in their minds for new weapons, and persuaded conservative governments to accept this situation. Airplanes are superseded by the time they are ready for flying, and other weapons join the scrap-heap of obsolescence before even being used. But in every other direction the heavy hand of conservatism and tradition stifles all attempts to revolutionise our "democratic way of life", and thought.

There has been a revolution in the science of destruction. *The urgent need to-day is for a revolution in sociology.* The politicians and the professional sociologists like the brass-hats at the War Office who not even the hydrogen bomb could "shift the dead weight of military tradition", have a vested interest in the *status quo* and it would be too much to ask them to be the initiators of their own political and professional annihilation! The initiative must come from the potential victims of power politics, those hundreds of millions who have already been written off in the plans of the supermen as the unavoidable casualties in the First Round of World War III.

"Freedom's" March Book Choice

Light on the Heart of Darkness

They were conquerors, and for that you want only brute force—nothing to boast of, when you have it, since your strength is just an accident arising from the weakness of others. They grabbed what they could get for the sake of what was to be got. It was just robbery with violence, aggravated murder on a great scale, and men going at it blind—as is very proper for those who tackle a darkness. The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much . . .

—JOSEPH CONRAD,
"Heart of Darkness"

WHEN we think about Africa it is always necessary to remind ourselves that we are thinking not of a country but of a continent, an enormous variety of peoples, traditions, social and governmental systems. What is the common-denominator of the changes and upheavals which are changing the continent from Algeria to the Cape? Exploitation? Detribalisation? Racial hatred? The emergence of nationalism? Poverty, ignorance and disease? Every day's newspaper tells us of some of these things in some of the territories, but of the great heart of Africa, the Congo basin, we read very little.

Fifty years ago, the dreadful revelations by Roger Casement and E. D. Morel, of Leopold II's policy of plunder and mass murder in the Belgian Congo, and the exposure by H. W. Nevinson of

the slave trade in Angola (Portuguese West Africa), aroused the public conscience. To-day we have not much idea of what life is like there and Mr. Basil Davidson, who a few years ago gave us his *Report on Southern Africa*, writes about Angola and the Congo in his new book,* partly because of the lack of literature in English on the Congo Basin, but also because there he thinks we are closest to the African awakening in its most intimate beginning. By the awakening he means "an awakening among African peoples to the way they live, and the different way they wish to live. There is desire for many-sided change, for movement into the modern world, for an end to subjection and a beginning of equality."

The African awakening, he says, "seems likely to count in history among the fundamental movements of humanity in the twentieth century. Like all great movements toward the unity of the human race, it is full of stress and conflict, of hesitation, doubt, false starts and wrong directions; and yet always beneath this troubled surface, and true to its liberating nature, it is strong with hope and clear with hopeful purpose. Humanity rejoins itself, grows larger in this unifying process, grows stronger with new ideas and new potentialities."

MR. DAVIDSON entered Angola "by the back door, apprehensive of not coming in at all", crossing by train

*THE AFRICAN AWAKENING, by Basil Davidson. (Jonathan Cape, 12s. 6d.).

from the Congo. "The Congo African driver gets out at Texeira, and is replaced by a White driver, Angola being a country of cheap White labour as well as of very cheap African labour. For everything is relative; and a junior Portuguese police officer in Angola is paid rather less than a skilled African craftsman in the Belgian Congo." He found overwhelming evidence of slavery in the same 'contract labour' form which Nevinson had discovered fifty years ago and which an American sociologist R. E. Ross had described to the League of Nations thirty years ago. He met many Portuguese who hate slavery, "they are the opponents of the Salazar régime who have sought—but scarcely found—a less constricted home in Africa. The political police are here, of course, one of these said to me, 'but we are so far away from Portugal. They are not efficient. They do not bother us much.'" But he did not need to rely on the opponents of the system for his information, for its supporters "see nothing strange or wrong in the mass employment of forced workers: far from concealing the system, they talk to me freely of it and think it a splendid thing."

He went to see Senhor Escudero, general manager of the British-owned Benguela Railway, " . . . he is happy to tell me anything I would like to know. I would like to know how many forced workers he has. These are known in Angola as *contradados*, contract workers, just as they were in the days of Nevinson's visit and the Cadbury v. *Standard* case, when they were also known as *serviças*. Needless to say, nobody in

Angola admits the word 'slave': nevertheless, as we shall see, *contradados* are really slaves. Senhor Escudero calls for the files. Altogether, we find that Senhor Escudero has 13,453 *voluntários* and 2,018 *contradados*. Not a bad proportion, he thinks: most companies have a much higher proportion. I find later that this division of Africans into voluntary workers and 'contract workers' is routine practice in Angola: a practice which speaks for itself. There is much less cruelty than in Nevinson's day. Otherwise the system is unchanged; and it is probable, on the evidence I collected, that there are now many more slaves in Angola than there were fifty years ago."

The files of the Native Affairs Department at Luanda, the capital, showed 379,000 *contradados* or forced workers. Employers who want forced labour indent for it from the authorities and any African male above 'the apparent age of ten' can be rounded up for forced labour unless he can show that he has worked for six months in the previous year. Forced Labour, Mr. Davidson reminds us, has existed in one form or another in all African colonies. "It continues to exist, although only occasionally and in rural areas, in a number of British colonies. For the evidence of that one need only consult the records of the International Labour Office. What is remarkable about the present industrial revolution in part of Africa is precisely that the need for forced labour in manufacturing and mining passes away: the people flood to the towns in search of work and wages. A relatively small amount of forced labour was still being exacted in the Belgian Congo in 1954, but only in the rural areas and mainly for the building and maintenance of roads. Angola is peculiar because forced labour remains the flywheel of the country's whole economy." He heard stories of small risings against the Portuguese, including once in February 1953, when it was proposed to extend the 'contract labour' system to the island of Sao Thomé. In 1947 a Portuguese investigator Henriques Galvao sent a report to the Government in Lisbon in which he declared that Angola "rapidly nears catastrophe", and that "infant mortality reaches a figure of 60 per cent., and that a death-rate as high as 40 per cent. is

Continued on p. 4

The Treatment of Delinquency

ONE of the features of current society which demonstrates to an exceptionally high degree the incapacity of the state to solve the problems which it itself creates is the Home Office system of Approved Schools and Remand Homes. Although its object is, theoretically, to deal with very real individual and social problems, it attempts to do so in a manner which involves the imposition of ever more coercive authority, instead of realizing that it is the socially distorting effect of artificially imposed authority, in the form of the State, and its various agencies, which causes these problems to arise in such large numbers.

To anyone whose ideas of reformatories were gleaned many years ago, the opposite might appear to be true, and many people, on first coming into contact with an Approved School, are most impressed by the amount of freedom enjoyed by the children!

This impression, and a similar one applying to ordinary State schools, is conveyed by a number of changes of form and appearance in the life of such institutions. For instance, the geographical location of some of the new schools is quite attractive, the uniforms are not quite so drab and useless, and the curricula involve several interesting features such as gardening and painting. On closer inspection, unfortunately, it will be found that the same old ideas of authority are still very much present, masquerading, as they always must, under continually changing guises. Every activity of the children must receive the sanction of the supervising staff, every minute of their lives must be lived under the fear that one of the teachers might find some little fault, and there are not even the periods of escape which ordinary children can enjoy away from school. It is inevitable that years of life under permanent coercion have a warping effect on the personalities of the children, and the fact that the authorities allow them to paint, dig gardens, and play football (under careful supervision, of course) does nothing to alter this.

The majority of those who find themselves under the care of the Home Office in this way, are not guilty of great crimes, even under the law. In many cases the appropriate officials consider that a given child should be placed in such a school, and he is committed to it in consequence of some quite trivial 'offence' such as keeping the change from an errand, or picking something off the counters in Woolworth's.

Nowadays not many, even of the advocates of State authority, assert that the rigors of such life are essentially good for those who undergo them, but rather that they are a lesser evil, when contrasted with their home environment.

As this often involves, incidentally, separated parents, a wonderful opportunity is presented for pious sermons on the glories of family life and marital

stability, and the necessity for parental control, which is readily accepted by clergymen, magistrates, and similar people.

If the action of the State in arbitrarily taking young boys and girls away from an undesirable home was in order to facilitate the free development of their personalities, it might possibly have a tenable case, but in my opinion this is far from being its primary objective. An analysis of the 'offences' of the young people shows that they are often in the nature of petty stealing, often during official school hours, and the implication of their detention is to prevent them from continuing this profession, and to persuade them that it is unethical. The very idea of stealing is one which can only exist in a society based on private property, and since the State appropriates by taxation more money in a very short period than an individual burglar could hope to collect in a lifetime, its moral concern for youth has a most insincere ring. Similarly with the other ideas which are forcibly instilled into the erring young: it is wrong to respect and obey a gang leader, but one must under all circumstances obey policemen and civil servants; on no account must the strongest of a group impose his will upon the rest, unless he happens to be a school master; the highest virtue of all is truth, but religious myths are constantly presented as historical truth.

Naturally, these contradictions are not consciously apprehended either by teachers or taught, just as they are ignored by the majority of the people in general. Nevertheless they make themselves felt, by the teachers, who become themselves either frustrated or mentally distorted, depending on their sincerity, and by the unfortunate children who, subjected to the full blast of this hypocrisy day in and day out, through school discipline, scout troops, cadet forces and organised work, often appear to regard the values they are taught with bewildered scepticism, concluding quite logically, as some teachers admit, that their chief crimes lay not in stealing, etc., but in being caught.

The only conclusion that can possibly be drawn from this is that the State is not in the slightest degree interested in creating any acquired characteristics of a child's personality that might prove harmful to himself or to others near him, but solely in directing such delinquent traits into channels which it finds acceptable to itself, where they may even be of positive use to the State. This is brought out in a striking way by the fact that a high proportion of the older boys leaving approved schools immediately enter the armed forces on a permanent basis. The Boys' Battalion now provides a means of entry into military service by those released at an earlier age.

Like the penal system as a whole, the apparatus for the 'reforming' of so-

called delinquents is a creation of the holders of power and privilege designed to protect and entrench the means of their existence.

It derives its social sanction from the fact that the mass of the people passively accept their own places in society as obedient slaves, and are quite happy to see others trained to accept the same existence without question.

For anarchists, who reject entirely the sociological basis from which the alleged delinquency springs, the fact that some children have to suffer even greater individual hardship for being its products is revolting. It is apparent on serious consideration, that, but for the nature of our society, such problems need never arise, and the complications and failures which ensue when the State attempts to correct the mistakes of authority by applying even more authority, are in themselves a condemnation of its philosophical bases. P.H.

ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK CAPITALISM

Continued from p. 1
Vansittart might feel that justice had been done to Casement, there are others who would say that two injustices had been committed!

TO MAINTAINING THE PALACES £526,000

MAINTENANCE costs at the Royal Palaces will cost the British taxpayer £526,000 this year according to the "Civil Estimates for Common Services" published last week.

Is it not about time some of these palaces were requisitioned and put to better use than at present?

CAPITALISM

WE are often told that our ideas on war and on economics are long out of date. Yet one is always coming across evidence that however much capitalism tries to give itself the New Look it still remains fundamentally unchanged. Two examples will illustrate.

Recently the *News Chronicle* featured a news item to the effect that Britain had notified the German government of its intention to seize three warships at present under construction in German shipyards on the grounds that their construction infringed agreements made with the Allies on naval construction.

But the *News Chronicle's* correspondent does not consider there is any danger that Germany will build a war fleet at present for the following reasons:

"The major West German shipyards are so booked with orders for commercial craft, mostly for export, that the question of building warships is not likely to arise for some time."

The direct implication is that when the shipyards become slack every effort has

to be made to switch over to war work. So armaments are still needful to capitalist economy?

The second example, from *Worldover Press*, describes the chaotic situation existing in two Central American countries:

"At Guajira on one side of the frontier between Venezuela and Columbia, they destroy plantations of sugar cane to hold up the price, while on the other side they have to wait for sugar coming from New Orleans. In Caracas, meat prices are fantastically high, while only a few hundred kilometres distant on the Colombian plains cattle find no buyers."

Who said capitalism was efficient?

THE CURSE OF RICHES

AS we live in times where money is widely believed to be the key to happiness the case of Ernest Cook (grandson of Thomas Cook, founder of the travel agency) who died last week aged 89 is worth recording. He had great wealth, so much, in fact, that he was able to afford to donate estates worth hundreds of thousands of pounds to the National Trust, and three years ago formed a trust with the object of devoting the income from seven of his estates, totalling 13,000 acres, to education purposes.

He lived in a 17-roomed house in Bath, alone, except for a housekeeper. He was a bachelor. He neither smoked nor drank and never attended public functions.

According to the *Evening Standard*: "Tall and thin, he was known by sight to many in the city of Bath, but few of those who recognised him had ever spoken to him."

In the case of Mr. Cook it seems that wealth closed to door to personal happiness. R.

Pacifists on the Bomb

THE Standing Joint Pacifist Committee held a huge meeting to discuss the Hydrogen bomb, at Friend's House, Euston Road, on Thursday, March 10. Speakers were the Rev. Claude Coltman, John Hoyland, Alex Comfort, Emrys Hughes, M.P., the Rev. Canon Scrutton, Vera Brittain, and Victor Yates, M.P., under the chairmanship of Sybil Morrison.

The frequent trouble with "famous name" pacifist meetings is the arrogant assumption by the majority of speakers, that pacifism is peculiar to Christians (which must cause considerable embarrassment to rank and file pacifists, Christian or otherwise). This time, for a refreshing change, it was made by only four of the seven speakers.

Claude Coltman was very indignant about the British government's treatment of a resolution from the British Council of Churches (drafted by the World Council of Churches), calling for "the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction, including the Atom and Hydrogen bombs".

Canon Scrutton, who held a crucifix aloft for the greater part of his speech, recalled another resolution, that of the Lambeth Conference (of Anglican and communicant bishops) of 1930, ratified in 1948, that "War as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ." Christ, he argued, converted the world not by being crucified—which happened to thousands—but by accepting the cross with love.

John Hoyland recalled three statements from politicians: Churchill during the H-bomb debate "... it might cause such a degree of fear on the other side

as to promote a surprise attack with nuclear weapons"; Eden's speech in 1948 which resulted in the U.N. Disarmament Commission; and Eisenhower's solution to world problems, "... hard and continuous prayer from hundreds of millions of people". The Spirit of Eternal Truth, he said, was the only hope of humanity; "we have to bend our mind, and our prayer, to the furthering of that Spirit".

Of the three speakers who spoke of the securing of peace other than as a religious revival, two were so proud of their place of work (in spite of marked disagreements with most of their colleagues), they could hardly think of anything else.

Both Emrys Hughes and Victor Yates commented favourably on the news (brought to us incidentally, by Emrys Hughes himself, of Sir Richard Acland's decision to resign his seat and stand for the same constituency as an independent. And both commented unfavourably on the proposal to withdraw the Labour whip from Bevan, even though, each was careful to point out, he was used to having it withdrawn from himself.

Apart from that, both politicians' speeches consisted largely of entertaining personal anecdotes about the House.

None of the above claims to be a fair synopsis of any speech, and I do not mean to belittle the thought or skill of any speaker when I say Alex Comfort's speech was at once more intelligent and more moving than all the others taken

together. Unlike any of his platform colleagues, he used a manuscript and a microphone; and he delivered his speech as it was composed, thoughtfully, accurately, and without hysteria. But his steady recital of facts and suggestions was more telling than all the oratorical fireworks of his fellows.

He began with a moderately-worded summary of the official performance figures of the Hydrogen Bomb, which would destroy all living things and buildings within a thirty mile radius of the point of explosion, and all life in a further area of about 7,000 square miles, of unpredictable shape, to wind-

JUST STARVE

Criticism of the materialism of mothers who allowed their pursuit of money to drive them into factories, shops, and other work, and leave their children without a mother's love and understanding was made yesterday by Mrs. Geoffrey Fisher, wife of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

She told six hundred Mothers' Union members from the Chester deanery in Chester that with regard to modern life "alarm bells are ringing", and that the figures for divorce and juvenile delinquency were closely linked. Something like 47 out of 50 children in a court recently came from broken homes. It was necessary for parents to awaken to a sense of responsibility for their children. (Manchester Guardian, 16/3/55).

Light on the Heart of Darkness

Continued from p. 3

not rare among workers themselves". Senhor Galvao was at that time an ardent supporter of the Salazar dictatorship and a member of the National Assembly, but "his terrible report was never made public; and it is not difficult to see why. Two years later, however, it was published by the underground opposition; and two years after that its author, together with members of the 'legal opposition', was seized upon charges of plotting a coup d'état (they had supported the candidature of Admiral Meireles in 1951) and thrown into prison, where, it is said, he remains at the time of writing."

THE first eight chapters of Mr. Davidson's book describe the terrible history of Belgian and French imperialism in the Congo, and declare that "Those to-day who speak of Africa as 'decadent', of Africans as 'idle, feckless, immature';

those who see in sudden manifestations of long-provoked violence the stigmata of unnatural ferocity, and cry out in consequence, masking their real intention, that 'we must not go too fast'; and in general all who still feel able to enjoy a sense of inherent superiority over Africans and the continental slum in which Africans are obliged to live, might pause and ask themselves whether 'an inferior people' could have survived such a history. The wonder in Africa is not that its people are backward: the wonder is that they are there at all."

The tremendous history of the Congo in the years after about 1940—"reflected everywhere in Africa," says Mr. Davidson, "and even faintly in the Portuguese territories—is the story of how millions of men and women have abandoned their old way of life and sought another." By 1946 one-sixth of Congo Africans were living outside their tribal areas—were beyond the reach of their traditional chiefly authority. Most of these million and a half people were living in towns directly administered by European officials. "In 1953 the total number of Congo Africans who were hors chefferie—outside the tribal areas—had risen to 2,350,000. Nearly one quarter of all Congo Africans were now living a more or less permanent urban life. Between 1940 and 1950 the African population of Léopoldville increased from 46,000 to 190,000 and to nearly a quarter of a million in 1954. . . . The problem of the hour, an observer was writing of the French Cameroons early in 1953, 'is the problem of an emergent proletariat. To the south-west of Donala, the countryside grows empty.' In Kenya, the population of Nairobi increased from 53,000 in 1945 to 95,000 in 1952; and it was the same in the cities of Rhodesia, of French West Africa, of the Union of South Africa. Millions were on the move."

★

WHAT is happening is the industrial revolution. The massive engineering shops of the Union Minière at Jadotville in the Congo employ a small staff of highly qualified European technicians and 600 African craftsmen. "A quarter of these 600 Africans, by 1954, were wage-rated as being skilled or highly skilled; and another quarter as being semi-skilled. The machine tools they were operating are complex and ex-

ward of the explosion. "The Hydrogen bomb," he said, "is not a weapon. It is the psychotic's dream of mass destruction." It's probable genetic and atmospheric effects are not fully known, but whatever they are, Comfort doubted whether succeeding generations would find them preferable to Communism.

However, he did not think the H-bomb would in fact actually be made in Britain. The decision to make it was probably announced firstly to test public opinion, and secondly to try and blackmail atomic information out of the United States.

The British government were "following morally indefensible allies into militarily indefensible positions", in their attempt to prevent the onslaught of Communism; they might as well, in Comfort's opinion, try to prevent the onslaught of Thursday week. He sympathised with the dilemma of British politicians "trying to avoid War, because it would mean suicide for all of us—and Peace, because it would mean suicide for them", but suggested to them that British sympathies, by inclination and tradition, lay neither with America nor with Russia, but rather with the stand that India is making.

Britain, in her peculiar position, could offer the world moral leadership. Were she to give up the cold war, and genocide as a weapon, the effect at home would be immense; everyone, whatever their previous remarks about the atom bomb, would feel a great burden lifted from their minds. The effect abroad may well be greater. "And we should not run one iota of increased military risk". D.R.

pensive: these men are fitters, turners, moulders, pattern-makers, casters, even draughtsmen. They are cutting expensive metal to one-hundredth of a millimetre. They are performing most of the mechanical operations required in an up-to-date engineering shop, and, for the most part, with no more than routine supervision from their foremen. Most were born in little lost bush villages where the modern world and its machines could be glimpsed and heard only in the far-off passage of an aeroplane." These African technicians could not exist in other industrialised African countries, in, for example, Southern Rhodesia or South Africa where "work-bench colour bars prevent Africans from doing skilled work except by the illicit connivance of European workers who are engaged (and paid) to do such work. Government, racially infected 'trade unions', and even employers have conspired to prevent Africans from doing the same sort of work as Europeans—from fear they would demand, eventually, the same sort of life as Europeans, the same rights, responsibilities and wages. In practice this discrimination hides behind high-minded talk of 'African immaturity': the reality is a fear by local Whites of any infringement of their absolute supremacy."

The new urban centres of African life in the Congo are full of boozing and prostitution, though they are nothing like the dreadful compounds of Johannesburg, and constant improvements in housing are being made by the Belgian administration. "Behind this benevolence," declares Mr. Davidson, "lies a careful thought that property-owning may be the best way of diverting Africans away from rebellious nationalism and radicalism: a reflection of the same Catholic policy which can be found in Belgium itself. 'Let each man own his own house and garden', runs the theory, 'and there will be no revolution.' Whether the calculation is likely to work out in Africa—and the evidence suggests on balance that it will not—the valuable consequences for Africans at this stage is to enable them to acquire a relatively high degree of security of tenure in their new urban lives."

But the Belgian Congo has 3,818 political prisoners. "Unlike European workers in the days of early industrialism, these Congo Africans have as yet no social thinkers to tell them how and why the world goes round, to explain to them the real mechanics of their condition, to bring them into intelligent contact with the rest of struggling humanity. Great sums of security money are expended every year in making sure that no 'unhealthy' political influence comes near them. Stanley Pool is watched by day and night to prevent 'subversives' from crossing into the Congo out of the 'nightmare liberty' of French territory. The bags of sailors landing at Matadi are searched with astonishing diligence to ensure that no wicked pamphlets come ashore from workers in other parts of the world. There is everywhere an atmosphere of acute suspicion."

In our next issue we will discuss some of the implications of the 'African Awakening' which Basil Davidson's extremely interesting book describes.

The Narodniks Liberals?

The official programme of the Narodnaya Volya opens with the words:

We are, by basic conviction, socialists and narodniks."

It states later that one of its activities will be:

"Propaganda, to popularise the idea of a democratic socialist revolution . . ."

("The Red Prelude" by David Footman. Pages 106-107).

One of the leaders of the Narodnaya Volya, Zhelyabov, said that:

"Purely political reforms . . . did not fall within the scope of the Soviet Revolutionary Party. That was the task of the liberals." (Ibid., page 99).

In view of these facts I consider George Woodcock quite wrong when, in his review of Ridley's "The Assassins", he calls the narodnik terrorists "liberals".

London, Mar. 13. S. E. PARKER.

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Manchester Meeting

(From our Manchester Correspondent)

TONY GIBSON recently gave a highly successful talk on "The Sexual Problems of Youth" to 250 students of Manchester College of Technology, as the guest of the student's union. The talk was originally to be entitled "Sexual Freedom For The Young", but it was apparently thought best to sell this heady new wine in (relatively) old bottles. Nothing of the flavour was lost thereby, as testified by the entranced condition of the students. This writer expected that since the subject was essentially the immaturity of the audience there would be an outbreak of facetiousness as a cover-up for embarrassment, but no, the audience's comportment drew a generous tribute from Comrade Gibson, who compared the reaction of these northern engineers favourably with that of an Oxford audience and one of rather giggly Catholics to whom he had given the same lecture. Opposition, mostly rather earnest and formal religious statements, was amazingly slight and—to quote Tony—"very fair indeed".

The principal difficulty was the pressure from the audience for concrete advice as to what to do now in their personal situations: they were, one gathered, ripe for sexual revolt! But university authorities need have no qualms—there have been no orgies.

The talk was well reported, being covered in the journal of the College Students' Union, *Technowledge*, and in *NUS News* (National Union of Students), and only the coincidence of the annual charity "rag" curtailed the report in the *Manchester University News Bulletin*. A long follow-up article listing and quoting from all the classical works on the subject, with specific reference to the talk, was accepted by the College newspaper. Its length has obliged its publication in serial form! There is no doubt about it, sex is here to stay, and the universities are at least as interested in the topic from the anarchist's angle as from that of Lord Rothermere.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at THE MALATESTA CLUB 155 High Holborn, W.C.1. (Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall)

MAR. 27—BRAINS TRUST

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting HYDE PARK Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

N.W. LONDON

HAMPSTEAD

at 27 Christchurch Hill, Hampstead, N.W.3.

Discussions Meetings Mondays at 8 p.m.

Alan M. Bain, at above address

GLASGOW

INDOORS

at 200 Buchanan Street Every Friday at 7 p.m.

The Malatesta Club

155 HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON, W.C.1.

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LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Informal Discussions Every Thursday, at 8.15 p.m.

Lecture-Discussions Every Sunday at 7.45 p.m.

(See Announcements Column)

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