

WHITEWASHING FRANCO

LAST month (September 26) Spain, apparently to everyone's surprise, applied for membership of the United Nations and on the same day Mr. Cabot Lodge, U.S. representative at the U.N. announced that his country would support Spain's candidacy. Furthermore, according to Press reports Mr. Molotov is said to have made a statement to Spanish journalists in New York indicating that the Russians do not oppose Spanish admission to the United Nations. So far, however, British spokesmen have declined to comment. There is no reason to suppose that the British government has any objections to Franco's admission to the U.N. and such decision would undoubtedly receive a majority vote in Parliament. Yet there are still large sections of the public in this country, including important sections of the working class movement, who, at least until recently, were still strongly opposed to the Franco régime and it appears that the government has not hitherto thought that any political advantages that might result from Franco's admission to the U.N. would outweigh the antagonism that such action would provoke in the Trade Unions and amongst radicals.

However, a kind of organised softening-up process has been quite noticeable during the past year. British tourists have been flocking to Spain in tens of thousands this year, large numbers of violent anti-Franco intellectuals among them, yet hardly a word has been written by them in the British Press. Or perhaps it is that the British Press refuses to publish what they have to say? In view of the diplomatic rapprochement to Franco Spain, the two articles by F. A. Voigt in the *Manchester Guardian* recently have more significance than they have at first sight. Mr. Voigt was clearly attempting to whitewash the Franco

régime, soft-peddling features which he would be the first to emphasise as the evils of the Russian system and presenting us with a picture of the situation in Spain so general and unsubstantiated that it is difficult to know where to start demolishing it. It is of interest to see that in the correspondence that followed there was no letter in support of Mr. Voigt's "line" and equally interesting that the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* brought the correspondence abruptly to an end in a matter of days, which contrasts most violently with the weeks of correspondence that followed that newspaper's exposure of the inhuman treatment of horses!

Franco has been banned from the United Nations as a result of resolutions adopted by the three Big Powers at Potsdam in 1945 and by the San Francisco conference, where the U.N. charter was written, in which it was decided that no government that came to power with the aid of the Axis could be admitted to the U.N. This was adopted by the first meeting of the General Assembly in 1946 and confirmed in the autumn of 1946 by a resolution which barred "the Franco régime" from membership in specialised agencies of the United Nations and recommended that members of the United Nations withdraw their Ambassadors and Ministers from Madrid.

That was in 1946. Since then much water has flowed under the bridges. Yet Franco has not changed. But international politics have. And just as it is no longer considered expedient to keep Germany disarmed for all time so has America considered it not practical politics to shun Spain which she considers as a useful outpost in the American "defence" system as well as a potential market in the long run.*

Nothing helped. The women were always waiting. The government was goaded into irritable complaint. "Weeping Winnies," one Minister called them, and Prime Minister Strydom himself gaped nervously at "these foolish virgins."

One day last week 25 Black Sashers formed a double line outside the Bloemfontein city hall, where the Nationalist Party was meeting for its annual conference in the Orange Free State. Just before Strydom arrived 100 husky members of the *Nasionale Jeugbond*, the Nationalists' youth group, shouldered the women aside, and formed a solid, muscular phalanx inside the Black Sashers' double line. After Strydom had walked through, the *Jeugbond* huskies turned brusquely, ripped the black sashes off several women, tore up their placards reading "Respect our Constitution." Some shook their fists in the women's faces. "I'll hit you across the face as you've never been hit before," one threatened. Inside the hall, Justice Minister Swart fumed: "This ridiculous action by these people will only make us more determined to put Cape Coloured [people of mixed white and Negro blood] on a separate roll . . . The Black Sash group makes us more determined than ever to see to it that these [anti-Boer] people will never again come to power."

Unintimidated, League headquarters in Johannesburg dispatched ten cars and two airplanes full of Black Sashers to reinforce their embattled sisters in Bloemfontein. "From now on, I will carry a good long hatpin with me, and I am not beyond jabbing somebody with it," said one outraged lady.

Time (26/9/55).

IF Franco Spain is admitted to the United Nations few anarchists will have tears to shed over the "betrayal". Our interest in recent developments is to underline the *baseness of politics* and to confirm that ethics, the moral values that are at the root of all human relations that matter and which we cherish, are totally absent from politics. If further evidence of this is required it is provided by the present diplomatic excitement aroused in the West by Russia's offer to sell arms to Egypt. Those self-appointed guardians of the peace-loving peoples of the world have so innocently explained their actions as simply a "normal commercial transaction" and their interest in obtaining the goods their country needed whilst "at the same time [striving] to meet the needs of their foreign customers".

How hollow the West's indignation sounds however, when one is told by Egypt's Colonel Nasser that he had refused to accept arms from the West on conditions that he had been "unable to reconcile with the aims of the revolution". In other words that the West was in fact willing to supply arms, but that Nasser had found it cheaper to pay Czechoslovakia for them in cotton and rice!

RUSSIA is prepared to agree to Spain's admission to the United Nations at this stage in return for political and economic concessions. She will probably demand from

America in return that Red China shall be admitted. And already, according to the *Observer* (Oct. 2) unofficial contracts are being made in Paris between the Soviet and Spanish embassies with a view to reviving trade between the two countries.

When will it be realised that "ideological differences" are the means, the justification for demanding always more sacrifices from the people by their governments and ruling classes, but that the ends always remain unchanged and common to

all governments, whether of the Moscow, Madrid or Washington varieties: POWER & MARKETS!

*Referring to the smaller wheat crops resulting from the dry season experienced in Spain this year, the *New York Times* Madrid correspondent (28/9/55) points out that this year Spain will have to import at least 500,000 tons of wheat. "Spain thus becomes another bone of contention between the United States and Canada, both interested in exporting wheat. The United States mission here is doing what it can to insure that the \$30,000,000 to \$35,000,000 worth of wheat Spain will need comes from United States stocks."

NEWS IN BRIEF

WALL STREET SUFFERS A HEART-ATTACK

AN oldish ex-military gentleman suffers from a mild heart attack—a not uncommon event for people getting on in years, and something that must have happened to many thousands of others on the same day.

But this was a special case. It was the direct cause of the dropping of millions of dollars in share values on Wall Street; 'confidence' in many 'strong' industrial shares was shaken, and no doubt some workers have lost their jobs as a result.

Of course it is argued that President Eisenhower is a Very Important Person, that the U.S. government could not function so efficiently without him, and that the present business boom is unlikely to continue if the Democrats come to power (which is predicted will happen if Eisenhower is unable to stand for President in 1956).

Democracy is an odd term to use about a country where the mal-functioning of one man's cardiac system causes such dislocation to the heart (to use a metaphor much beloved by Stock Exchange tycoons—"money is the life-blood of industry", etc.) of the country's economy.

This is what the *Financial Times* said about Wall Street the day after Eisenhower's heart-attack: "As trading opened to-day investors were queuing up to sell . . . by the close the turnover totalled 7.72 million shares, the highest for 22 years . . . leading shares showed falls of around \$10, with General Motors down \$8½, U.S. Steel \$5½, Bethlehem Steel \$14 and Chrysler \$8½. U.S. Gypsum dropped \$45 at one time before rallying to show a \$33½ loss' and much more in the same vein.

Is it not at the other end of the scale of political terms we should look to describe such a society? Would not oligarchy or autocracy be nearer the mark than democracy?

FACTS AND PROPAGANDA

Most people are all too familiar with the picture of the U.S. as a land of plenty where every worker has a car, a refrigerator, and a wife who might have come out of a toothpaste advertisement (not the cube of ice variety—the other sort); a land where the jobs are well-paid and the workers contented. How often do those editorial wailings and gnashings of Press Lords' teeth on the occasion of a strike 'which is holding the country to ransom' etc., include some reference to the situation across the Atlantic? Where they all work so hard (unlike the British and/or French worker), and don't embarrass their employers with strikes because they know that Productivity and the Economy Would Suffer.

What are the facts? The U.S. has three times the working population of this country but, in 1954, the number of days lost through strikes was nearly ten times greater. Or put in another way the loss caused by strikes in the U.K. was about 1 hour per year per worker and in the U.S. about 3½ hours per year per worker.

Here are the figures for the number of man-days lost over the last five years:

	U.S.	U.K.
1950	38.8	1.4 (in millions)
51	22.9	1.7
52	59.1	1.8
53	28.3	2.2
54	22.6	2.4

(the figures are taken from *The Ministry of Labour Gazette*).

WHITE MAN SENTENCED FOR ASSAULT ON NEGRO

A recent court-case in Florida is an indication of the tendency towards equal treatment (at least in the matter of punishment) for both white and coloured in the southern states of the U.S. On September 26 at Sebring

"A white man convicted of raping a Negro woman was sentenced to life imprisonment by a judge who considered a recommendation to mercy by a jury of 12 white men. Sentencing the man, Andrew Pendarvis, Judge William Allen told him: 'The law of this State does not differentiate between the races in criminal attack, and as a judge, I shall not. You were recommended to mercy by one vote—a seven to five majority. If one man had refused to vote in favour of mercy, I would have had to sentence you to die.'"

Let us hope that as the vicious system of one law for white and another for coloured dies so the realisation that black and white can live together on equal terms will grow.

The Foreign Office and the Planners A "Smear" that Misfired

A FOUR-DAY International Conference on Regional Planning and Development, held last week at Bedford College, London, was attended by more than three hundred delegates and observers from some 40 countries. It would have been a larger and even more representative gathering had not the British Foreign Office circulated its view shortly before the Conference was due to start that some of the organisers had "undesirable political affiliations" and the Home Office "asked" members of Government services who had been invited to the conference to "consider whether it would be right for them to attend". As a result of this last minute "bombshell" more than sixty delegates withdrew not only among the British but also among the Italian, American and African and other delegates who for one reason or another were concerned for their jobs, or with the maintenance of "friendly relations" between their governments and the Foreign Office.

In his opening speech, the Chairman, Professor Gardner-Medwin explained that it was only a week before the conference that the rumours of Foreign Office interference were confirmed in the form of a letter from a delegate "who stated that he was compelled to withdraw his application to attend the Conference under orders from the Foreign Office. Further last minute cancellations were received, and upon examination of the list of names the Committee could only attribute these withdrawals to the same cause."

What followed is equally interesting, for it clearly indicates that the Foreign Office was adopting delaying tactics with the aim of wrecking the conference even if, at a later date after the conference, Whitehall were to find itself obliged to retract the "smear".

"Without delay—said Professor Gardner-Medwin—a letter was drafted and sent to the Foreign Secretary asking, in the firmest and most positive terms, that

steps be taken immediately to rectify what to the knowledge of the Committee was a grave injustice to a group of professional people who were organizing a technical conference, which in no way could possibly justify this Foreign Office intervention.

As there appeared to be no indication that the Foreign Office was treating the matter as one of urgency, the Committee pressed for an immediate interview. This was granted in the early afternoon of Saturday, 24th September, and was attended by two members of the Preparatory Committee, the outcome of the meeting being an assurance that the matter would be put before Lord Reading, the Acting Foreign Secretary.

The Committee made it quite clear that they insisted that the Foreign Office was in duty bound either to substantiate their objections or, if a mistake had been made, to take prompt action to advise all concerned of their changed attitude. To this end the Committee asked that representative members should be seen at the Foreign Office on Monday morning. This was refused."

Reaction to this blatant piece of British McCarthyism came from many quarters (even Mr. Herbert Morrison was shocked by the Home Office's warning advice), including some sections of the Press. But the fact remains that the Press whilst showing considerable interest in the opening announcements made by the Chairman, scurried from the Hall when the real business of the conference started, leaving the *Manchester Guardian* reporter to enjoy the splendid isolation of the Press table while they probably busied themselves with the much more important doings of Jack Spot and the now notorious Parson.

In the Hall however, was a member of FREEDOM's editorial board, and in view of the general boycott of this conference FREEDOM makes no excuse for devoting a large part of the present issue to his report of the deliberations of this international gathering

[Full Report on the Conference—page 2]

THE CONFERENCE ON REGIONAL PLANNING

DURING the war, as you may dimly remember, there was a great deal of hopeful talk and general interest in post-war reconstruction, and among the more valuable of the many bodies concerning themselves with the question was the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction which propagated the regional approach to our physical and economic environment, the seeds of which were sown years ago by Patrick Geddes. The Association took over the defunct post-graduate Planning School and re-opened it as the School of Planning and Regional Research which did valuable teaching and publicity work under Mr. E. A. A. Rowse until it closed for lack of funds in 1952. In 1953 members held a symposium on regional planning which decided to arrange for a major conference to bring together interested people from all over the world in order to set up some sort of permanent liaison arrangements and documentation centre and if possible, educational facilities for regional planning.

This is the history of the origins of the International Conference on Regional Planning & Development held last week in London and I mention it in view of what the *Manchester Guardian* calls "the efforts, ministerial and journalistic, that have been made to wreck this conference". These efforts are described on another page, and I would prefer to draw attention to the aspect of the Conference which is so much more important and has been virtually ignored by the press. That is the four papers read to the Conference on creative efforts in regional planning and the discussion of them by panels of specialists and then by study groups.

The first of these was on the Tennessee Valley Authority by Dr. Edward Ackerman, former assistant general manager of T.V.A. who withdrew from the Conference on the advice of the U.S. Embassy as soon as his paper had been discussed. The second was on the

When the International Conference on Regional Planning and Development began its sittings last week there were 15 journalists at the Press table. When the chairman, Professor Gardner-Medwin, had finished his statement on the Government allegations about "undesirable political affiliations", thirteen of the Press representatives left, and during the rest of the first day two remained, while for the remainder of the Congress the only occupant of the Press desk was the faithful representative of the *Manchester Guardian*.

It was clear that what the newspapers considered news was not the tremendously important and exciting projects which were the subject of the Conference but the ridiculous Communist scare. (In his opening speech Prof. Gardner-Medwin had referred to the conference being "under the banner of Geddes", and I overheard one journalist ask another the meaning of this phrase. "Something to do with the Geddes Axe" was the reply).

FREEDOM is regarded by people who don't read it as an organ of impractical crackpots, but in fact it is one of the few papers which gives any prominence to the themes of the present Conference, or discusses them seriously. We cannot in this issue devote adequate space to the papers read

at the Conference and the study groups which followed them, but we list below some of the articles to be found in back numbers which deal with the subjects:

- Regionalism, and the ideas of Patrick Geddes: Regionalism—A Basis of the Free Society, 15/11/1947. The Shape of Our Surroundings, 3 and 10/10/1953. The Work of Patrick Geddes, 10/1/1948. Geddes, Gardens & The Italian Girl, 16/8/1952. Centenary Tribute to Patrick Geddes, 6/11/1954.*
- Tennessee Valley Authority Second Thoughts on T.V.A., 11/9/1954.*
- Land Reclamation in Holland New Earth—How the Dutch Made Holland, 24/6/1950.*
- Community Development in India Fundamental Development—1, 13/10/1951. Bringing New Life to the Indian Village, 19/7/1952. Community Development, 5/7/1952. Libertarian Feeling in India, 28/3/1953. Mr. Bertin, the Indian Village & Erasmus, 25/6/1955. (See also articles on the Bhoodan Movement, 15/12/1951, 5/2/1955, 9 and 16/7/1955).*
- Development in Africa Fundamental Development—2, 23/2/1952. African Affairs, 2/2/1952. Problems of Darkest Africa, 15 and 22/3/1952.*
- Planning Problems in Italy The Housing Problem in Italy, 12/6/1948. Housing and Planning in Italy, 26/6/1948. From the Top Down or From the Bottom Up, 11/10/1952. In Italy's Deep South, 7/2/1953.*

Indian Community Development Project by Mr. T. Swaminathan, Economic Minister to the Indian High Commission, the third on the Volta River Project in the Gold Coast by Mr. John G. Liverman of the Colonial Office. (His paper was read for him as he had been instructed to withdraw). The fourth was on Regional Planning in Italy with Special Reference to the Eorediese (the area around Ivrea). This was given by Dr. Carlo Doglio, and was in place of other papers on Italy by Dr. Adriano Olivetti (who was ill) and Messrs Astengo and Renacco (who withdrew). There were also short evening papers on planning problems from many parts of the world—from the Dutch Polders to the Sudan.

Indian Community Development

ON its second day the Conference turned to the Indian Community Development Programme. Mr. Swaminathan first described the Indian background when the country achieved its independence. "The advent of freedom in itself was no solution to the age-old problem of poverty in which our people lived and continue to live. It merely gave us the opportunity for which we had been waiting, to be able to order our lives according to our own lights." He described the problems facing the country—over-population, economic under-development, ignorance, disease and food shortage. Added to this was the influx of eight million refugees resulting from partition who had to be fed, housed and given the means of earning a living had to be provided almost overnight. Resources of capital and trained manpower were limited, but the Planning Commission initiated large multi-purpose river valley schemes—the Damodar Valley Project, the Bhakra-Nangal Project and so on. These had a direct bearing on the top-priority objective of the plan—food production. "But they were also large schemes involving heavy investment, specialised equipment and advanced scientific techniques. They would not, at least at the outset, immediately touch the daily lives of the common people—particularly those who live in

the rural areas and constitute the vast majority of the Indian nation". Hence the Programme of Community Development.

Gandhi wrote as far back as 1922, "We have been working too much at the top, we should go down to the base... Every village should have its Sabha (Council) which should function not merely in Congress elections and in political meetings but as a Co-operative association of villagers working for the welfare of the village in the production of yarn and cloth, in sanitation, in settlement of disputes, in village education and in all other simple forms of social service". Quite naturally, said Mr. Swaminathan,

"the village uplift movement was taken up by the government of the day and by other agencies as well and made commendable progress in a physical sense in many parts of the country, but for the most part, these experiments suffered through being an imposition from the top. In their zeal to show results, too much emphasis had been placed on physical targets and the means adopted for achieving the targets at least savoured of outside compulsion. The Community Development Project naturally had the same kind of physical content as the schemes that preceded it. It sought, however, to change the spirit underlying the effort by harnessing the energy of the people to the task. The Community Project is an attempt to bring about a gradual transformation of the social and economic life of the villages by enlisting the co-operation of the people themselves in their own betterment, through the practice of more scientific agriculture, better sanitation, the development of communications and cottage industries."

The Programme began with 55 project areas all over the country covering 25,264 villages with a population of 16.4 million. It is their aim that by the end of the second Five Year Plan, i.e. by 1961, every village in the country, i.e. 4/5ths of the total population will be covered by the programme. "The results and the experiences gained from the working of the 55 Community Projects during the first year, and the popular enthusiasm it created, surprised supporters and critics alike. There was a nation-wide feeling that the Programme should be rapidly extended to other parts of the country." Available resources were too limited for this, so in October 1953, "a separate scheme complementary to the existing programme but less comprehensive in character", was launched.

Mr. Swaminathan declared that:

"The fundamental concept of the Community Programme is that the main motive force for its implementation must come from the people themselves and that the vast unutilised energy lying dormant in the countryside should be harnessed for constructive work, on the co-operative principle. The new pattern of rural society that is visualised is that of millions of rural families, organising themselves in co-operatives of different kinds and taking decisions as free agents practising scientific agriculture on the widest scale possible and finding supplementary occupations in a variety of decentralised cottage and small-scale industries while the State assists by organising research, supplies, services and credit. The basic considerations are not merely economic. There are non-material values and social gains which are equally important."

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an educative system of tremendous importance when you consider the degradation which farms and farmers in the region had reached in 1933. T.V.A. he concluded:

"pioneered in the application of the demonstration technique on a large scale to complex problems. It introduced and perfected 'leverage' devices for regional development like low cost fertilizers, and widely distributed, mass-rate electric energy. It pioneered in the use of true multi-purpose river development. It demonstrated that extensive reservoir development in the sub-tropics and tropics can be compatible with people's good health. It showed that public works can be effectively used as training grounds for the development of latent capacities in a region's people. Above all it had the vision to realise that true greatness for a development agency did not rest in 'empire building' but in equipping the people of the region to go further with their own institutions. T.V.A. was not beguiled by the technical satisfactions of working out a physical plan, but it also set its sights on the less visible social and economic institutions of its region. In its work it tried to understand the mind and heart of the individual man and woman, and to bring administrative organisation and technology within their grasp. These changes may be with the Valley when the dams and power stations long since have succumbed to a newer technology."

In the discussion by a panel of specialists Mr. E. Gordon England (ecologist), remarked that one of the most important things about T.V.A. was in fact its limited powers and its absence of "supermen". The most dangerous tendency in the world was the accumulation of wide powers in the hands of a few people whose knowledge, since they are only human, is limited. He praised the T.V.A. for being one of those few governmental agencies whose staff get continually smaller. Planners, he said, must beware of the tendency to over-emphasise technical and impersonal economic aims, and the following speaker, Mr. B. M. Niculescu reminded us that while we must learn T.V.A.'s lessons, each problem in regional development must be thought out afresh in its own context, that several post-war failures were due to inability to interpret known technical problems in terms of a different human background. "What we must emphasise," he declared, "is intelligence and not memory."

That evening five study groups set about applying their intelligence to the application of the lessons of T.V.A. to other regions in the world—under and over-populated countries, resettlement

regions and so on. But I think it was a pity that one lesson—perhaps the most important lesson of all from the T.V.A. was not mentioned. I wrote in these pages last year in an article on the subject:

"When the T.V.A. began dam-building it was prophesied that there could be no possible use for the electric power generated. The electricity-generating capacity of the region in 1933 was under 815,000 kilowatt. Today it is 4,000,000 kilowatt, but in 1951 in peak consumption periods, power had to be borrowed from other systems and power-cuts and load-shedding introduced. The T.V.A. has had to begin building five steam-generating power stations which when completed will burn 8,000,000 tons of coal annually. If you can conceive of an ecology of industry then the Tennessee Valley has already moved from the unbalance of water resources to the over-exploitation of resources. The difference between power generated from water and that generated from burning coal is obvious. One is inexhaustible and the other uses material which cannot be renewed. When coal has to be imported to the largest producer of hydro-electric power in America, something has gone wrong." The answer

is that the biggest users of T.V.A. power are Oak Ridge and Paducah, the plants of the Atomic Energy Commission. When thousands of people were working night and day to produce the atomic bombs that fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, working like ants not knowing what they were making, working at feverish speed so that the bombs could be delivered before Japan surrendered, they were working on the Tennessee Valley precisely because of the availability of abundant electric power.

This is the terrible paradox of the great constructive effort that went into the T.V.A.

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TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

THE key to economic and human geography is, in the terminology of Patrick Geddes, the "valley section"—and the natural physical region as opposed to political boundaries and frontiers—is the area between the watersheds—the river valley from its mountainous source to its estuary. Adapting this concept of the Tennessee Valley in the United States, the resultant region is the drainage basin (42,000 square miles—about the area of England) of the upper and lower Tennessee, from its five large tributaries rising in the Blue Ridge mountains, the Great Smokies and the Southern Appalachians to the westward curve of the river where it joins the Ohio which in turn flows into the Mississippi.

In 1933 this region—poverty-stricken, eroded and flooded was "the nation's No. 1 economic problem" and in that year as part of Roosevelt's "New Deal", the T.V.A. was set up, not merely to harness the river waters, but to revitalize the region. Dr. Ackerman's paper described T.V.A.'s achievements, the changes it has made in the region in its twenty-two years, and its shortcomings. He emphasised that T.V.A. was not given the dictatorial powers which some people seem to think are necessary for effective planning.

"The limitations which attend T.V.A.'s powers and responsibilities are striking. The most important single attribute of T.V.A. has been its dependence on education and persuasion in most of what it has done."

"While this may seem elementary to some of the audience, a broad point of view which stressed the best interest of all people while developing a region's resources was revolutionary in the United States of the early thirties. The alternative of course is special-purpose development... while each effort affects some people in some way, the attention of the action agency inevitably becomes centred on levees, or dams, or trees, or some other physical objective. Men become incidental to the process. This has never been true for T.V.A."

Among the logical results of T.V.A.'s "limited powers and broad, but clear humanitarian objectives" which Dr. Ackerman noted, were a decentralised multi-institutional approach and a cultivation of the technique of demonstration. The best-known example of the "demonstration techniques" developed by T.V.A. is of course the field of farming where the sceptical neighbours select one of their number to operate as a test-demonstration farm to illustrate the proper use of fertilizers, water-conserving methods and new forming techniques—

He took as an example of the work the State of Tripura, the smallest State in India which has only one Block Development Project (each project area was divided into blocks of a hundred villages and sub-blocks of five or ten), and one General Extension Block in operation.

"Socially, politically and anthropologically, this is a most interesting State. Populous villages are practically non-existent in the State and it is a complex of tribal and non-tribal people with very divergent ways of life. Modern communications have been practically unknown in this State which is an embodiment of all the different kinds of problems that one has to face in this huge continent. The progress made in these circumstances is quite remarkable. Two thousand acres of waste land were reclaimed. Just under 10 tons of improved paddy seeds were distributed to cultivators and the cultivation of winter vegetables was introduced. The soya bean was introduced and so were sugar cane cuttings and jute seeds in order to improve the indigenous varieties. The project staff has striven hard to explain and demonstrate the need for using organic and inorganic manures side by side. New techniques, for example, the Japanese method of cultivating rice, and new implements were introduced. By voluntary village effort, 50 miles of village roads and 25 bridges were built. Not only did the villagers contribute labour but also sacrificed small pieces of their land for building these roads. The villagers themselves constructed school houses free of cost. Adult education has spread and co-operative societies have been organised to take care of farming, weaving, providing rural credit and so on. Here in what may rightly be described as a microcosm in the life of the country, one sees already the result of the seeding of a little bit of knowledge and organisation into the reservoir of popular enthusiasm and the popular desire for uplift and betterment."

"Overall, there has been significant progress throughout the country under the scheme. Up to the end of March this year, 2½ million acres of land have been reclaimed and nearly a million acres brought under irrigation. Several thousand wells have been newly sunk or renovated. Over 6,000 new schools have been started and 17,000 schools converted into what are known in India as Basic Education Centres which embrace, besides ordinary formal education, special education in agriculture and the crafts. Over 16,000 miles of roads have been built in project areas and there are nearly 500 production-cum-training centres in selected areas. These figures are not by any means a claim of material success achieved. They are intended more to be an index of what, given some little encouragement and incentive, the popular enthusiasm and the popular will for betterment have been able to do in the very short space of two years during a period of avowed experimentation, of trial and error."

In discussing errors and shortcomings Mr. Swaminathan mentioned the "sentimental optimism with which we in the East are apt to be afflicted" and described the critical reports of an independent body, the Programme Evaluation Organisation, which warn that "there is some risk of field staff again relapsing into a one-sided and excessive concentration on demonstrable results". In a bureaucratic form of government, says the report:

"this distinction between popular and official is clear, and it is easy to see that anything which the people have not willed, have not planned, have not directed and have not voluntarily carried out is not popular. The bureaucratic and semi-bureaucratic schemes of rural development had no elements of vitality, dynamism and creativeness in them for the basic reason that they were not popular in these respects... the programme has to be popular, with officials participating, not the other way round—an official programme in which the people are exhorted to participate and in a few cases are almost dragged in."

The Indian paper gave rise to discussions of the fundamental economic and social principles of development schemes in the panel discussions, from the floor of the conference, and in the study groups. The West African members of one of the groups, for instance, saw the particular value of Indian experience in "the formulation of a development pattern which did not disturb but rather elaborated the traditional cultural patterns of the area involved". The group concerned with resettlement problems, discussing the rôle of specialist advisers came to the healthy conclusion that "the technician's ultimate objective is to work himself out of a job." Dr. Innes Pearce of the Pioneer Health Centre recalled how experience at Peckham showed that people are more often stimulated to creative effort by an inexpert person doing something badly than by the more awe-inspiring specialist. When the Peckham Health Centre closed down, mothers continued the nursery schools themselves and still do after seven years. In any attempt at community development there is a lesson of great value to be learned from this.

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PLANNING FOR WHAT?

YOU may wonder why we have thought it desirable to devote the greater part of this issue to an account of an international conference, attended largely by specialists, on regional planning and development.

Firstly because the question of the "under-developed" countries and regions, of the three-quarters of the world's population who are underfed, ill-clad and ill-housed. For as Mr. André Philip reminded us in his closing address to the Conference, what is happening in the world is that while the rich countries are getting richer, the poor are getting poorer. This is a matter, he said, for the conscience of the West. Organisations like *War on Want*, and publications like *Let's Join the Human Race* are trying to awaken this conscience. Meanwhile it is essential that the development work that is being done to help lift the poverty-stricken regions of the world out of hunger and hopelessness avoids the mistakes and imperfections which have so often delayed or frustrated the best of intentions in this field. The need to profit by experience in other areas was one of the reasons why the conference was convened and why it seeks to set up a permanent centre for the dissemination of information and for education.

The second reason why we have reported at such length the four main papers and discussions from the conference, is that the most striking aspect of its deliberations was not on a technical but on a social and moral plane. If a similar conference had been held before the war or even ten years ago, there would have been a lot of talk on the need for the creation of special central commissions with wide powers and so on. Last week however, as you will see from our reports there was a continual insistence on decentralisation and a belief that real planning starts from below and can only achieve its purpose if its emphasis is on popular rather than governmental action. There was in the examination of various plans and projects a continual questioning in human terms of the purpose of the plans. Who is to benefit? This explains the critical reception of the paper on the Volta River Project. Is it for the benefit of the indigenous population or are the natural resources to be exploited not for the liberation of the human resources, but like the abortive Ground Nuts Scheme for imperialist or commercial interests?

This changed outlook is reflected in the realisation, stressed by Mr. Swaminathan, Mr. T. Balogh and Mr. André Philip, that orthodox economic and financial techniques are just not applicable to this kind of regional and communal development. In the same way the mechanistic solutions of both capitalism and marxism are inapplicable to the industrial problems of underdeveloped countries. It is meaningless as Dr. Kurt Martin said, to regard the river valley projects in India as the big thing and the village development programme as belonging to a more 'primitive' economy. The village developments are in fact the big scheme, but both are necessary. Similarly, as Dr. G. P. Wibberley remarked it is quite wrong to suppose that the first essential is to alter the size of holdings. Even under the most fragmented form of tenure, food production can be greatly increased by the teaching and demon-

stration of improved techniques of cultivation and manuring.

SOME other reflections which the conference prompts are on the question of specialisation. Many different people with special knowledge—agricultural advisers, town planners, geographers, geologists, physicians, economists, engineers, sociologists, are required in regional development that there is a danger that these specialists will not be people of sufficient vision to see their work in terms of the whole—in its regional setting. This danger was noticeable in the discussions, and Dr. Wibberley pointed out that the specialist is ineffective unless he is capable of this relative thinking. He must also approach his task with humility and with respect for the people if he really desires to help them and not himself. "We learnt," said Carlo Doglio, "that it was necessary for the specialists to work as a real team, without a previously appointed leader, but with a sort of continually changing leadership growing out of the particular problems which had to be faced as they arose; that is to say, a functional and not an hierarchical leadership."

THE planner is not a revolutionary.

He does what he can within the status quo. In fact he is often the employee of official and governmental agencies. But if he is to do his work in the spirit that pervaded last week's discussion he dare not forget two things. The first is that many of the problems for which he has to seek solutions are simply the result of the fact that throughout the world production is for profit and not for use*. The second is the vital difference between society and the State, between the social principle and the political principle, so well expressed by Martin Buber in the essay which we quoted a fortnight ago. The political principle is seen in power, authority and domination, the social principle in families, groups, unions, co-operative bodies and communities. "Administration in the sphere of the social principle is equivalent to government in that of the political principle. . . . The political principle is always stronger in relation to the social principle than the given conditions require. The result is a continuous diminution in social spontaneity."

Social spontaneity is precisely the quality which the planner has to use his science and art to release, in order to set free that society which was never better described than by Peter Kropotkin, the founder of this paper when he wrote, half a century ago:

It seeks the most complete development of individuality combined with the highest development of voluntary association in all its aspects, in all possible degrees, for all imaginable aims; ever changing, ever modified associations which carry in themselves the elements of their durability and constantly assume new forms, which answer best to the multiple aspirations of all. A society to which pre-established forms, crystallized by laws, are repugnant; which looks for harmony in an ever-changing and fugitive equilibrium between a multitude of varied forces and influences of every kind, following their own course. . . .

One of the study groups at last week's conference concluded that "The technician's ultimate objective is to work himself out of a job". This is the true aim of the planner: the emergence of a society which plans itself. C.W.

*Is it not ludicrous for instance that we have to seek desperately for a solution of Asia's food problem when to solve the 'problem' of America's food surplus, her wheat acreage has been reduced 30% in the last two years and this year rice acreage will be reduced 22%.

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The Volta River Project

Continued from p. 2

THE Volta river basin in the Gold Coast is the subject of a plan still under official discussion sponsored by the British Government, the Gold Coast Government, Aluminium Ltd. of Canada and the British Aluminium Company. It is quite frankly stated that the principal object is the production of aluminium and that other developments are envisaged as incidental.

"The Government of the Gold Coast is interested in diversifying the country's economy, in developing natural resources, accelerating technical development, creating new opportunities for employment and new sources of revenue. The British and Canadian Aluminium Companies are interested in establishing new sources of aluminium to meet an expanding world demand, and Her Majesty's Government has a general interest in developing the resources of the Commonwealth countries and stimulating the production of essential raw-materials within the sterling area."

The natural resources which the project seeks to exploit are the hydro-electric potential of the river and the deposits of bauxite, the ore from which aluminium is manufactured. Mr. Liverman's paper described the construction work in these terms:

"The construction of a dam at Ajena (where the Volta flows through a narrow gorge about 75 miles from the mouth of the river and 70 miles by road from the capital, Accra, would create an artificial lake about 3,000 square miles in area and would enable over half a million kilowatts of electricity to be generated. The bauxite deposits in the Gold Coast are known to total over 200 million tons. The hydro-electric power generated would be enough to operate a smelter producing over 200,000 tons a year of aluminium metal in ingot form, and using in the process about a million tons of bauxite every year. Other essential features of the Project include the construction of about 100 miles of new railway, the development of roads and ports, and the building of new towns to house the workers who would open up and operate the bauxite mines and who would construct and operate the power station and smelter. If the project were undertaken there would be opportunities also for the construction of a grid that would transmit electricity to other parts of the Gold Coast; for irrigation schemes that would employ the waters of the Volta brought under control by the damming of the river; and for the development of fishing and inland navigation based on the new lake."

For reasons which are obvious when you compare this scheme with T.V.A. and the Indian projects, it did not escape severe criticism when under discussion. Mrs. Helen Judd (Lecturer in Social Science at the London School of Economics), declared that the great difference was that T.V.A. was concerned with the

welfare of all the people of the valley which was not the primary aim of the Volta river project—even in the remarks which had been made about provisions for the welfare of the workers involved on the project a virtue was being made of necessity for what had been promised did not go beyond the duties imposed by the existing Labour Code. She believed that notwithstanding a few "sops to tribal customs" it was quite evident that the planners of this project thought in terms of doing things for people when really people have to do things for themselves. Mr. A. L. Bryden, a lawyer, spoke of the difference between our own law of land tenure and African tribal law which did not recognise the existence of land as a commodity but recognised the right of the use of the earth and that which it produces; it belonged to the community. Apart from some urban areas where the European concept of land as something which can be bought and sold, the tribal conception still applied. Mr. Bryden did not draw any conclusion, but of course a question readily comes to mind: Who does the Volta river basin belong to? Mr. de Schlippe, an authority on tropical agriculture, declared that no attempt had been envisaged to solve the problems of the remaining rural population not affected by the scheme, nor was there any effort to make way for the growth of "a

natural spontaneous organisation to sort out these problems". Dr. Otto Koenigsberger agreed with him on the new social problems which are created by placing "an island of very high technological development in an extremely primitive country".

But the most emphatic critic was Mr. T. Balogh the economist who described the research as "a set of almost academic exercises . . . unordered by any pressing sense of the passage of time". The Gold Coast had very large capital reserves as a result of high cocoa prices and they were not being used. "It is appalling how the financial and economic aspects of the problem are being treated just as a matter of high-powered book-keeping", and why, he asked, was the control of the proposed aluminium firm which so vitally affected the welfare of the people, to be left in the hands of the Aluminium Companies who were not providing a large share of the capital and might use the Volta simply as a buffer plant, to be switched on or off with every change in the market conditions?

As the author of the paper had withdrawn from the conference there was no authoritative answer to this variety of misgivings, and the general feeling of the conference was that the project was not in fact a plan for regional development, but a partial, limited and in a sense purely exploitative piece of engineering.

Italian Planning Problems

IN Dr. Carlo Doglio's paper on regional planning in Italy, the political factors affecting governmental attitudes to regionalism were mentioned—for the first time in the conference. For example in mentioning what had been actually achieved in combining rehousing of farm workers with land reform he pointed out the extent to which in Italy, and perhaps, everywhere, regional planning has to suffer from political—that is to say—abstract, implications.

"While the Christian-Democrats were at first opposed to village-building and favoured dispersal in widely-spaced family houses, and the Communists favoured the village idea, a reversal of opinions has happened in the last few months. The Christian-Democrats realized that it was easier to control people gathered together in villages, and the Communists that it was more useful for them to contact the people—through their so-called activists—in a more dispersed way of life."

This was also true of the whole concept of centralism versus decentralisation. When the Catholics feared a Communist conquest of the central power they favoured regional autonomy, "while more recently this position was reversed and since the Catholics control the central power, the Communists seek to strengthen the local authorities".

He described the way in which the sub-regional development plan for the area around Ivrea prepared by the unofficial group to which he belonged, had grown out of a realisation that it was impossible to think in terms of town-planning without taking into account the integration of the town with the countryside and the whole regional background.

The work of this plan was greatly aided by the fact that the general manager of the large factory at Ivrea is Dr. Adriano Olivetti an "enlightened capitalist" of a type unknown in Italy, who is also president of the Italian Town Planning Institute and a believer in communitarian ideas. "While this factory seeks to achieve in its internal structure a sort of decentralisation of power in order, of course, to increase production, but in addition, to enlarge the human consciousness and awareness of all the workers, it also turns towards the town and the surrounding villages and countryside, improving their social life". There is of course a taint of paternalism in this, and paternalism, as Dr. Doglio said, is "a very old industrial disease which dates from the earliest and most ruthless days of the industrial revolution".

"There are not," he said, "many general managers with Mr. Olivetti's ideas, but everywhere there are workers, and it must be the task of the workers to conduct a struggle not merely for better wages (for a better materialistic—dare I say capitalistic?—life), but for the development of every human potentiality. How can the workers realise these things? It's a question of conscience and consciousness of course. But to what extent can this consciousness of human potentialities be facilitated by particular means, the most important of which is a decentralisation of power, a really regional, in fact sub-regional, approach to the plan for houses, streets, schools, factories, workshops and farms?"

"And farms—for if I put to you the

thesis that any kind of planning which is really for people will only be a human success if it has the active participation of people, we must remember that the majority of the world's workers are not factory workers but peasants—subsistence farmers whose constant preoccupation is how to gain the means to stay alive. Planning is for the future and you cannot think of the future until you have the means of livelihood to-day. The development of co-operative enterprises among the peasants, co-operatives for obtaining seeds and equipment, for the distribution and marketing of produce—these are the means for raising the peasant's eyes from his isolated day-to-day problems, and enabling him to join in creative planning for his future and the future of his region."

"How," he asks, "can we planners establish continual contact with the people? There are many well-known devices, and we used many of them, meetings, exhibitions, interviews, talks in schools arousing the interest of children, and in fact using their enthusiasm as a means of collecting information . . . and our surveys, the general survey of the houses and their inhabitants, and the particular surveys on the family, employment, opinion was not merely the collection and tabulation of statistical information, but the very fact of the personal interview and human contact with the people, served to open their eyes, perhaps for the first time, to the nature of their individual identity, and to a personal consideration of how they live and how they might live. We often quote the famous dictum of Patrick Geddes, "Survey Before Plan", but do we realise that the very fact of the survey can make it possible for the people surveyed to create their own plan?"

INDIA CARRIES ON A TRADITION

The methods of government do not alter much. No so very long ago the British were busy in India maintaining law and order, putting down by force those native 'disturbances' which threatened British power, and consolidating their conquests by imposing an efficient system of government. The Indians are now doing the same.

In Tuensang, a remote corner of Assam on the North-east frontier of India, military operations are in progress against Naga tribesmen. The Naga national council is agitating for independence from India, or at least for the formation of a separate State within the Union. This is threatening the power of the central government in an important strategic area: Tuensang shares a frontier with both China and Burma. The government's haste to annex the Nagas is increased by the claims of cartographers in Peking that Tuensang is part of China.

No doubt the Nagas will be persuaded in the customary manner to accept the blessing of government from Delhi: this persuasion has so far resulted in the deaths of 40 Naga tribesmen and one Indian soldier (figures supplied by the Indian government).

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The Classroom Jungle

AFTER a rash of novels and films exposing the horrors of life in the school-room has come a series of three articles in the *News Chronicle* entitled "Jungle in the Classroom" by Dr. Laird. He presents the problem of the tough London school vividly but his solution is weak. From his experience in five secondary modern schools he makes the following points: that the tradition of respect for the teacher has broken down and there is lack of respect for any authority, leading to gross indiscipline. The parents are uninterested in the attainments of their children and large numbers (30%) of boys and girls leave school semi-literate.

The solution to this problem, he writes, lies in smaller classes in the Primary School so that the child can read and write by the time he leaves for the secondary school. He also advocates the abolition of the examination at eleven plus, allowing entry to a grammar school to any child willing to do the work, re-organisation of secondary modern schools with the aim of a good standard of literacy and of general knowledge with the pupil being allowed to leave at 14 if a sufficiently high level of attainment is reached. Finally he suggests a modification of the comprehensive school idea in the grouping of the different kinds of secondary school around a common campus so that pupils could take part in out-of-school activities together.

Laird's experience is limited and one feels that he exaggerates in presenting his case; but at least it is important that someone has realised that some S.M. schools are thoroughly bad, from the point of view of both teachers and pupils and has been able to get his impressions printed. The *News Chronicle's* comment that 'the whole climate of education in Britain to-day seems thoroughly unhealthy' is reasonable. But the criteria on which the success of schools is judged seems to be the discipline maintained by the teachers and the amount of knowledge that can be crammed into the pupils before they leave, or so the *News Chronicle's* writers and correspondents believe.

In practice schools to-day suffer from past traditions. The whole issue of "public" (private) schools and public State schools is riddled with snobbery and hypocrisy. Unfortunately secondary modern schools have all too often modelled themselves on grammar-schools not only in academic teaching methods but in the introduction of school uniforms. From all that has been written on the matter nothing stands out so forcibly as the heart-cry of the boy leaving school. He got drunk and threatened to punch the teachers. When questioned he said, "I couldn't do nothing—they wasted me time, made me look a fool." These words and Laird's comment that he was a nice boy from a respectable home (his father is a policeman), reveal that in the

whole controversy no-one has seriously considered the matter from the standpoint of the adolescent. No-one mentioned as a possible solution the work of the late Alex Bloom. He introduced progressive methods into a London school in a tough district—St. George-in-the-East. No mention was made of how children develop or of what children themselves want to learn.

It is assumed that learning is necessarily an unpleasant business but must be endured like cod-liver oil for the good it does you. Books can open the door to enjoyment. Child art reveals some of the imaginative potentialities of the child. But these articles all reflect the drab classroom. It is high time that there was a revolt against the desks, the cane and the stuffy talks of moral uplift in morning assembly.

Personally I can see no satisfactory solution within the State system. Modern methods and visual aids will make lessons more pleasant; but the system itself is a strait-jacket that sends out youths warped to accept the dullness of factory life and the discipline of conscription.

FRANCIS.

Sign—or Else!

CRIME is not confined to the U.S.A., though, for a motorist from Staffordshire was recently fined £1 for a very un-British Activity. He failed to sign his provisional driving licence in ink. The deputy magistrates' clerk at Nottingham gave the following information:

"The law lays down that a licence must be signed forthwith."

We do not know why this is so, but venture to suggest that the best way round the problem is to abolish the law.

Operatic Fire

ANOTHER law which might well be abolished at the same time, is the one which forces the destruction of £3,000 worth of scenery used by the Stuttgart Opera Company at the Festival Hall.

Because of the particular shape of the Festival Hall stage, the scenery will be of no use in the company's own opera house, so that it would be a waste of money to transport it back to Stuttgart. Unless duty is paid, the alternative as far as the Customs and Excise authorities are concerned is to burn it. But in accordance with the strict regulations here it has been efficiently fireproofed, and the operation will require the use of blow-torches!

One might have supposed that there would be some way round this absurd state of affairs, so that for example, an opera company which is low in funds could have the scenery for its own use at a nominal sum. This would not appear to be possible however, the letter of the law must be observed, and still more money will be wasted on the blow-torch brigade.

SHORT TAKES

SIMPLE, PERHAPS, BUT NEVER PURE

SPEAKING at a recent public guzzle at the Grocers' Hall, Sir Gerald Dodson, Recorder of London, said: "The goddess of truth, the naked truth, is a very shy young lady. Often at the Old Bailey we don't get a glimpse of her for weeks on end." Since anything naked is likely to be regarded at the Old Bailey as obscene, this is understandable enough.

ON THE SPOT

Sir Gerald was speaking soon after the law-enforcement boys' most recent fiasco: the acquittal of two characters who were alleged to have hacked each other to pieces in a Soho Street. Last week, while every crime reporter in London was bloodhounding after the star witness in this *cause célèbre*, their bosses were busy writing cagey editorials full of shuddering references to Chicago and dark hints about alleged possible intimidation of alleged witnesses. No wonder the Home Secretary stirred up the police: if the wrong sort of people start thumbing their noses at the blind goddess the suckers might begin to see through the racket.

CUT UP

BUT if the authorities are out of luck in Soho they may have more success with those wicked teachers who have been buying paper larger than 229½ square inches (which is tax free) and then cheating the tax boys by cutting it down to size. What the teachers should do, it seems, is find a printer with a guillotine, get him to cut the paper for them, and then pay him the purchase tax that falls due as soon as the paper become smaller than 229½ square inches. If it was not for all this wise legislation we should soon be in a state of anarchy.

LIFE IN THE WELFARE STATE

GEORGE A. MYLCHREEST of Embleton Avenue, Gosforth, is a good tenant who pays his rent regularly. But by parking his car on waste ground at the housing estate where he lives he broke the terms of his tenancy agreement. So his landlords, Gosforth urban council, have obtained a court order for possession of his home. And although Mr. Mylchreest has apologized to the town planning committee and even offered to sell his car to show his willingness to meet their wishes the council have refused to alter their decision.

HIGH FINANCE

THE Swiss government has decided to issue a loan of £19 million at three per cent. As governments are always borrowing you might not think this very unusual. But the Swiss government does not need the money: "it is taking this step" we are told "because Switzerland is flooded with capital in search of investment, and it is hoped in this way to reduce the pressure on existing investment possibilities." So the Swiss taxpayers will have to fork out half a million pounds a year in interest for the benefit of people who already have some money but are very anxious to have some more. Unless, of course, their government can manage to lend the money to someone else who doesn't need it.

SALESMANSHIP

I THOUGHT the advertising boys had reached their zenith when they told us about that television set with a screen area of "144 huge square inches". Now I'm not so sure. Some manufacturers of fire extinguishers with a showroom in Piccadilly have put two glass tanks in their window. One, they tell us, contains ordinary water. The other holds something new: wet water.

ANARCHO-COLUMNIST.

Instincts and Anarchism

ANIMALS have instincts, man has intelligence. So runs popular opinion, and from there the religious bigots can build up a picture of reality which includes a God, a heaven and a Hell. It is true that the behaviour of simpler animals appears automatic and predictable, while man makes decisions and exercises choices. But what is the basic difference?

Instincts are acts of behaviour, initiated either by external stimuli, or internal needs. These patterns of behaviour often are largely inborn, and do not have to be learnt although imperfect at birth and needing parental stimulation and use for development. For instance, the pecking instinct in young chicks is at first inaccurate but improves rapidly in the first few days; and young birds cannot fly until the wing muscles are sufficiently developed.

The insects as a group offer some of the best examples of highly developed and complex instinctual behaviour patterns. They vary from simple reactions in a particular situation to a series of acts constituting a very complex behaviour pattern as in the honey bee. The worker bee performs a series of tasks in an apparently preordained manner. As soon as he leaves his pupal skin he cleans and dries himself, then cleans out the wax cell which he occupied, otherwise the Queen bee will not lay another egg there. Three days later he begins to feed the grubs in their cells. A few days later he begins to take the nectar from the mouths of the older workers who have been out collecting it. The nectar is changed into honey inside the body and stored in special cells. He also collects and stores the pollen from the older workers' legs. A day or two later he begins to act as hive dustman, removing dirt to the outside of the hive. He then produces wax with which he builds new cells. After this he acts as a sentry, guarding the hive against intrud-

ers from other hives. Lastly on the twentieth day out of the pupa he joins in the collection of nectar.

Each worker carries out these tasks in exactly the same order.

However, occasional modifications of instinctual behaviour have been observed in insects. Fabre describes the behaviour of a species of wasp (spheg) which stings and paralyzes caterpillars for use as food for its young. The wasp dragged a caterpillar to the entrance of a prepared nest and then left it for a moment entering the nest alone. If the caterpillar was removed some distance from the nest, the wasp repeated its performance, again leaving the caterpillar outside. And so on. But occasionally a wasp would refuse to be cheated in this way and would vary its instinctual behaviour and take the caterpillar directly into the nest. Fabre regarded these 'revolutionaries' as he called them, as exceptions but other examples of modified behaviour have been reported, both spontaneously and as a result of external frustration.

Animals such as mammals with highly developed nervous systems are capable of much more varied responses to their environment so that their instincts or drives as they are sometimes called, are much more difficult to detect. Even the sexual drive which is quite strong can be expressed in a variety of ways.

Gregariousness, which is an important drive in all such animals including man finds its logical development in mutual aid but the more variable the instinct the more important is the learning factor for its development. Hence it is unwise to refer to children as "natural anarchists". The basis for anarchism is present but a social learning process is necessary to bring it to fruition.

Sex Determination

The discovery that there is a sex difference in the sex cell nuclei of the nervous system in mammals has led to the development of several techniques for the determination of genetic sex in doubtful cases. The method is now applied to polymorphic white cells of the blood which in females have a structure like a drumstick attached to the nucleus and to thin slices of skin in which the cell nuclei of males and females can be distinguished.

Exhibition

Gerald Wilde

GERALD WILDE, exhibiting at the GICA Gallery, 17/18 Dover Street, is a remarkable painter. Remarkable in the first place because those who like, and those who dislike, his works are extremely sharply divided, and remarkable secondly, because his paintings are similarly divided into very good and very bad ones.

In the whole of this retrospective exhibition—there are 49 works ranging from 1929 to 1954, it would be difficult to find a single painting which owed more than the slightest acknowledgement to any other painter. These are highly personal and original creations, intensely personal because it is in the attempt to resolve and understand his deep inner conflicts that Wilde permits us to penetrate the cortex of his vision and approach more closely to the central impulse. It is his frustrating unhappiness that has determined every line and colour here, and where on occasion we are taken so perilously near to the brink of disaster, we are also confronted with the menace which Wilde all too certainly knows awaits him too.

It is the measure of the greatness of his work that he never does topple into the maw of muddy chaos and madness. Instead, he gives us a vision of a world of colour and design which now is utterly magical in its loveliness, and again, is terrifying with its foreboding threat of dread and terror.

Wilde hits time after time upon a universal truth. There is not one of these works which does not contain, somewhere within it, a part of our own inner doubts and conflicts. To miss the deeper meaning of the best of these works is to be insensitive indeed. Wilde's paintings, strangely passionate and wonderfully revealing, can evoke from each of us some answering response. These pictures have been painted with tremendous energy and belief in the liberating possibilities of the painter's materials; one senses that many of them have been painted in circumstances of extreme unhappiness and despair—the innermost conflicts of most of us seem pale against what we can sense here; his unhappiness is torrential—no easy escape here from the maddening frustration; from that vivid world of enormous conflict where the painter picks his agonised way and chooses, without thorns and crucifixions, to reveal a universal experience of mankind.

R.S.

More recently the method has been applied to cells rubbed from the inside of the cheek with the edge of a wooden tongue depressor and this technique is claimed to be the simplest and the easiest to perform. These techniques are especially helpful in certain cases of newborn infants and may obviate problems in adjustment later in life but sex is not just a biological phenomenon and particularly in adults it is also a social one. And when the biological tendency to maleness or femaleness is not strong and the social sex is opposite to the biological one but well developed then the best policy may be to leave well alone and forget about the findings of the cytologists.

Bros.

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LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

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OCT. 9—To be announced

OCT. 16—F. A. Ridley
SPARTACUS AND THE SLAVE
REVOLTS OF ANTIQUITY

OCT. 23—To be announced

OCT. 30—Annie de Witt
ANARCHISM IN HOLLAND.

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.

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Informal Discussions Every Thursday,
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THURSDAY DISCUSSIONS:

OCT. 13—S. Fanazoff
"MYSELF AND THE WORKING
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