

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Politicians are a set of men who have interests aside from the interests of the people, and who, to say the most of them, are at least one long step removed from honest men. I say this with greater freedom being a politician myself."

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN  
(Speeches).

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Threepence

## CYPRUS

### Civilization & Self-Determination

MR. HAROLD MACMILLAN, Britain's Foreign Secretary, is reported as having said recently 'the inhabitants of Cyprus were civilized when the inhabitants of Britain were primitive.' But one sees little respect for the older civilization in the behaviour of Her Majesty's Government.

One fairly widely accepted theory maintains that the whole of European civilization stems from the Eastern Mediterranean area. From Egypt, where it is thought that agriculture was first developed along the Nile, and from the Isles and sunny land of Greece, where the arts of sculpture, architecture, philosophy and social organisation developed,

filtering through Rome, which added law and empire, to the barbarian west of Europe. While, of course the religion which the West claims to believe in was born in ancient Israel as a breakaway from Judaism and based on the teachings of a Jewish Messiah unaccepted by the Jews themselves.

Mr. Macmillan may make pious references to ancient cultures, and Christians in general make mealy-mouth references to 'the Holy Land', but Christian governments show breadth of mind in these matters only when it is a matter of defending their material interests. Then culture and religion, although very useful as propaganda weapons in war, are

quietly shoved into the background, *realpolitik* is the thing that matters.

And this was very neatly expressed by one of Mr. Macmillan's Cabinet colleagues, Lord De l'Isle and Dudley, Secretary for Air, who has just been on a tour of the Far and Middle East, during which he visited Cyprus and inspected the airfields there. In an interview at Northolt Airport on his return, he lost no time in making it quite clear that Cyprus was to be used as a base for nuclear bombers. He said: "The location of Cyprus is exceedingly important in the whole strategy of that area, and I am delighted to see the progress we are making, particularly at Akrotiri."

Which is, after all, a brilliant comment on twentieth century civilization. But then, we are a Christian country, while the ancient Greeks and Cypriots were worshippers of Venus and silly old things like that.

#### TERRORISM INTENSIFIED

MEANWHILE, our prophesy of three weeks ago, that the declaration of a state of emergency would be a guarantee of further violence, has been proved correct. Incidents of terrorism have intensified, with bomb-throwing, ambushes and rioting the order of the day, and it is fairly clear that the authorities are quite unable to cope with the situation.

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### ISRAEL'S ATTACK ON SYRIA

THE attack by Israel upon Syrian positions on the north-east shores of Lake Tiberias has had the effect of enormously increasing tension throughout the whole Middle East. This can hardly be regarded as surprising, for the scale of the attack was quite considerable, and appears to have been out of all proportion to the offence against which it was supposedly a retaliatory measure. Therefore, apart from the fact that the principle of retaliation is invariably bad, one can only assume one of two things; either the Israelis have become so hysterical and panicky as to be unable to judge the situation properly (by any standards), or there is some other motive which is by no means clear as yet.

The attack, which took place on the night of December 11th, has been described by Syria at an urgent meeting of the Security Council, as "a flagrant violation and an act of open aggression and provocation by Israel". Since then the rest of the world has endorsed this reaction to a greater or lesser extent, and the British Government has expressed the "grave view" which it takes of the incident, and its consequent intention to support the Syrian appeal to the United Nations.

Observers from U.N. who were on the scene at the time, have reported that a Syrian army post and a farm were destroyed, and at least 50 soldiers and civilians killed; the Israeli casualties are estimated to have been at least 100 killed, according to a Syrian military source. The theoretical justification for this "little massacre" has been given by the Israel Foreign Ministry as being a reprisal for an incident which occurred on December 10th when an Israel police launch was fired upon and hit by Syrian gunfire (the crew were not injured), and

other unspecified assaults and encroachments by Syria.

It is almost impossible to understand what the Israelis hope to gain by this action, for the consequences must inevitably be bad for them, economically, politically and emotionally as well as militarily. An examination of the probable and actual reasons for the attack, and its resultant effects so far, tends to produce a feeling of increasing dismay.

The most popular interpretation is that Israel intended to threaten Syria in such a way as to prevent her from extending further military co-operation with Egypt. But in fact Colonel Nasser has sent a message to the U.N. stating that, if Israel attacks either Syria or Egypt again, Egypt will "meet aggression by aggression". Furthermore the Syrian representative has questioned Israel's continued right to membership in the United Nations, and has requested that economic sanctions be applied, "as provided for in the Charter". In view of the joint defence pact between Egypt and Syria, signed last month, these events were to be expected.

Similarly, Israel may have intended to add weight to her verbal warning to Jordan not to join the Syrian-Egyptian pact, but in fact it would be more reasonable to suppose that Jordan's reaction would be precisely the reverse, on the principle that there is safety in numbers. (See NATO, SEATO, etc.). It is also valid to mention that Iraq offered aid to Syria (military and otherwise), three days after the attack.

The overall effect would seem to be that, far from deterring the Arab nations from combined action, or intimidating them with a show of strength, Israel has merely made them more closely allied than before, and determined to meet force with force. If there is another and similar incident in the near future, it is quite probable that Israel will find itself facing an imposing array of Arab States, all of whom desire the death and destruction of the Israelis, and perhaps with the means to carry out that desire.

It was also reasonably obvious that very little sympathy would be won from other interested countries of the world. The Western Powers from whom Israel hopes to secure more and more arms, have already placed themselves in such a position that they must supply arms to the Arab countries and support them economically as well; and it may prove embarrassing to them at this stage to assist Israel in her more dubious ventures, concurrently with a vigorous appeal against an arms race.

It also seems probable that France is displeased with the attack on Syria, and will not be so interested in the recent attempts made by Israel to cultivate closer military and diplomatic relations.

In conclusion, one can only infer that the Israel Government completely failed to see where its interests lay (it is too much to hope that it will ever see the interest of the Israeli people), and as a consequence took an ill-fated step, equally ill-timed, in the forlorn hope of gaining an advantage. The cost was at least 150 lives, and the strong possibility of thousands more. Perhaps the best hint as to their next course of action may be summed up in the latest political "joke", that the attack was decided upon by the three principal Ministers of the Cabinet—the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence and the acting Foreign Minister—all three posts being held at that time by Mr. Ben-Gurion. In effect he was the Government . . .

H.F.W.

lems that may have been sparked off in Spanish Morocco by United General Franco's recent "blunt" statement that "Democracy would be a bad thing for the Moroccans"; that a multi-party system would "cause dissension and anarchy". "It cannot surprise anyone" declared Franco "that we should not wish on the Moroccans a system [that is,

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### THE TEACHERS REVOLT

FOR his imaginative administrative ability as producer of Elizabeth Regina in the Great Show of 1953, David Eccles, then Minister of Works (not work, mark you), was awarded a knighthood. Part of his organising genius was placed at the disposal of the public, when he planned the temporary conveniences in Hyde Park, thereby preserving British decency for the patient patriots during the long wait. For this thoughtfulness the public honoured him with a title of their own, and Sir David Eccles is still sometimes affectionately referred to as 'Lord Latrine'.

But time will pass and since Bertram Mills seems to be able to organise his own circuses very well on his own, Sir David found life at the Min. of Works getting rather dull. So, having proved himself to know a thing or two about propaganda, what was more natural than that he should be transferred to the Ministry of Education?

Here, his ability to lay on a show has been once again demonstrated. Not with his willing co-operation or even approval, but simply as a result of attempting to apply colleague Butler's strictures on economy to the pay packets of the teachers.

The National Union of Teachers, for the first time in its history, is attempting to organise its members to take direct action in defence of their living standards. And the members don't need much encouragement, for if anything the general militant feeling throughout the profession is ahead of the Executive.

What has sparked off the revolt of this normally respectable and docile body of citizens has been the decision by Sir David that teachers will have to pay six per cent. of their salaries towards a pension fund instead of the agreed five per cent. This, the teachers claim, and correctly, amounts to a cut in salary, and on top of the general lowering of their standard of living through rising prices, has come as the last straw.

So now the NUT is in open revolt and is intending to work to rule, not only to oppose the extra one per cent. on the pension contribution, but also to press for a pay rise. The form the work to rule is already taking is that of refusing to collect National Savings from the children.

Teachers have to do a lot of work not covered by the term 'teaching'. Distributing of the free milk, serving or supervising of school meals, out-of-hours games and the like. These extra activities can, of course, be generally considered as part of the care of children and the immediate reaction of the Minister of Education is to make a sentimental appeal to the teachers not to do anything to harm the children. Going further than objecting to the extra duties, many teachers are now advocating guerilla tactics (such as walking out when inspectors arrive) and strike action to back their case.

We hardly think the children will object if teacher goes on strike.

It will be interesting to see the progress of this struggle. The teachers have a strong case, and strong weapons to

fight with. We hope however that they will argue their case on the basis of their needs, and not related to other income-groups. We have a slight feeling that teachers rather resent the fact that the worker-fathers of some of their children are earning more than they.

The teachers need the support of those workers and of the public in general. And in general there is sympathy for their case. They would be well advised not to lose it by odious comparisons, but to show how their standards have fallen strictly with regard to income and living costs since 1939.

### The United Nations' Xmas Box

A CAREFULLY prepared plan, unflatteringly described by those uninhibited and diplomatically uncouth Americans as a "package deal", whereby the Western powers would agree to the admission of a number of satellite countries to membership of the United Nations, and in return Russia would not use the veto against the West's nominees, was wrecked by Chiang-Kai Shek's representative who used the veto to exclude Outer Mongolia from the package. The effect of this move was a spate of vetos from the Russian delegate when the West's package of nations was presented. For a moment it appeared that the Tenth Assembly of the United Nations was drawing to a close without even a miserable horse-deal to its credit. And the small army of diplomatic officials from the nations aspiring to membership, who had been waiting in the background ready to drop into safe armchair-and-cocktail-jobs for life, began packing their bags, their vision of utopia destroyed by a puppet's veto.

But what the news agencies describe as the "unexpected" happened. A meeting of the Security Council was called at the request of Russia, and in the real spirit of the marketplace the Russian delegate proposed, and the others eagerly accepted, that Outer Mongolia and Japan should be removed from the package; the admission of these two nations could be haggled over in 1956. However "disappointed" United States officials may have felt about the exclusion of Japan their hands were tied thanks to a blundering Napoleon in exile taking advantage of his status in the United Nations. And the following day Russia's four: Albania, Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria were accepted with an average of 49 Yesses, 2 Noes and 5 abstentions and the so-called "non-

Communist" twelve: Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Lybia, Cambodia, Laos and Spain sailed into their seats without a single opposition vote, and the only abstentions were one for Jordan, one for Lybia and two (Belgium and Mexico) for Spain.

Thus a nine-year deadlock has been more or less ended. The methods adopted for admitting these nations are as dirty as were the reasons for their exclusion.

If one looks upon the United Nations not as the gathering of nations united in purpose and outlook (in which case there would be no nations and no nationalism), but as the market-place of international politics and the Headquarters of the Union of Professional Politicians and Allied Trades, which it is beyond a doubt, then the admission of the sixteen nations is both a triumph for the closed-shop principle in politics and a boost for the Profession since the admission of sixteen nations means for those countries the creation of permanent staffs of diplomats and their hangers-on exclusively engaged in United Nations affairs. What an Xmas package (box) for hundreds of ambitious civil servants, and personal secretaries, and typists as they work out their tax free dollar salaries, and dream of their Cadillacs, of Wall Street, Big Business or Hollywood!

"IF we consider international diplomacy as a game" writes the *New York Times* (16/12/55), "we have to ask who won and who lost". But that august journal shudders at such heretical thoughts and hastens to conclude with a "Let us not talk of victories or defeats". Instead it wants to hope that out of last week's "dramatic series of events" (how easily these hardened journalists

bandy their adjectives!) "something has been gained for peace".

But this is just wilful wishful-thinking. The additional sixteen means that instead of sixty dis-united nations there will be seventy-six; there may be a shift in the alignments when it comes to voting, but that will make little difference to the main issues since any rashness is tempered by the veto, that hydrogen-bomb of the voting system in the United Nations.

Minor issues—from the point of view of the power struggle of the Big Nations—may be affected by the new alignment. "Package deals" after all apply to the day to day workings of the United Nations. An ironic example of this occurred recently when the question of the admission of the new recruits was being discussed in the corridors of the United Nations. The return of the French delegation to the U.N. (it had walked out in protest when Algeria was put on the agenda), seems to have been engineered—according to a *Manchester Guardian* leader—

"partly because the Arab-Asian countries were brought to face the fact that in the Security Council France might veto the admission as new members of Libya, Ceylon, and Nepal. For this and other reasons the Arab-Asian group agreed to drop the debate on Algeria which had caused the French to leave the Assembly. Their concession was not truly a "return to reason" or an acknowledgment that they had perhaps strained the Charter by insisting that North Africa must again be debated. It was more an admission, camouflaged by Indian diplomacy, that they might be out-manoeuvred. Such are the intricacies of Assembly politics. They are not pleasing to see."

Our guess is that the *Manchester Guardian* will be seeing many other "unpleasant" things in the months ahead. For instance, how will the United Nations deal with the prob-

## Freedom's Holiday Miscellany

## Caring &amp; Not Caring

READING the chapters about Austria and the Spanish Civil War in John Lehmann's autobiography, the thought—which has long been with me—recurred: "We did not care enough."

The 1930's were a confused, perplexed period when choices were forced upon us, and yet they seemed compromised. For the unpolitical who supported politically the largely unpolitical victims of Fascism, it was difficult to judge actions which involved us in methods of power politics.

Yet through the confusion ran a thread of undiluted suffering; the action of bad men upon their fellow beings victimised not for anything they had done but for what they were—Jews, or intellectuals.

Under the complexity there was something quite simple. We all felt this at the time. Not the complexity, but the essential simplicity produced that fusion of political and imaginative passion.

Caring for the victims enabled one to see clearly to the real cause—that suffering—and to look beyond the slogans, the propaganda, the politics of all the Causes. Caring meant judging politics by humanity, and it also meant—in the case of non-political artists who felt called upon to support anti-fascist politics—being able to measure what one could imagine by the extent to which one could care.

Caring about what was happening to

## Village in Spain

IN 1922, Puerto de Pollensa was still an unspoiled fishing village. The inhabitants—technically "anarchist-communists"—ran their fishing industry on co-operative lines. The secretary of the *Posito de Pescadores*, a Venezuelan, was almost the only man in this Arcadian village who could read and write. He transacted all the business for the community and, by explaining their illiteracy, sent the tax-collector empty away. As there was no Law and no Order in the village, there was no crime. The honesty of these people was absolute and instinctive: no one ever tried to get the better of anyone else. If one of the men stayed up too late drinking with the foreigners, his wife appeared and dealt with the misdemeanour so drastically that it was never repeated. Everyone had enough to eat, wine was plentiful and everyone was happy. The nearest church was five miles off, in the town of Pollensa, and I never saw a priest in the village.

—DOUGLAS GOLDRING:  
*Some Personal Memories.*

victims and refusing to get lost in politics could provide answers to questions of individual conscience. How far had the anti-fascists adopted—in the name of exigence—the methods of their opponents? Must the poets distort their truth to the simplifications of the politicians?

Two phrases prove how these questions pre-occupied us at that time. (1) *All power corrupts. Absolute power corrupts absolutely.* (2) *Le Trahison des clercs.* The intellectuals supported anti-fascism against "clercs" who had betrayed intellectual freedom; yet in their hearts few were certain that they had not also become "clercs" who betrayed.

To care was to test every situation by one's knowledge of the pure evil of tyranny; and thus to be aware of the danger of introducing this evil on one's own side. The episode of the POUM in Spain was a singular test.

And one aspect of "*Le trahison des clercs*" was that for a poet, "*trahison*" was simply to write outside and beyond what he knew to be his true subject.

But we did not care enough.  
—STEPHEN SPENDER:  
*(Notes from a Diary in Encounter.)*

## The Earth Gets Tired

A CONTINENT ages quickly once we come. The natives are in harmony with it. But the foreigner destroys, cuts down the trees, drains the water, so that the water supply is altered and in a short time the soil, once the sod is turned under, is cropped out and, next, it starts to blow away as it has blown away in every old country and as I had seen it start to blow in Canada.

The earth gets tired of being exploited. A country wears out quickly unless man puts back in it all his residue and that of all his beasts.

When he quits using beasts and uses machines, the earth defeats him quickly. The machine can't reproduce nor does it fertilise the soil, and it eats what he cannot raise.

A country was made to be as we found it. We are the intruders, and after we are dead, we may have ruined it but it will still be there and we don't know what the next changes are.

—ERNEST HEMINGWAY:  
*Green Hills of Africa.*

## What Must We Do?

WE must recognise that the whole world is ruled in a wrong spirit, and that a change of spirit will not come from one day to the next. Our expectations must not be for to-morrow, but for the time when what is thought now by a few shall have become the common thought of many. If we have courage and patience, we can think the thoughts and feel the hopes by which, sooner or later, men will be inspired, and weariness and discouragement will be turned into energy and ardour. For this reason, the first thing we have to do is to be clear in our own minds as to the kind of life we think good and the kind of change that we desire in the world.

The ultimate power of those whose thought is vital is far greater than it seems to men who suffer from the irrationality of contemporary politics. Religious toleration was once the solitary speculation of a few bold philosophers. Democracy, as a theory, arose among a handful of men in Cromwell's army . . . Socialism owes its origin to a very small number of isolated theorists . . . The power of thought, in the long run, is greater than any other human power. Those who have the ability to think, and the imagination to think in accordance with men's needs, are likely to achieve the good they aim at sooner or later, though probably not while they are still alive.

But those who wish to gain the world by thought must be content to lose it as a support in the present. Most men go through life without much questioning, accepting the beliefs and practices which they find current, feeling that the world will be their ally if they do not put themselves in opposition to it. New thought about the world is incompatible with this comfortable acquiescence; it requires a certain intellectual detachment, a certain solitary energy, a power of inwardly dominating the world and the outlook that the world engenders. Without some willingness to be lonely new thought cannot be achieved. And it will not be achieved to any purpose if the loneliness is accompanied by aloofness, so that the wish for union with others dies, or if intellectual detachment leads to contempt. It is because the state of mind required is subtle and difficult, because it is hard to be intellectually detached yet not aloof, that fruitful thought on human affairs is not common, and

## Planning: The Human Approach

HAPPILY there is another school of planning, of building and of gardening that investigates and considers the whole set of existing conditions; that studies the whole place as it stands, seeking out how it has grown to be what it is, and recognizing alike its advantages, its difficulties and its defects. This school strives to adapt itself to meet the wants and needs, the ideas and ideals of the place and persons concerned. It seeks to undo as little as possible, while planning to increase the well-being of the people at all levels, from the humblest to the highest. City improvements of this kind are both less expensive to the undertaking and productive of more enjoyment to all concerned.

Environment and organism, place and people, are inseparable but, since the essential unit of a city is the home, it will be as well to start by examining its especial requirements. With the dwelling we must consider its occupants, the man, the woman and the child. The child should obviously be strong, healthy, mentally developing, and normally 'good'. The expression of these qualities all together will normally result in child beauty, and full maturity and participation in life will follow. So with the woman, so with the man and so also with the home. This too must be stable and healthy and provide conditions for mental and moral development. It must form as substantial a part of the wealth and glory of the city as may be, with its architecture, artistic character and garden developed accordingly. The same sequence is true for a city, and all others are false.

It may be said that this is common knowledge, but what then is the cause of the frequent aesthetic failure of our results? It is due to the lack of harmony between the advancing phases of western 'science'. Each of the various specialists remains too closely concen-

trated upon his single specialism, too little awake to those of others. Each sees clearly and seizes firmly one petal of the six-lobed flower of life and tears it apart from the whole. . . .

In city planning then, we must constantly keep in view the whole city, old and new alike in all its aspects and at all its levels. The transition in an Indian city, from narrow lanes and earthen dwellings to small streets, great streets and buildings of high importance and architectural beauty, form an inseparably interwoven structure. Once this is understood, the city plan ceases to appear as an involved network of thoroughfares dividing masses of building blocks, but appears instead as a great chessboard on which the manifold game of life is in active progress. . . . The problem of city planning, as of chess, is to improve the situation by, as far as may be, turning its very difficulties into opportunities. Results thus obtained are both more economical and more interesting, even aesthetically, than those that are achieved by clearing the board and re-setting all the pieces.

The methods of the diagnostic survey starts quite otherwise. First it seeks to unravel the old city's labyrinth and discern how this has grown up. Though, like all organic growths, this may at first seem confused to our modern eyes, that have for so long been trained to a mechanical order, gradually a higher form of order can be discerned—the order of life in development. This is the method of all evolutionary science and hence the method of the latest and youngest of all social sciences—and yet the most ambitious and most necessary of them all—the science of the city survey.

—PATRICK GEDDES:  
*Town Planning Report on Kapurthala, India (1917).*

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that most theorists are either conventional or sterile. The right kind of thought is rare and difficult, but it is not impotent. It is not the fear of impotence that need turn us aside from thought if we have the wish to bring new hope into the world.

—BERTRAND RUSSELL:  
*Principles of Social Reconstruction.*

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## Brother Christmas

to another while you are in our employ."

"I won't do it, Mr. Rainsford! It's been 'ard work for me these last few weeks, patten' and fussin' a lot of squawkin', snivel-nosed kids. I got a right to my rest on Christmas Day same as anyone else."

"Now don't be foolish, Varley. You have a long and splendid record here. I shouldn't like it to end now after—how many years?"

"Seventeen. Tis victimisation"

"You think so? Well, you'd better report it to your union." Rainsford turned back with a smile to his papers.

The old man left the room in a resentful silence, his mind already at work. Report it to the union, eh? Well, maybe young Rainsford had been a bit too clever! But for that sarcastic remark, he might never have thought of Nick Goodman and the rest of the crowd who popped into Wally's Caff around this time for a cup of char and a friendly natter.

For no particular reason except its geographical position, just off Oxford Street, Wally's had long been the December haunt of the West End Santa Clauses. Here of an evening they relaxed from their labours of plunging rheumatically arms into bran-tubs, until the passing of the rush hour guaranteed them a seat home to some outlying suburb in the tube or the bus.

Elijah Varley was one of the less frequent visitors to Wally's, for he lived in Woolwich with his widowed daughter Gladys, who insisted on tea punctually at seven o'clock so that little Ronnie, aged six, might be in bed at a reasonable hour.

He had not been there at all this season; but he knew from past experience that Wally's was the one place in London where he could get sound advice or even assistance in any matter connected with his annual calling.

It was with relief that Mr. Varley shuffled into Wally's Caff and immediately saw Nick Goodman seated at his usual table. Tom Flint was there, too, and old One-Eye Lacey from Rumbold's, and Snowy Hill who'd once been in the merchant service and could swear at the

kids in Russian. There were also a couple of faces new to Elijah, faces still bearing tiny tufts of cotton-wool to betray the inexperience of their owners; mere youngsters barely out of their fifties.

MR. VARLEY ordered a cup of tea and, seating himself opposite Nick, unfolded his tale of injustice. There was a moment of shocked silence after he had finished, then Tom Flint thumped his fist on the marble-topped table.

"No—I can't believe it! *Work on Christmas Day?*"

Elijah nodded glumly. "That or they don't take me on again. Victimisation, I said it was—"

"Slavery, more like," interposed One-Eye Lacey. "Don't you give in, mate—we'll stand by you."

"Aye, we'll come out—all of us," roared Snowy Hill. "A strike—eh?"

"Yeh, we can't wear that." Nick spoke his agreement absently, his mind already a stride ahead of theirs. "But it ain't no good just not working, we got to show a strong hand—else what happens? Scabs in our place for Christmas Eve, and after that they got eleven months to pick a new crowd."

Nick lit his pipe thoughtfully while the others waited in silence, reluctant to risk breaking in on an inspiration.

"Tom, you mind that time I slipped across the road to your shop in the dinner hour?"

Tom Flint nodded reminiscently. "I loaned you a plug o' baccy. Good many years ago now, that was. Old Mr. Wilfred was still alive—he didn't 'alf choke you off."

"Yeh, and for why? I'd dropped me hood and put on a mac, but people could still spot I was a Santa—and if there's one thing no shop won't ever stand for, it's seeing two Santa Clauses together."

"Cor, stone the crows!" Indignation mottled the old man's rosy face. Whoever 'eard of a Santa Claus workin' on Christmas Day?"

Rainsford picked up one of the papers in front of him. "You are listed here simply as a temporary assistant. I have every right to transfer you from one job

'em up as liars." His gaze moved to Elijah. "It's a weapon! One they got no answer for." He punched Elijah confidently in the chest. "We'll have 'em squealing, mate—as loud as any kid you ever cuffed."

Entering the toy department at Bellamy's next morning on his customary tour of inspection, Mr. Rainsford remembered with sudden rancour that he had received no further visit as yet from Elijah Varley.

The door of a lift opened beside the staff manager as he turned in the direction of his Santa Claus, and for the next five seconds Mr. Rainsford was a statue of incredulity.

No, it couldn't be! There, presiding as usual over the bran-tub, was Elijah Varley, and here . . . it was an hallucination! Mr. Rainsford blinked heavily. When he opened his eyes again, the second red-robed figure was still in vivid evidence: was moving, moreover, straight towards the first red-robed figure . . .

MR. RAINSFORD caught him up in three rapid strides.

"Who are you? What are you doing in this shop?"

Nick Goodman turned defiantly. "Open to the public, ain't it?"

"You can't come in here dressed like that!" Perspiration appeared on Mr. Rainsford's forehead as the dread sound of a puerulous piping voice reached him from the ranks of gaping shoppers.

"Why not? Decent, ain't it? Who are you to tell me what I got to wear?"

The unanswerable questions bombarded Mr. Rainsford from the depths of the snowy beard.

The department was ringing now with a chorus of shrill voices. Mr. Rainsford lost his head, swinging round, he grasped the arm of the lift attendant and pulled him frenziedly to his aid:

"Throw that man out of here immediately!"

"If 'e goes, I go with 'im." Elijah Varley had deserted his bran-tub and was placing a comradely arm round the shoulders of the intruder.

Nick Goodman gave him a nod of

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## UNITED NATIONS' XMAS BOX

Democracy] for which we ourselves feel a strong aversion". The answer is that nothing very much can be done, for the moment anyone suggests discussing the problem Franco will protest and walk out, just as the French did and the South Africans have done over apartheid.

NO, the issues of peace and war will not be decided in the United Nations. All that the admission of the sixteen nations has assured is that there are now still more people with a vested interest (their well-paid jobs) in seeing that the racket goes on. And just as it is said that most generals are pacifists (since they have more security in their jobs in peacetime than in time of war), so are we confident that the thousands of officials comprising the U.N. will do nothing rash which might jeopardise the future of that machine which provides them with security (on a dollar scale), the limelight and social-climbing.

Somehow we cannot help feeling that many people will agree with us that the peasants in China and India; the growing awareness among the peoples of the African continent; the big and small experiments in living throughout the world; and the discoveries in the field of science are what really matters and which will shape the future. Whereas the fact that after 34 fruitless ballots the General Assembly had not succeeded last week in deciding who should take the place of Turkey on the Security Council at the United Nations (when that country leaves it at the end of the year), really doesn't matter very much so far as the future civilisation is concerned! Indeed what history will record is that this organisation with its fetish for counting heads ended the deadlock by blindfolding its president and, in Alistair Cooke's words "had him raffle for Turkey's seat".

So, in 1955, the United Nations will be remembered for its Xmas boxes ("package deals") and its Xmas draw—for a turkey?

## This May Interest You

In this column a fortnight ago the subject was "Money"—in so far as it affected the future publication of FREEDOM. Most of our comrades and sympathisers amongst our readers either did not read us or did not heed us, for the response was negligible. (We take this opportunity to thank those who did and for their letters of encouragement). When we wrote the "appeal" we had not realised that our difficulties were even greater as a result of the unfortunate coincidence that there are 53 Saturdays in 1955 (fortunately a not too frequent occurrence—certainly the first since we became a weekly). So that this year we have to budget for an extra issue. Had we the powers to perform such miracles as attributed to Christ with the loaves and the fishes, we should not feel obliged to repeat our warning that FREEDOM cannot continue its publication on accumulating deficits. Our creditors turn down our offers of deficits in payment of rent, paper bills and printing accounts. And the Postmaster General positively refuses to create a precedent by allowing our paper to be distributed through the mails without being stamped. So what are we to do if you do not help? Will you take seriously our appeal only when FREEDOM fails to come out one week?

## ISRAEL CONTROVERSY

# Collective Settlements and the State

(Continued from last week)

Inasmuch as the collective settlers were ardent Zionists, there is no question whether one of their main, if not their main, political aim was the creation and the maintenance of a Jewish State. They do not seem to resent its existence, either, and this brings us to the next point.

C.W. does not think the price of food in Israel can be blamed on the collective settlements, "which form a minority in the agricultural population." Marketing Boards in Britain should have taught him better. Minorities, when well organised in pressure groups, can be very powerful, even in Israel. It would take me too long to explain why collective settlements are in complete control of two of the parties now in the Coalition and in partial control of two other parties. I can only mention the pyramid of control with which students of the structure of industry should be familiar. Anyhow, at present seven out of fourteen Cabinet posts in Israel are held by direct representatives of collective settlements. In a country where agriculture is so effectively regulated by Government, control of the Ministry of Agriculture would be enough, let alone half the vote in all Cabinet decisions.

"Surely," says C.W., "it is unreasonable to say that they have a vested interest in the state of armistice and the Arab boycott." Why "surely"? Are we discussing angels? Up to 1941 almost all collective settlements were in a state of chronic bankruptcy, in spite of unceasing aid from Zionist funds. They flourished on war. They are definitely (and in private conversations admittedly) war profiteers. Why should they not have done very well in it, even when Jews were being annihilated by the million?

Not only that but collective settlements, almost all of them, have a vested interest in inflation, too. They all borrowed heavily, both from public and from private sources. The Jewish Agency and the Government provided them with costly equipment paid for in dollars calculated at 2.70 to 2.80 in the Israeli Lira (Pound) and now defrayed by the settlements at 1.80 Israeli Lira to the dollar. I submit that these seven Ministers I have mentioned are going to do something to Israeli currency which will be felt in the near future, particularly by wage earners.

But this is not the issue at present. Can you preach to them to resettle somewhere else? Can you make them give up hope of returning here? If not, I am afraid it is of little use to talk about responsibility. They are there and they are miserable and they make trouble crossing the border. Again, what is the use of condemning Arab governments? Do their subjects read FREEDOM?

### Stampede, Propaganda and Bayonets

I hope none of my readers will ever feel the tickle of the bayonet in his buttocks, but if he does, let him not stop to think whose propaganda that bayonet represents. Let him grab his children and run for it. C.W. tries his best to exonerate Israelis from responsibility for the Arab refugees. I appreciate his partiality, but I know otherwise. The refugees were kicked out, in more than one case. It is no military secret either.

On the other hand I see that some comrades tend to hero worship. Gamal Abdelnasser is described in one of your issues as "a better than average dictator". So there are better dictators? Better for what? I would understand such classification from my point of view, that is to say, there are dictators whose interest

it is to kill Jews and there are others who, for some reason, would even save me from other dictators (as France did to many Jews of Greece and Bulgaria). But what is so good in Abdelnasser? He does seem to be an idealist, but then idealists killed more human beings than the plague. He sends Fedayeen to murder people at night, innocent people back from work. What is the good in it?

### Weather Forecast

C.W. ends his reply by asking for information. I hope I have somewhat satisfied his curiosity. I do not know whether Abdelnasser is really intent on resumption of open war. Military high-ups in Israel may or may not seek a "preventive" war. In Israel it is not the military personnel who ultimately decides in such matters, though the Prime Minister is also the Minister of Defence. The considerations which guide the Government in this case seem to be: (a) The ability of Israeli economy to bear the stress of a prolonged war, particularly as the Reserves will have to be called, and this means even less production, and (b) The response of Jews abroad to an appeal for aid, both political and financial. It all comes to the conviction of Jews both in Israel and in other countries that such a war is unavoidable. Once this point is settled, Abdelnasser will find himself in a very tough spot, because the Israel Army can still knock all Arab armies into a cocked hat. The Nitzana raid was almost a picnic.

I have heard nothing of Arab Halutzic Youth Movement, and apparently it is one of those Jewish sponsored clubs, which are very exclusive, being confined to a few job-seekers. "Progressive" trends in neighbouring countries can mean anything, but as for acquiescence in Zionist aims, I am afraid they are as far from it as they were. Anyhow, Hashomer Hatzair are not the best propagandists, as their collective settlements were the first to grab "abandoned" land and not the last in plunder.

The Histadrut and its position in Israel need much more room than I have here, and the decline of kibbutzim cannot, in my opinion, be considered apart from the general decline of Zionism. But for the immediate future these questions seem of secondary importance.

This world may look cock-eyed to us, poor mortals, but it may not look so

to those unscrupulous gods in pants and skirts whose action is more effective. The real high-ups do not reside here, as far as I know, and this may be one of the reasons why I am not their confidant. If they have an interest in my existence, I may be left alone for the time being, but if they think they can make an extra penny or gain some power by my death, then goodbye comrades—unless the concerted action of decent human beings will prove more effective.

### Any Suggestions?

If we are unable to alter or to avoid a situation, it is no use talking. Comrades should study the facts, the real facts, and then their suggestions will be most welcome. But I should warn them against some pitfalls, which seem obvious yet persistently confuse the issues.

It is a relief to find people opining on Israel without anti-Semitic prejudice, but I have learned to be wary of excessive admiration of Jews, which may conceal a feeling of guilt. Israelis themselves are quite often hindered from logical appreciation of their future by three common human failings. The first is reluctance to admit error. The second is fear of change. Many people here, and certainly all those who have official say, have found their economic and social position improved, at least temporarily, by the new State. Any change may alter their position, and it is very easy to convince oneself that what is good for oneself is good for all. And then there is the Fascist lure, worship of symbols: Glorious Past, Flag, Tradition, Rock of Israel and His Redeemer, *Yiddishe Melookhe* (Jewish Kingdom), etc.

My suggestion, for all it is worth, is that segregation is intrinsically wrong and also dangerous. A conspicuous community is a target of suspicion. We cannot blame a man for running away to save his life, but once he settles in new surroundings he should adapt himself to the circumstances. Israel is not like America or Australia, because the autochthonous population here is not, and cannot be, annihilated. Neither is Israel like Malaya, because the Chinese immigrants there have a much stronger backing, right across the border. Here it seems a unique problem, and I think it should be met with a suitable though not necessarily unprecedented solution. Since it is impossible to maintain either such an absurdly small State or such a small community, and since it will be difficult both to proselyte the Arabs and to keep conquering them, maybe Israelis should give up Zionism.

Tel Aviv, 7/12/55. J.R.

## COMMENTS

# Poujade Enters the Political Arena

THE controversy on the subject of Taxation which occupied many columns of FREEDOM earlier in the year (and which has had some repercussion recently in our esteemed Italo-American contemporary *l'Adunata dei Refrattari* of New York), arose out of an editorial (*As Ye Sow . . .*) which was primarily concerned with the motives behind the anti-tax movement in France led by Pierre Poujade. In that article we attempted to show that what was important, in assessing the revolutionary content of such movements, were its motives rather than its slogans. This basic point, which also explains the title of the editorial, "As Ye Sow", was completely forgotten by most of our comrades who contributed to the discussion.

If we raise the matter now, it is simply to underline this point and not the taxation issue! For during the past weeks the Poujadiste movement has once more been in the news. Some weeks ago the French press reported a split in which Poujade had been disowned by his followers for using the movement's funds for political ends. But according to a *Sunday Times* (11/12/55) report from its Paris representative it would appear that Poujade is undeterred by his opposition and has entered the electoral fray in a big way:

"M. Pierre Poujade, the demagogue bookseller, and his Shopkeepers' and Artisans' Defence Union are putting up candidates all over the country. In many constituencies they are putting up three and four "allied" lists of candidates who openly use the vocabulary of Fascism and proclaim its dogma and methods.

There is speculation on who is backing M. Poujade financially. It seems doubtful that the money has come merely from ordinary dues of the movement's members. Former leaders of the movement in the Correze who have disowned M. Poujade have given singular details of his attitude. One, M. Saint-Germain, speaking in Limoges, said that M. Poujade already sees himself as master of France, and is preparing a youth movement to incorporate young people of 14 to 21. The Correze branch of the

movement, he said, had paid in £3,392 to the movement's national treasurer, and had no idea what had become of it.

Another speaker, formerly chairman of the movement's branch in the Cantal, said that M. Poujade had created political committees to deal with African affairs, unmarried mothers, the equipment of the country's ports, and barge traffic.

The elections of local chambers of commerce, which have been going on all over the country, have resulted in sweeping captures by the Poujadists. Their most spectacular successes have been in Paris, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Montpellier, Limoges, Perpignan, Melun and Bourges. In some of these the Poujadists have won outright control with overwhelming majorities. Abstentions among voters have reached nearly 50 per cent. in places—and there are some areas south of the Loire where there is a certain risk for a shopkeeper to be anti-Poujade.

Again on the subject of motives but this time in relation to the question of the Tyre Monopoly. Some ten months ago a motor spares dealer was "stop-listed" by a Court of the British Motor Trades Association for selling tyres below their regulated price. He, a Mr. Clarke, hit the headlines and earned a lot of sympathy. Following the publication of the Monopolies Commission Report Mr. Clarke had, according to the *News Chronicle*, "smash the ring" posters "plastered over his shops in Bourne-mouth, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Birkenhead and Hanley". (Our italics).

This, to our minds is an interesting sidelight on Mr. Clarke. He is not a small trader but obviously a man in a somewhat big way of business, with no less than five shops, and perhaps dreaming of the day when he will have fifty! He is a believer in the freedom to cut-prices, not in the interests of the public, but much more likely, as a tactic for making Mr. Clarke a minor monopolist in the tyre selling business. Indeed, in all businesses the price-cutter is more concerned in driving fellow traders out of business than in the interests of the consumer.

If any sleuth who thinks that reading between the lines he has discovered that

somebody on FREEDOM supports the Monopolists, we hasten to add that we are opposed to Monopolists, and for this reason are also opposed to price-cutters who are only monopolists in sheep's clothing. "But you can't have your cake and eat it" others may object. To them we reply that the vicious circle is not in our thought but in the profit system!

### Sir Anthony Please Note

THE *Welsh Nationalist* which for its own reasons espouses the cause of Union with Greece in Cyprus reminds us of the things Churchill said in his Liberal days, which are interesting because they remind us that *Enosis* is not a Russian plot of the post-war period, or a new problem which has taken the government by surprise.

This is what Sir Winston wrote in 1908: "I think it is only natural that the Cypriot people, who are of Greek descent, should regard their incorporation with what they call their mother country as an ideal to be earnestly, devoutly, and fervently cherished.

Such a feeling as an example of the patriotic devotion which so nobly characterizes the Green Nation . . . The only Greek I learnt in Cyprus was 'Zeto i Enosis' ('Long live union with Greece')."

### Sterling Justice

TEHERAN, DECEMBER 14. The Teheran civil appeal court yesterday reduced a sentence of five months' imprisonment on the British racing driver Lew Tracey to two months. Under Persian law this means that he can buy his freedom for a few shillings a day, and his lawyers have arranged that. The appeal court also raised the original fine of £25 to £150.

Mr. Tracey was sentenced on September 13 after a road accident in which a Persian villager was killed. He was then trying to beat the land record from England to Australia. He had returned to England on bail since the sentence and was not in court.—*Reuter*.

## Cyprus: Civilisation and Self-Determination

Continued from p. 1

One of the strongest reasons for this is that the government has not been able to create any efficient intelligence organisation. It has not been able to build up the network of narks on which the police of every country depend for their information. On the other hand, however, the Cypriots seem to be very well organised and to have means of getting to know what's going on. For instance the government took a considerable moral risk in organising the search for arms in twenty-four monasteries. The risk was to the relations between the authorities, the church, the people of Cyprus and of Greece, but since those relations could hardly be worse anyway, presumably it was thought worth while taking the risk.

But the results hardly justified the effort. The total exercise, in which soldiers of five British regiments and Marine Commandos, backed up by Cypriot police, took part, produced a few sticks of dynamite and two pistols. What the results in terms of resentment at the search of religious establishments and consequent stiffening of public opinion are likely to be can only be guessed at, but it should of course be understood that both in Cyprus and in Greece the Greek Orthodox Church has always been openly political in its activity. Indeed in the present crisis it is recognised as virtually leading, if not organising the Enosis movement.

A new feature of the resistance is that it is now beginning to use terror against Cypriot officials as well as against British personnel. An attempt was made to shoot a senior Cypriot official in broad daylight in Nicosia last week—which has understandably increased nervousness among all government staff. It is to be hoped it will equally decrease their enthusiasm to serve the British.

One outstanding feature of the rioting has been the tremendous

proportions of children involved, and now, more and more schoolgirls are coming to the fore of the stone-throwing mobs, much to the embarrassment of the young British conscripts, not much more than school-boys themselves.

Here is the tragedy of Cyprus, as with every other imperialist struggle. That hatred and violence is created between people for the sake of those who rule them. The British soldiers should be fraternising, not shooting. They have more human interests in common with the young women of Cyprus than they have with the old men of Whitehall—but human interests are the last to be considered, either by the British government or the Greek Orthodox Church.

### SELF-DETERMINATION COMING

THERE seems little doubt that the self-determination which the Cypriots are demanding will, in fact have to be granted them before very long. Already the British have agreed to it 'in principle' but Archbishop Makarios has turned down the offer because it did not carry a promise of a definite date for a change-over. But it is only a few months since Sir Anthony Eden, at the time of the General Election, made it known that there was no intention to grant Cyprus independence ever! Isn't it wonderful what a little dynamite can do!

In the interests of law and order, however, the task of repression has to go on. General Sir John Harding, now the island's virtual dictator, has banned the Communist Party of Cyprus, but we fail to see how the Communists can complain too bitterly about that—for their party is banned in Greece also. If the Commies want Cyprus put under Greek government (and this is what *Enosis* means), they can only expect to be banned then—so why not now?

In fact it cannot be very long before the British government will come to terms with Makarios (who is probably not at all sorry to see the C.P. banned) and it may well be that following the Cabinet reshuffle which Eden is said to be planning, a new Foreign Secretary will get the job of settling the problem (thereby saving Macmillan's face), on the best terms he can get. When this is done it will not be for the sake of the freedom of the people in our care, but for reasons put forward by the American General James Van Fleet in Athens last week.

Van Fleet is reported to have told a Greek newspaper that Cyprus, to be of any strategic value, must have friendship and loyal support among its inhabitants—"otherwise it is nothing more than a prison in a hostile country."

It was for this reason that Britain came to terms with Nasser in Egypt and moved her main base to Cyprus. The question that will arise soon will be: 'Where to next?' Maybe Israel will find it worthwhile to invite the British troops there?

### PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

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\*Indicates regular contributors.

## LETTER

### Traffic Jams To-Day But To-morrow?

JIM PEEKE in his article "Meditation in a Traffic Jam" (FREEDOM last week), has outlined the results of our roads but missed out one of the major causes, that the need for the private motor traffic is artificially created by the industries concerned. The roads are admittedly pre-Ford and the work of the planning authorities typical of all governmental bodies, but among the reasons for our overcrowded roads are the huge motoring publicity organisations.

To-day, in common with TV, the private car is the mark of social success, the working class piano with four wheels and a markedly inefficient engine, which makes the world hideous, with mangled bodies, engine fumes and noise, noise, noise *ad nauseum*.

Western man to-day is beginning to feel the impact of having an enforced and artificial standard of life where 'necessities' range from deodorants to chrome-plated cocktail bars. The urgent need to buy is shown, shouted, screamed, blared, televised, and even written in mist across the sky. Time has become an invaluable unit which is used as a weapon against the defenceless population. Life is governed by a time card, time-study engineering in all mass manufacturing factories quite amply prove this.

The way to abolish the traffic jams is not to build greater and bigger roads but to abolish a system which needs traffic jams to survive, for if there is mass production on a profit basis they must sell and the muddle on the roads is the result of this salesmanship. The only way to outlive death on the roads or death of the mind is to slow down the tempo of city life and advance to a culture of balanced ecology with natural forces, although I believe that this is too much to ask of a population which even runs on escalators.

I would also like to know where Jim Peeke got his figures for the costings of canal traffic? Canal boats carry cargo cheaper by one third than other forms of transport, they also carry five times their own dead weight (the average canal craft carries 50 tons) and their working life is between thirty and forty years. The upkeep of the canal itself is

cheaper than the same length of railroad or road, surprisingly the average speed of a laden boat is four point five miles per hour, in comparison with the average speed of a railway truck which is two point nine M.P.H.! The only reason why canal traffic has suffered a decline is because the canals were owned by the railways and are still owned by those nationalised bodies to-day.

If they were developed to the degree for which the Pownell contour system plans they would not only remove heavy industrial traffic off the road but also off the railroads, and that would never do would it?

London.

ROB COCHRANE.

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### MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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155 High Holborn, W.C.1.  
(Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall)  
DEC. 25—No meeting.

##### INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.

##### OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting

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MANETTE STREET

(Charing X Road)

Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

#### GLASGOW

##### INDOOR MEETINGS

Friday evenings at 7 p.m. commencing Friday, October 14th at 200 Buchanan Street.

### The Malatesta Club

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

THE Malatesta Club is looking for new premises. The notice on the present premises expires on Christmas Day, owing to the plans of the owners of the building, the Post Office, for demolition and expansion.

However, since search by the members over the past few months has not been rewarding, there seems to be no alternative but to stay on at the present address until the bulldozers arrive.

The Club will therefore remain open as usual for as long as possible, but visitors, and all users, will do so at their own risk.

An announcement will of course be made as soon as a new address is found.

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## Are You Happy Tho' Married?

TO be happy, according to dictionary definition, is to be lucky, fortunate, content. Seven out of ten married women questioned in a large-scale investigation in Britain conducted by a research team headed by a London psychiatrist, Dr. Eustace Chesser, claim to be one of these three. Six thousand three hundred and fifty-two women have replied to a confidential questionnaire distributed by over a thousand family doctors who were schooled in the necessity of questioning representative patients. Seventy per cent. of these women claimed to be either "exceptionally" or "very happily" married. The report, which will be published in full next year, does not specify the length of time married or categorise the income levels of the women involved, data, one might suppose, which has some bearing on the subject. This information may well be disclosed in the full report.

Assuming that the information is accurate the childhood pattern of these women seems to be carried through into adult life, thus:

"Generally speaking, women whose upbringing was not unduly strict not only had a happier childhood than those more sternly brought up, but also contracted happier marriages . . .

The child's happiness was greater when neither parent dominated the scene, and even removing a child from its home altogether had a better effect on its happiness than leaving it in a discordant environment."

The difference between the various religious groupings is small in terms of marital happiness, but childhood happiness was more prevalent among Non-conformists than the authoritarian religions:—

"Among the Nonconformists 66 per cent. reported that they had been very happy in their childhood. This compared with 58 per cent. for members of the Church of England, 50 per cent. for Jews, 46 per cent. for Roman Catholics and 27 per cent. for those who had no religion.

Among the various religious groups, 81 per cent. of the Nonconformists said that they were extremely happily married. This was also the conviction of 72 per cent. of those in the Church of England, 71 per cent. of the Roman

Catholics, 70 per cent. of the members of other religions, and 67 per cent. of those without any."

### Difficulties Getting Information

Even a brief glance at the statistical reports from the consulting room and the analyst's couch conveys the difficulty of getting information about marriage problems from patients. It also reveals the unsound attitude of many women to the function of sex, a state of mind which springs from the general pattern of sexual behaviour in our society and deforms normal sexuality. Alex Comfort writes, in *Barbarism & Sexual Freedom* of the difficulty in obtaining a clear picture of sexual problems, and suggests that the most convincing evidence can only be obtained from the consulting room. He writes:

In a series of women attending a London gynaecological department one in three had experienced no satisfaction in marriage, and prefaced the statement in many cases by the supposition that she "was never one" for sexual enjoyment. Estimates based on clinical data are statistically unsound, since only those who are in trouble tend to complain, whereas large numbers suffer in silence, even if interrogated. There is enough material in any out-patient department to convince the optimist that the order which produced the gastric ulcer and the atomic bomb is also producing a progressive breakdown in its own physical health.

In the light of this we should accept the type of survey based on questionnaires with reservations, not only because of the reluctance of people to truthfully disclose their sexual problems, but because in our civilisation sexual normality is considered only in relation to a Christian code of morality. "Contentment" therefore, is a relative term which could mean anything ranging from apathy to resignation. Many women are content with a husband, a family and a degree of economic security, and within this category come women who have never experienced sexual satisfaction. Animals in the fields are also content, but if human beings are to

develop to their full capacity they need a condition which will produce more than this. Sexual satisfaction is not the only means to this end, but its attainment in the fullest sense is an important prerequisite to the development of the individual. In our view it is almost impossible for the majority of people to reach this within the framework of monogamous marriage which does not allow for free sexuality as understood by us. It would be foolish to conclude that all those who contract a marriage, either a lifelong monogamous or a temporary one, only think they are happy or are pretending to be. But, there is too much evidence from sources unconnected with revolutionary or reactionary organisations (who might otherwise be considered having an axe to grind), pointing to the mental and physical disorders due to our failure to accept the view that the majority of people are happily adjusted.

Happiness will be achieved according to one's terms of reference, and capacity will be impeded if we accept the social and moral standards of our civilization. A man with an unshakable belief in a deity might consider himself happy and contented; a Christian mother likewise. But whether the conditions which produce their state of mind are conducive to a healthy social order we can only consider in relation to the unstable society we live in to-day. If we accept the evidence of Dr. Comfort (and other sociologists), we can only agree with his conclusions:—

"If the effects of social maladjustment were as obvious as the effects of starvation, large tracts of Western Europe would be peopled by the skeletons of Belsen . . . We are coming to realise increasingly that health is a social phenomenon, and this is particularly true of sexual health—normal sexuality and satisfaction, being an early victim of social instability, is probably our most sensitive indicator of the biological soundness of a social order, and if it is absent to-day we must blame the pattern of society rather than the morals of its single members."\*

R.M.

\*A. Comfort: *Barbarism & Sexual Freedom*. Freedom Press.