

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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Threepence

American Policy Takes Us to the Verge of War

DULLES PLAYS WITH FIRE

THE indignation expressed in the British and American press, and by many American politicians, at the statement made by Dulles, American Secretary of State, to *Life* magazine, is, we feel, not due to a regard for human life or repudiation of the tactical whim of one man which may involve millions of people in large scale war, but to their fear that the time has been badly chosen, in terms of international politics, to make public the aggressive nature of American foreign policy as exemplified by Dulles.

The Democrats will seize upon this tactical error in an attempt to make political capital in the forthcoming elections, but do not let us be fooled into accepting the view that Dulles is an ogre surrounded by pygmies; there are few politicians, if any, who have not debased themselves in the course of their careers.

Our own view of power politics, and the ways of Government is confirmed by the Dulles opinion that the "ability of getting to the verge without getting into war is a necessary art". We are neither shocked nor surprised, since we hold this to be another squalid method adopted by Governments in their struggle for domination.

Unfortunately the majority of people in the "Western bloc" believe that their respective Governments are in the forefront in the struggle for world peace, and it is only the conspiracy of world "communism" that prevents us all from attaining this end. It will therefore come as a shock to those who accept this view and take the trouble to read their newspapers, that in 1953 and 1954 "America three times looked war square in the face", but averted it by "strong action". This occurred during the Korean and Indo-China wars and at the time when the Chinese Communists appeared to be planning the invasion of Formosa.

American policy as stated by Dulles is summarised as follows:

The first threat of war came in June, 1953, when South Korean President Syngman Rhee released all North Korean prisoners and gave the Chinese Communists an opportunity to break the truce negotiations and evade the issue of repatriating war prisoners.

But the Communists did not, Mr. Dulles said, because he made it clear in a talk with the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, that if they stalemated the negotiations America would renew the Korean war, extend it to Manchuria and use tactical atomic weapons.

The second war threat came in April, 1954. Faced with the danger of the Communists overrunning Indo-China and with urgent French requests for American intervention, Mr. Dulles and President Eisenhower warned the Chinese Communists that their open intervention would bring American atomic retaliation.

The third threat was in the autumn of 1954, when the Chinese Communists appeared to be about to invade the Nationalist island stronghold of Formosa.

Mr. Dulles drafted a resolution which was passed overwhelmingly by Congress, authorising the President to use American military forces if the Communists attacked.

Should We Be Told?

In criticism of this statement it is claimed that the Dulles disclosures are historically inaccurate, and the *Manchester Guardian* naively comments, that if it had been America's intention to extend the war to Manchuria and use tactical atomic weapons at the time of the Korean

war, it is strange that no substantial accounts of the warning has not been published before. Any such warning, it is added would have implied a radical change in American policy, which was to limit the war in Korea. But the fact that no account has been published does not, it seems to us, invalidate its accuracy. We recall the famous "brick" dropped by Churchill last year when he disclosed that in a telegram to Montgomery he had instructed him to stack the German arms in case the German armies had to be used against the Russians. This disclosure was ten years after the event.

Further, if American policy was to limit the war in Korea a change in circumstances could alter the policy, but it is our view that it is just as likely that the policy put out for public consumption need not have been the one finally carried out. When war is involved, Governments generally release to the public that which they gauge will be acceptable. Had the war in Korea been extended there would have been no shortage of propaganda to justify such an action.

Assuming however, that the claims made by Dulles have little substantiation he is either a liar or is expressing his own opinion that the threat of atomic retaliation should have been made. On the other hand, one would have thought that a tactician like Dulles would be careful not to make too many statements that could not be substantiated, and go so far as to implicate Eisenhower who, he claims, supported his view. It will be remembered that General MacArthur was martyred by Truman, and returned to America in a blaze of glory, for his untimely suggestion that atomic weapons should be used in Manchuria. Can it be that he

72 Negroes Acquitted in "Jim Crow" Case

NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY 6.

Seventy-two Negro bus passengers, most of them university students, who refused to sit behind a sign separating them from white people, were acquitted here last night for disturbing the peace. The bus driver, Mr. Francis Roux, and the only white passenger in the vehicle refused to sign affidavits accusing the Negroes.—*Reuter*.

SHORT TAKES

No Harm In Asking

In the recent French elections a number of voters, no doubt baffled by the complicated lists, returned photographs of women instead of ballot papers. A Strasbourg voter hopefully enclosed a picture of Gina Lollobrigida in his voting envelope. Alas! He is no more likely to get what he wants than are the suckers who submitted orthodox ballot papers.

Undercrowding

One man who escaped from the horrors of the bed-sitting room, so graphically described recently by my fellow-contributor Monty, is Mr. T. W. Marion of Eastbourne. He had a nice little council house in Beechy Avenue. But when he and his wife separated the local council decided that a whole house was too much for just one man. So now it is back to the gas-ring for Mr. Marion. And the government's present policy is to build as few houses as possible.

Dead Lucky

Three men who were recently set free after they had served two years of their jail sentences for an offence of which they have now been shown to be innocent spent their last week in prison waiting for her gracious majesty to return from Sandringham to grant them their "free pardons". No doubt they spent the time congratulating themselves on that fact that the offence did not carry the death penalty. For I learn that there is no truth in the rumour that the Archbishop of Canterbury will personally resurrect persons wrongly convicted of murder.

Black Friday

Last Friday, (Jan. 13) a thousand unemployed farm labourers at Venosa, Italy, fed up with having no work to do, staged something new in demonstrations. They began to rebuild a road. This was a little too much for the authorities, who evidently took the view that the unemployed should stay unemployed. Police broke up the demonstration with Tommy-guns and killed one demonstrator. Twenty-one others, including five policemen, were injured.

A Tale Of Two Papers

The witch hunters are now turning their attentions to the press. A Senate sub-committee is a present investigating alleged Communist influence on the press, radio, and television. When a *New York Daily News* reporter, William Price, pleaded the first amendment and refused to testify he was instantly dismissed by his paper, which sanctimoniously announced the fact on its front page. The *New York Times*, however, took a different line. It has supported one of its printers, Otto Albertson, who refused to answer questions, and said in an editorial that the investigation was being "aimed with particular emphasis" at it because it had editorially condemned racial segregation and McCarthyism.

Pay H.M. Bloodsuckers . . .

When Mr. N. W. Metzner of Bognor Regis had to pay his National Insurance contributions he made out his cheque to "The Ministry of National Theft". The bank accepted it for payment without demur.

ANARCHO-COLUMNIST.

HOW TO BE A VOTER IN KENYA

THE ever-increasing problem of how to retain the appearance of being a democratic nation and yet remain an effective imperialist power must by now be one of the principle headaches currently worrying the British Government. With all the ingenuity at its disposal, and despite the considerable powers of doublethink attainable by its members, the difficulties of maintaining a suitable shop-window for the benefit of world opinion, are formidable indeed.

The proposals which have just been put forward for an electoral system in Kenya are certainly ingenious, and have about them the fluent touch of the British colonialist, who apparently has but one aim in life, to improve the conditions of the natives of the colony with which

he is concerned. Roughly speaking the proposed method amounts to a points system for voting—points will be awarded on the basis of certain qualifications, and votes awarded in relation to points received. But the qualifications are carefully specified so that unsuitable Africans will not have a vote—and that makes all the difference.

Multiple Votes—If Suitable

In effect there are two reports, one by Mr. W. F. Coutts, and the other by the Government, but they are both very much alike and the Government plan is really a simplified version of that produced by Mr. Coutts. He recommends voting by direct ballot and proposes a set of ten qualifications for prospective voters, for which one point is awarded for each qualification. With slight variations both plans base their assessment of who should have how many votes on grounds of character and achievement. Education, property ownership and public service are important; any man over 45 has a vote because he is automatically regarded as a leader in tribal affairs, but this does not earn him any points. The object of the points system being that electors who earn a sufficient number shall have additional votes up to a maximum of three.

Obviously the whole system is devised so that those elements amongst the population of Kenya who are in favour of British rule shall have the most votes, and those who want independence shall have as few votes as possible. As points will be effectively awarded or not, by the existing administration, then it is safe to say that there will be little change in the present state of affairs. On paper the scheme may look well, but in fact there can be no real move towards independence or self-government.

The Right to Veto Voters

One interesting recommendation possibly provides the pointer to the whole plan. Mr. Coutts suggests that no one who has taken the Mau Mau oath should be allowed to vote, and that even those who qualify should have only one vote, and that vote should be applicable only to candidates for the Central Province constituency. The Government proposes an alternative to this—that the

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was expressing a view held by many powerful men in the Senate?

Meanwhile, the White House is curiously silent on this present issue. It is reported that the President's Press Secretary refuses to be drawn into any comment on it. No denial as yet has come from the man who poses as the purveyor of peace of the statement that President Rhee "did not know of Eisenhower's decision to bomb Manchuria and use atomic weapons".

Whether America did threaten atomic retaliation and were thus instrumental in deterring the Chinese in Korea, Indo-China and Formosa we will leave to the historians to unravel. The fact remains that every powerful country will use threats in one form or another to further the interests of national states, and those who exercise power within those states without regard to the cost in human life and suffering. We refuse to take sides in yet another squabble between Governments, we only wish that the peoples of the world would contract out with us, because without their tacit support Governments, with their divided interests, could not survive. M.

BUMMAREES BLOCK JUDGE BLOCK'S JUDGMENT

FRIDAY the 13th January, 1956 was an unlucky day for the law in the City of London. On that day, in the Mayor's and City of London Court, Judge Block delivered himself of a ruling in a test case brought by a butcher from Brick Lane. The learned Judge decided, quite rightly by law, that any retail butcher who bought meat at Smithfield (London's meat market), could carry that meat to his own vans himself and was under no legal obligation to employ a market porter.

Unluckily for the Judge, however, he had come up against one of the toughest and most tightly-organised bunch of workers in the country, who are quite able to prove that law is one thing, life another.

And on Monday, when the butcher David Durrant went to Smithfield to buy supplies for his two shops, he and everybody else knew that if he had attempted to carry the meat himself, every one of the 600 licensed porters (or bummarees, as they are known) would have gone on strike and the market would have stopped dead.

For those 600 workers now have a monopoly of the meat portage at Smithfield and are prepared to guard it jealously no matter what may be decided in any court of law.

The Workers' Defence

Now since, as anarchists, we are opposed to monopolies from above,

how can we defend or justify this monopoly exercised from below? The answer is that we don't defend it, or justify it; we seek only to explain it.

Carrying meat in Smithfield Market is the way 600 men earn their livings. If anyone who came to the market for meat carried it out themselves, or brought help with them from outside, or bought the assistance of a casual passer-by, the livings of those 600 regular porters, men who have made it their job in life, would be threatened. They would be reduced to competing for work, not only among themselves, but with any-one every-one strong enough to hump a carcass from a stall to a van.

So they have got together, in the only way those with 'nothing to sell but their labour-power' can, to defend their interests in a competitive, hostile environment. And they have done it most successfully. Over the years the Smithfield bummarees have so organised themselves that they are powerful enough to bring the market—main artery of London's meat supply—to a stop any time they wish.

Now it may make us feel a little uncomfortable that workers should act in this dictatorial, monopolistic fashion—but who in fact can blame them if they learn a lesson from their masters and see that if you can get a corner in a commodity and

get into a controlling position, you can achieve security in an insecure jungle?

Competition & Money

It's all very well for Mr. Durrant to feel sore about having to employ porters, but what would he think or say if his customers began to go direct to Smithfield for their meat and said they wanted to dispense with his services (and profit)? Butchers have a monopoly in the retail distribution of meat and the general public have to go to them to get it—and they have organised themselves into a mutual protection society, the Retail Meat Traders' Association, just like the Smithfield workers and every other group with common economic interests.

Within a competitive money economy, the interests of different groups are bound to conflict—even different groups within the same class—and it must be realised that such conflict, with the human hurt that it entails, is the inevitable result of the competition and the money.

It is of course absurd that any group of men should blackmail any other group in order to retain the right to perform arduous toil all the days of their lives. Ridiculous that men should cling to hard work as if their lives depended upon it.

The tragedy is—their lives do depend on it.

THE BENEFITS OF HANGING

IT is not the purpose of this article to advocate the abolition of capital punishment. Such advocacy in revolutionary journals is so popular at present that it is now being said that on "the day of the revolution" we will take the tyrants to the lamp-posts—and hope they will see the light. The pros and cons of hanging are being so hotly debated at present, that the abolitionists are in danger of spouting almost as much nonsense on the subject as the militant retentionists. What seems more useful is to examine quite dispassionately the main reasons why capital punishment is retained, and why, as far as we know, most people favour its retention. Here we have an ancient institution, the ritualized hanging of certain categories of criminals; no institution persists without serving some purpose which would not be adequately served by different institutions—even if the benefits conferred are only for sections of the community and not for the community as a whole. The present writer, then, is

I. We Like It

Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P., speaking in favour of Clause 32, "... a beastly subject. It makes its beastly appeal to every newspaper reader. Is there a man or woman on this Committee who can honestly deny that he or she takes more interest in this clause than in any other? It makes its beastly appeal to me. We are all vicarious sadists."

This was said concerning the abolition of corporal punishment, not capital punishment, when the Criminal Justice Bill was being prepared in 1939. But every word of it applies with equal truth and vigour to the whole subject of hanging. People like to read about hanging, to talk about hanging and, if they could, to take part personally in the peculiar ritual of the execution. In some way it is emotionally stimulating and satisfying. The periodic murder cases which provide front page news and so much popular drama would lose a great deal of their appeal if they were not conducted in the shadow of the gallows. Let no abolitionist adopt a "holier than thou" attitude in regarding the millions who succumb to the "beastly appeal" of the latest gallows-sensation in *The News of the World*; the thousands who flock to meetings organized to support the

abolition of capital punishment are also reacting to the "beastly appeal". They may vehemently declare that their sole emotion is that of horror and outraged humanity, yet they appear to enjoy their outrage. Such crowds do not assemble to discuss other matters of urgent social policy which lack this "beastly appeal", with anything like this ease.

To aid our analysis it would be convenient to break up the subject under five headings. This treatment is convenient, but arbitrary; really the interconnections of the various sections are numerous and complex. Again, we may distinguish between those reasons which are primarily pragmatic (Nos. 3, 4 and 5) and those reasons which are primarily pragmatic (Nos. 3, 4 and 5). But the subject of hanging is so intrinsically "horrifying", "juicy" or "interesting" that pragmatic motives are very much mixed up with emotional overtones, even in the breast of the coldest of legislators, that no-one is entirely swayed by rational expediency in this matter.

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Is there any wonder, therefore, that the majority of people (such as are vocal) appear to favour the retention of this institution, and many write the most nonsensical letters to the press as a manifestation of their delight in it? Such delight is of course wrapped up with the strongest of moral sentiments—as in the case of sexual licence, flogging and other violence, the excitement of crime and the rebellion of youth.

We have retained hanging because we like it. That will be the judgment of future ages. Because this is an era of peculiar hypocrisy it is not quite respectable to admit as much in cold print.

2. Hanging and Other Institutions

When we analyse people's attitudes and opinions we find that they tend to 'cluster'. That is, if a person holds one opinion (e.g. that Negroes are vicious), he will tend to hold a whole cluster of other opinions which appear to have no obvious connection (e.g. that homosexuals should be punished, that Royalty is God-ordained, that war is heroic, that women should be paid less than men, that hanging is a good thing). Dr. Eysenk* and others have done a good deal of research into the phenomena of the clustering of opinions and attitudes, and have devised techniques for their measurement and classification. Most of us, however, in the course of our own

*H. J. Eysenk *Psychology and Politics*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.

experience come to recognise the existence of this phenomenon, and can often anticipate just what a certain person's attitude will be towards quite a range of subjects by knowing what his attitude is to one or two subjects.

People, then, do not have an attitude to, or opinion about capital punishment *in vacuo*. Their attitudes and opinions are bound up in clusters which exist as a whole. Now it so happens that an attitude in favour of the retention of capital punishment is bound up with a cluster of other attitudes in favour of the support of many conservative institutions (*conservative* is used here not in the sense of *Tory*). The powers that be—the Establishment—is concerned with supporting conservative institutions, and therefore capital punishment is sheltered from attack almost by accident as it were, as part of the general conservative structure of institutions. This is no mere reflection of political ideologies. When the Labour Party were in power they were *conservative*, and so we have the phenomenon of M.P.'s who are abolitionist when out of power, but retentionist when in power.

3. Hanging is Cheap and Convenient

The Prison Commissioners got rid of 142 criminals in the post-war decade by having them hanged. It cost about £300 a year to keep a man in prison, and so assuming that each of these prisoners got a 15-year sentence instead of hanging, the net result of keeping them alive would have been undertaking an extra expense of £639,000. This is not a large sum, nor would the extra 142 prisoners make a great deal of difference to our overcrowded prisons, but here is a simple pragmatic reason for continuing to pursue the same policy. It may be thought that here I am trying to poke satirical fun at the meanness of those in authority who would weigh cash against men's lives and honest principle. Such is not my intention. Hanging is not retained *only* because it is cheap and convenient, but such matters of economic policy do weigh in the balance when other factors are under consideration, and it would be stupid to pretend otherwise.

4. Dead Men Tell no Tales

Human beings, with the best intentions, are fallible. Hence it must occasionally happen that an innocent man is condemned on a capital charge. If he is simply imprisoned, he and his friends will never stop their troublesome agitation, and may even uncover new evidence to show that he was wrongfully convicted. A man may be 'pardoned' after serving several years in prison for a crime he has not committed—and then the law and all connected with it is revealed to be a fine ass. Now it is considered of the utmost importance that the law should *not* be regarded as an ass. As Jeremy Bentham said, it is important that not only should justice be

done but justice should appear to be done. If a man is hanged the central piece of evidence is destroyed and the case is thus firmly closed once and for all. He is not alive to agitate and his friends have not the living reason for agitation to free him. Even though they still agitate to clear his name, no one is much interested—it is easier to comfort oneself that a hanged felon was almost certainly guilty, and that justice has been done.

This is another pragmatic reason for hanging which is highly "disreputable", and not usually admitted in cold print. But if we study any social institution dispassionately we come upon all sorts of "disreputable" reasons for human conduct. To abstain from value judgments, however, is to get somewhere near the truth.

Another advantage for the State which hanging has over imprisonment, is that it is a means of getting rid of the occa-

sional awkward customer whom it is expedient to use as a scapegoat in a transient political climate. It is for this reason that certain States (e.g. Russia) retain capital punishment for political offenders when they abolish it for murderers. At the end of the 1939/45 war Joyce, Amery and others who had worked for the Germans were hanged as a ritualistic gesture. Now that the political climate has changed and Britain is again helping to build up the German army as a bulwark against Bolshevism, it is pretty certain that had Joyce, etc., been kept in prison they would now probably have their sentences discreetly commuted, as have so many other political gangsters in Germany. Joyce would certainly have delighted in shouting "I told you so," over the German radio as Britain is now echoing his anti-Russian sentiments—but he is conveniently hanged and cannot make a fool of British statesmen and stir up trouble in West Germany.

5. It is a Handy Weapon of Power

Very little use is made of the gallows in modern times in this country. A mere dozen or so criminals are hanged every year. Yet this paltry trickle of victims is enough to keep the machine ticking over, the ritual is being performed, the officials know their job, and the public is kept accustomed to the State having the power of death. No superior official or administrator can have any illusions about the desirability of retaining capital

punishment because of its allegedly superior deterrent quality. It is well known, thanks to statistics from many countries, that the abolition of the death penalty is not reflected in criminal statistics one way or another. The case for the retention of hanging commends itself to administrators because of more practical issues, and the power of inflicting death is too handy a weapon to

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CINEMA

L'AMOUR & ALL THAT

ON his recent visit to England Mr. René Clair had a good deal of fun telling us that we did not understand love and were incapable of making films about it. It seems that we are almost as bad as the Americans in this respect, and they, apparently, are quite hopeless.

It was therefore with more than my usual curiosity that I went to see Mr. Clair's new film, *Les Grandes Manœuvres* at the Academy Cinema. This is set in what was, for some, *la belle époque*, those halcyon days between 1900 and 1914. As I was not alive at either time I must leave it to others to tell you whether this age was as golden as it is sometimes painted.

Lieut. Armand de la Verne (Gérard Philipe) is an officer in the dragoons stationed in a little provincial town. As he is neither English nor American he understands all about love. Indeed his success with the local female populace has earned him the reputation of a Don Juan. So confident is he of his powers that he accepts a wager that he can win the favours of any woman his challengers care to choose. The woman is chosen by lot, and fate selects a newcomer, Marie-Louise Rivière (Michèle Morgan), a divorcée from Paris who has just opened a hat shop in the little town.

The lieutenant finds the going rather tough. Marie-Louise already has an

admirer in Victor Duverger (Jean Desailly), who is only too anxious to marry her. And although the lieutenant has the advantage of a resplendent uniform he finds that his reputation is something of a liability. For it is a small town, and Marie-Louise soon learns about his amorous campaigns. Although she has been divorced at a time when divorce was regarded as rather scandalous, she is hungry for respectability. The lieutenant is charming, but Marie-Louise wants something a little more serious and a little more durable than a casual affair.

But the gallant officer refuses to admit defeat. He lays siege to the hat shop. He draws on his vast experience and gives her the full treatment. But the strain tells on him, and he finds himself committed to a duel with his best friend, Félix (Yves Robert). The rumour that Lieut. de la Verne has been killed in the duel sends Marie-Louise in great haste to the officers' quarters to find out whether it is really true. It seems that she is rather keen on the lieutenant after all, in spite of herself.

It looks as if the lieutenant has won his bet. But he, too, has come to take a more serious view of the affair. Perhaps it was the difficulty of the pursuit, or perhaps he is getting old. At any rate he finds that this is the Real Thing at last. He wants to marry her.

Unfortunately there is the little matter of the wager. Already it is an embarrassment to him; soon it is to become disastrous. He has been indiscreet enough to commit its terms to paper. The fatal document has fallen into the hands of Victor Duverger's two revolting sisters, who lose no time in showing it to their brother. The jealous rival shows it to Marie-Louise.

The dinner in the officers' mess on the evening before the summer manoeuvres is not a happy occasion for the lieutenant. This was the night when, the wager safely won, he should be enjoying the congratulations of his brother officers. Instead, he is thinking what a mess he is in. Marie-Louise arrives in a carriage and asks to see him. This is his last chance. Can she forgive him? Apparently not, for when the troops move off the next days to the cheers and waves of the townspeople her window remains firmly shut.

The whole thing is admirably done. René Clair's deft, lighthearted touch is as sure as ever. The acting, like the direction, convinces by its very unobtrusiveness. The photography, by Robert Le Febvre, makes the most of Eastman Color and is a delight to watch.

But although I enjoyed the film enormously, I could not help wondering, as I left the theatre, whether I really understood it. I am, after all, English.

The Academy programme also includes a new UPA cartoon, *Christopher Crumpet's Playmate*, which is up to standard, and a short film by Gerard de Boe, *Bruges*, consisting of some well observed shots of the Belgian city. The Gevacolor is for once tolerable, and the scenes are skilfully put together without the aid of a commentary.

S.F.

E.P.

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A Winter's Tale

THE seasons have had their share of praise from poets and writers and indeed there is much to be sung about in Spring and Summer. Even Autumn has a stark beauty of its own. But winter—no matter what the poets say—Brother, winter is something else.

When that seven o'clock terror strikes on the mantelpiece a million bleary eyes must waken, a million cramped muscles stretch the genesis of another dreary day. No poet has written of the ecstasy that comes with lying in a warm and cosy bed on a wet and grey winter's morning. Especially when there is something a little better than a hot water bottle to cuddle up to.

Of course many well-married men may not quite appreciate the last sentiment expressed and prefer the cold room and the hurried cup of tea, then, out to brave the wet and the cold for another nine hours of making a living. Down the wet street passing a few hurrying souls bent on a similar mission. Devoid for the moment of all friendliness (and who can blame them), streaming as if drawn by an invisible magnet to the numerous underground stations. Here to be greeted by alternative blasts of hot and cold air, the happy hunting ground for most of London's many varieties of cold viruses. Here the micro-organisms have a wide choice and much variety to choose from, playing no doubt hide-and-seek in some draughty nasal passage.

The trains enter the station with a noise that proclaims death and destruction inevitably approaching. Unseen

hands open the doors, in struggle the coated and muffled hoard using much elbow and weight. Half an inch of eyebrow and half a pupil rises above the top rim of the *Daily Mirror* to see what the wind blew in at the last station. Somnambulating corpses sprawl in most of the corners of the carriage wrestling a few more sleepy moments from the demands of the day. Maybe finishing a dream or two. Mostly silence, apart from the clatter of the wheels or the rustle of some morning gazette.

Shepherd's Bush, and in they pile again, more muffled humanity with frozen hands and frozen smiles remarking casually about the weather, about Arsenal or Chelsea or perhaps Mrs. Brown and the milkman in slightly lowered tones.

Acton, and out of the train tumble the proletariat from all the four corners of London into one of the most industrial suburbs of the great Metropolis. Up the narrow steps packed like sheep in a pen sheepishly going to earn the daily keep. Out through the narrow gate into the street where the *Daily Worker* is thrust into your face with the added suggestion to buy it. Few take any notice; as far as the revolution is concerned you can leave the proletariat out of it.

A hundred and fifty yards away the smell from the coffee stall is much in evidence. Fried onions at 7.15 in the morning, sausage with bread dipped in fried fat, tea at thruppence a cup, not bad really if you've tasted the tea at the canteen for threeha'pence.

"There Ain't no Justice"

IN last Sunday's *News of the World* the assiduous reader will find reports of three cases of social, and not of sexual, interest. The first refers to the three men who have been given a free pardon and released from prison after serving two years of their ten years' sentence for a crime none of them committed. The second is the case of the two Dartmoor warders who were found guilty of aiding a prisoner to escape and, incidentally, of engaging in a smuggling racket. The third is the Case of the Missing Scotland Yard Files, which as we write, is still being heard. In this case a Detective Sergeant is charged with others of conspiring to procure abortions, of stealing Scotland Yard Criminal Record Files, of "conspiring to pervert the course of justice".

In all three cases the central figures are officers of the Law, the pillars of our system of "Justice". Too many of a similar nature have been reported in the past twelve months for it to be said that these are chance cases on which it would be unfair to make generalisations. On the contrary, if anything, it would seem to us that in the coming months more and more cases of this kind will come to light. The Law is on the run! At long last the policemen's word has been challenged and whatever rearguard action may be fought by Police Chiefs, from the Bench and in the Home Office, there is, in the country, a growing distrust in the methods used by the police in securing their evidence, and in their conduct in the Courts.

THE case of the three men who, after two years' incarceration, have been conclusively proved beyond - the - shadow - of - even - a - Home - Office - doubt guiltless of the crime for which they were given ten year sentences, exposes the whole system of "Justice" to contempt. That it should not be said that we are wise after the event we remind readers of what we wrote in our conclusions on the Gliniski trial scandal (FREEDOM, 17/12/55). It will be recalled that the judge in his summing-up told the jury that there was "no mincing of words" in that case: "Either the two officers are speaking the truth or it is the most deliberate lie on the part of these two officers to manufacture a case against the accused man". And by finding Gliniski innocent the jury made it quite clear that they thought the worst of the police evidence. We wrote in comment:

The Gliniski case, which has been given much less publicity than the Mrs. Comer trial, we think promises to become a *cause célèbre*. The Director of P.P. is obviously in a fix. Either he has to declare that trial by jury is not fool-proof or he has to admit that his policemen are perjurers. He might even have to admit both! And the implications are wide. For if he admits the fallibility of juries then he gives the best legal argument possible for the advocates of the abolition of hanging on the grounds that the possibility does exist of an innocent man being executed. On the other hand if he concedes that the police, in spite of all the pæans in praise of our wonderful policemen by Lord Chief Justices and foreign visitors, can be bloody liars then, just as a jury was convinced in the Jack Spot case by an inveterate liar such as parson Andrews, so might they easily condemn a man on the evidence of liars in the ranks of the police force.

The possibilities foreseen in our last italicised sentence were, in fact, far from idle speculations. The three men released last week were the victims of a jury and a judge (the crushing sentence surely indi-

cates that he concurred with the jury's verdict), who were convinced of the prisoner's guilt by what the judge in the Gliniski case would call "deliberate lies" by the police witnesses.

"HAS justice been done" in this case, asks the *News of the World* in its editorial. And its answer is significant, and praiseworthy for a newspaper which has all along supported the retention of capital punishment:

That question should be heavily on the nation's conscience to-day—and more will be heard of it. But behind it lurks a still more disturbing question.

What if that policeman whom the three men were wrongfully accused of attacking had subsequently died?

The answer to that question is the immediate abolition of the death penalty. On another page we publish G.'s original study of the "Benefits of Hanging" and would draw our readers' special attention to the prophetic remarks—since the article was written before the announcement of the liberation of the three men—in Section 4 in which he writes:

Human beings, with the best intentions are fallible. Hence it must occasionally happen that an innocent man is condemned on a capital charge. If he is simply imprisoned, he and his friends will never stop their troublesome agitation and may even uncover new evidence to show that he was wrongfully convicted. A man may be 'pardoned' after serving several years in prison for a crime he has not committed—and then the law and all connected with it is revealed to be a fine ass. Now it is considered of the utmost importance that the law should not be regarded as an ass...

"The law should not be regarded as an ass". In this sentence G. has hit the nail on the head. For, when a person comes up for trial the function of the prosecuting counsel is to secure a conviction: that of the defence, an acquittal: that of the judge to direct the jury on questions of law. None of them are concerned with Justice in so far as it means the adherence to truth, fairness or fact. The proceedings in our criminal and civil courts are simply battles of wits, of guile and of lies (on one or both sides) of which the jury are the simple, stupid, prejudiced or astute arbiters, depending on the "luck of the draw".

WE have said that the rôle of the judge is "to direct the jury on the questions of law". That is, theoretically. In fact the judge takes a somewhat more active part in the proceedings. By his interruptions during the examination of witnesses and by his summing-up he clearly influences the jury, though he is always at pains to stress his impartiality except in "upholding the law". Perhaps just because the judge is "the mouth of the law" he has lost (and the rare exceptions prove the rule), what we laymen would call, the human touch and a sense of justice. It may explain why his cold application of the Law leaves him insensitive to the problems of human behaviour, and behind the times. As a change from the eighteenth century fulminations of the Lord Chief Justice, let us quote, in illustration, the Recorder of Brighton, Mr. C. J. A. Doughty, who is both a Q.C. as well as an M.P. He was dealing with a mere boy of 14 who appeared on appeal at Brighton Quarter Sessions last week against committal to an approved school for receiving stolen cigarettes. The following exchange took place with the boy's father:

"If I could order your boy to be birched I would. But unfortunately I can't... What did you do to knock the nonsense out of him when he brought the cigarettes home?"

The father: I didn't hit him.
The Recorder: Why not? You are his father and you did nothing about it. How did you punish the boy? By stopping his pocket money.

Were you brought up by a father who was strict?—I wasn't hit, sir.

Seventh Report on the Work of the Children's Department of the Home Office, November, 1955. H.M.S.O. 6s.

"THE Welfare State", "the social services"—how often in arguments against anarchism they are quoted as showing that the State fulfills a positive social purpose. But how far is centralised authority actually responsible for those services which do not provide just another official to come into your home to tell you how to run it and how to bring up your children? How far is it responsible for those who "do" and not for those who tell you what to do?

In theory of course the State, via its alleged controller—Parliament, is the originator of all such services, but in fact the generative impulse comes from no such abstraction. It comes from man's social instinct for mutual aid; the State merely acts as a rather clumsy midwife whose ministrations often do more harm than good. It is fortunate for those in need that the effectiveness of welfare does depend on the individual: it would be a sorry state of affairs where a bedridden person or a mother in labour had to wait for the State to help them! *L'Etat, il n'existe pas*—there are only individuals.

HERE is the report of the government department which is responsible for those children who for one reason or another have come partly or wholly under the care of the State.

The Report falls roughly into two parts: the first deals with the care of

The Benefits of Hanging

Continued from p. 2

be easily relinquished by those in the Establishment. Were it ever abolished there might be some sort of friction and resistance to starting up the machine again when it was deemed convenient to employ it.

The foregoing analysis is not intended to argue either for or against capital punishment. In all fairness, an honest analysis of any institution can be used either way according to the system of values held by different individuals. Some people will regard these parts as constituting a damning indictment of capital punishment; others may see in them sound reasons for retaining the machinery of the death penalty. There is little doubt how most readers of FREEDOM will react to these facts, but before we propagate our systems of values we should, like Machiavelli, study what men actually do rather than what we say they ought to do.

"I was, and I haven't been convicted for these offences," the Recorder retorted. In the old days he could have given the boy half a dozen with the birch, he added. That power had now been taken away from him. "If I had it, I would use it, and he would be a much better boy, too."

Now that the country seems to be in a mood to question the virginity of the police is it not also the right moment to throw out these miserable creatures who have been canded into positions of power, and who flaunt their ignorance and their waled buttocks as the cure-all for the problems of juvenile delinquency and crime?

THERE can be no justice in the society in which we live to-day, for justice depends on qualities alien to that society. When Proudhon wrote that "*la propriété c'est le vol*" (property is theft), he was condemning both property and theft. But to-day our system of "justice" condemns theft as a crime only because it looks upon "property" as a virtue. Similarly violence is a "crime" only when not sanctioned by the Law. Is it surprising therefore that in such a world based on "double-think", justice should be confused with "the administration of the law"?

THE STATE & THE YO-YO

children deprived of normal home life, and the second with juvenile delinquents. The government's attitude is similarly split and its behaviour is not unlike a child with a yo-yo. On the one hand the yo-yo is let out on a long string (the latitude permitted to those responsible for the homeless child is considerable) but can be brought back with a flick of the wrist; and on the other it remains firmly gripped in the hand—the State's supervision of delinquents is close and strict.

The most important factor in the development of children's homes in recent years has been family grouping: a small group of children in the charge of a house-mother (often married) living as far as possible like a normal family. Their home may be in a housing estate or in an ordinary street. The advantages to the child of this system over the old-fashioned institution, are obvious.

"Many children in care to-day, especially adolescents, have lived for long periods in large children's homes; some of these children when moved to a family group home have been seen to change in a marked way, becoming more alert, making better progress at school, and overcoming handicaps such as speech defects and enuresis."

The idea has also been applied to some of the larger homes by dividing as far as possible into separate "houses", but with rather less success.

Family grouping is, of course, only an alternative to either adoption or boarding-out. The Home Office aims to obtain foster parents for as many as possible of the children "in care" who have not been adopted, in preference to placing them in family groups or homes. It has succeeded to the extent that 44% of them are now boarded out (that is, the child lives with the foster parents as a member of the family) with the proviso—if circumstances permit—that the ultimate objective must always be to restore the child to his parents or relatives. Obviously this is not the case with an adoption where the child irrevocably becomes a member of the family, but where he is only boarded out the parents (provided they are what the law calls "fit persons") may elect to take their child back at any time. The need for foster parents who can give children the love and emotional security that homes and institutions can only inadequately supply is clearly great.

In addition to foster parents the government is also asking for more applicants for the Child Care Officer Training Course. "The central theme of the course is the development of the child and, in particular, how his growth towards maturity may be affected by his upbringing". The course, as far as can

be judged from the Report, would seem to be a practical and sensible one. Much time is spent at nurseries and children's homes: some students take jobs as home-helpers; and three months are spent on casework under a local authority.

There is a similar emphasis on practicality in the course for house-mothers. "The aim is to combine understanding of the personal needs of children with practical knowledge of a household... The skill needed by house-parents cannot be learned by putting together a series of classroom subjects... At the end of training, each student is assessed on the whole record of his or her achievement during training. There is no written examination for the certificate."

THE main section in the rest of the Report deals with juvenile delinquency—and the difference in tone between the two sections is most noticeable. This section is full of talk about "moral discipline" and "learning to accept the rules that make community life possible". Much mention is also made of religion. Referring to approved schools, the Report says: "In boy's schools and in girl's schools alike, the importance of religion as the basis of a sound system of character training is recognised."

Religion then is a useful weapon in the State's propaganda armoury, though other techniques used in bringing the delinquent to heel are considered more important. There is, for example, the detention centre at Kidlington, Oxford. We heard a great deal about the place from politicians when it was opened in 1952: it was to provide "a short, sharp, shock" to the "hardened young toughs". In the words of the Report "the value of this form of detention is for the adolescent who thinks that he has come off best in his trials of strength with society, and sees no reason why he should not continue to do so. At [Kidlington] he has to work hard under brisk discipline for three months... It seems likely that this treatment has not been as effective as originally hoped since no further similar centre has been opened (Kidlington only takes delinquents from the South and Midlands of England).

Altogether the Report gives a useful survey of the government's social and anti-social services for children, together with the appropriate statistics, the text of some recent legislation, and some very pleasing photographs of happy children from family groups and homes. But, oddly, no photographs of the less happy children receiving their brisk discipline at Kidlington. Surely this omission should be rectified in future reports so that we may have a more balanced picture? M.G.W.

How to be a Voter in Kenya

Continued from p. 1

District Commissioner should decide who may or may not have a vote. It amounts to the same thing of course, but appears to be somewhat better.

It is almost impossible to estimate the number of Africans who may be entitled to vote under the proposed scheme, but the roughest guess puts it at something like two million. There are between five and six million Africans in Kenya, who are at present represented by six African members of the Legislative Council. In the masterly understated words of *The Manchester Guardian*: "... some observers in London suppose that the force of arithmetic will ultimately lead to a greater African representation in the Legislature: two million voters for six members seems rather disproportionate." It is disproportionate.

The reports have the problem well in hand however, for the question of candidates is adequately covered. They too are to have qualifications; qualifications which will no doubt make them eminently suitable from the Government's point of view. The candidate should be:

(a) A qualified elector, with five years' service on an African district council or local council or on an African court, or ten years' service in a position of responsibility on a farm, in commerce, in the service of the Kenya Government or of a local government authority, or in private service.

(b) Able to read, write, and converse in fluent English.

(c) Have property, movable or immovable, to an aggregate of £700, or an income of not less than £240 a year.

(d) Never have been imprisoned.

(e) Have property in his village, or his father's village, in the constituency for which he wishes to stand, and have resided there at least six months in the four years prior to seeking election.

(f) Be nominated by nine qualified electors from the constituency for which he is standing."

In fact he must be a good conservative African with a vested interest in retaining the *status quo*—a staunch Government man.

What Difference?

It is the intention of the Government that the elections should take place before the end of March, 1957, but it may well be that the electoral rolls will not be completed by next September—in which case it seems, the election of new African members will be deferred, and the present members will continue to sit until completion. It is quite probable, we feel, that this will be the case—which will no doubt be convenient for the Government—for in effect it will have the chance of a "practice run", and which will provide an opportunity for stopping any loopholes or snags without too much awkwardness.

Not long from now therefore, the headlines of the British press will be praising the advent of a free election in Kenya. The world press will quietly report a further move towards more enlightened colonialism by the British Government. The ingenious civil servants at the Colonial Office will be well pleased with their efforts. Some of the Africans in Kenya will be delighted with the turn of events. Most of the Africans in Kenya will not notice any difference—effectively there will be none.

H.F.W.

Anarchism and Gradualism - 2

BECAUSE I have so far outlined what I take to be the limitations, as far as world application is concerned, of progressive education, Reichian psychology or one-man revolutions, does not mean for one moment that I am hostile to these fields of endeavour or to anarchists expending time and energy in them. On the contrary, I am always delighted to hear of anarchists developing their ideas in practise in every field of human activity.

What I am hostile to is the hostility which is so often developed towards other attitudes, just as relevant to anarchism, by some of those who, in embracing one aspect of our work, seem to think they have a corner in the one true method of emancipation and progress.

The ideas of anarchism are applicable in every walk of life. The same principles of freedom for children and in sexual relationships apply to workshops and the land; the same principles on which the one man bases his revolt can only be safeguarded for him—without perpetual struggle and martyrdom that is—when they are embraced by the community around him.

In other words, the success of individual emancipation depends upon social emancipation. This is an old enough socialist and anarchist conception—that we cannot be free whilst any others are in chains—but the development of the attitudes I have discussed have, I fear, been the product of an impatience with 'the masses' and a decision to 'go it alone' which can very easily lead to a belief in an elite and a contempt for 'the masses' which is disastrous from an anarchist point of view.

This is not to say that I believe, or have ever believed, in the glorification of the workers. It is in fact those who at some time or another have held some conception of the messianic historical rôle of the proletariat who have become disillusioned; but if one has never had any illusions, one cannot become disillusioned. The workers are as subject

to prejudices, conventions and wrong attitudes as are the middle class (from whom the workers take most of their ideas anyway) and, perhaps, a good deal more subject to ignorance due to their lack of formal education, which, let's face it, insidious as it often is, does offer the opportunity for development of conceptual thought. That is, the ability to weigh ideas, to argue logically, to think in the abstract, to be objective.

This, of course, has nothing to do with intelligence. There is as much native intelligence per head among the workers as among their masters. What has been withheld from them is the opportunity to develop the ability to use that intelligence. The education to which working class children in general are subjected is one calculated to fit them for a specific function in our class-divided society, and the despair of our comrades who say, in effect, 'the workers are hopeless' is a tribute to the educational and conditioning process, and to the ability of our rulers to ensure their continuance in power by means which would appear superficially to be progressive.

There is one factor, however, which no education or conditioning, no manipulation by the rulers of the world, can affect. And that is their dependence upon the workers. Nothing short of complete automation can affect that situation, and even then not radically, for the machines which, we are told, are to replace human workers have to be made and maintained by workers. Automation is a two-edged weapon for the industrialists, and can be used against them, just as universal education, which the reformers of the last century thought would be such an emancipatory force, has, as we have seen, been used against the people in the interests of their masters.

Thus, briefly, do we get a hint of the tenuous nature of reforms and of progress—that is from the anarchist standpoint. No-one can deny the technical

progress that has been achieved during the last hundred years—but what an ambiguous blessing it has been! It is wonderful that a dying child can be saved by serum or blood of a rare group being flown hundreds of miles to the nearest airport, then driven under police escort to the bedside. But the same technical means will be used to fly high-explosives to a teeming city and in dropping it, blow to smithereens perhaps hundreds of perfectly healthy children.

We have pointed out often enough in these columns the discrepancy which exists between material and social progress. It is an argument in which anarchism has a special significance, for we have never adopted the Marxist view that industrialisation (introduced by whatsoever means) must precede the classless society, that the industrial proletariat are the vanguard of world revolution, that we must go through the historical development of feudalism-capitalism-socialism-communism, or any of the other mis-conceptions of that phoney science.

In a word, we have never tied social progress to economic progress or historical processes, and so far the unfolding of history since Marx's time has justified our views rather than his. The progress towards a free society is not going to be steady development, generated by blind historical processes observable in inevitable trends. Social progress will result from the endeavours of those men and women who desire it strongly enough to work for it. Their efforts will be resisted at every stage by those who do not wish to see any progress, with the result that their work will achieve its success only gradually. But then there is gradualism and gradualism.

(To be continued)

SYNDICALIST NOTEBOOK Competition & Solidarity

IN Manchester, building workers have begun a campaign of active demonstrations in favour of their claim for a wage increase. The claim is for an extra sixpence an hour. Present wages are £8 16s. 0d. a week for craftsmen and £7 12s. 0d. for labourers. A meeting on Jan. 10th unanimously carried a resolution pledging support for any action necessary to secure this end, and urged their national leaders to make it clear to the employers that the dragging out of negotiations would not be tolerated.

The trouble is that it is in the interests of the national leaders to drag out negotiations; it makes their own highly-paid positions seem more necessary. The workers who passed this resolution obviously realize that direct action is going to be necessary in their struggle, and their next step is to realize that they should organize with this in view, and get rid of their national leaders.

The argument that increased wages will jeopardize the finances of particular industries, and therefore ultimately be against the interests of the workers in them, has been the theme of two capitalist groups during the week. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce Metals and Engineering Section in its annual report stated that the engineering workers' demand for a 15% rise would make the export trade difficult, as competition from Germany, Sweden, Belgium and Austria was becoming fierce. Looking at this question without considering the interests of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, it means that British workers are being asked to accept a lower standard of living so that their bosses can capture the markets, and then presumably their fellow workers in Sweden, Germany, Belgium and Austria will be either out of work or else being

asked to take lower wages in the interests of their bosses' export markets. When capitalists find that competition is not paying them they form cartels, restrict production and so on. The workers could follow suit by developing an internationalist spirit, ending competition, and restricting the amount of work they did. The difference would be that workers can get on very well organizing production without bosses, while it would be rather difficult the other way round.

COVENTRY

STANDARD MOTOR COMPANY refused a negotiated wage increase on the grounds that it would put them out of the home market. Among arguments, which from the capitalist point of view contain some plausibility, were the points that capital expenditure was necessary to keep up with competition and that any increases in profits must now be handed on to the customers. In addition, the shareholders had put up with the same dividend for five years. These arguments were disposed of by a union spokesman who pointed out that before 1950 the Company had paid a 30% dividend, but by financial juggling now made this appear as 12%. At current share prices an investor would be paid £7 13s. 0d. on each £100 invested.

If it is true that higher wages will put companies out of business, it is not an argument against wage claims, but an indictment of the present set-up in industry.

SHEFFIELD

STEELWORKERS walked out in protest against disciplinary action being taken against some of their fellow workers. This kind of solidarity is of the greatest importance, since it means that the men are partially taking into their own hands control over a feature of their lives, i.e. the right to be absent from work without having to ask permission. If this point could be insisted on and won generally, it might be of greater value than wage increases which disappear with increased living costs.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST.

News from Nowhere

DEAR COMRADES,

I am puzzled by George Woodcock's remark that "even in 'News from Nowhere' the evolutionary urge has ebbed away; where is there to go when one has entered the Garden of Eden?"

It is difficult to understand why, given a world as Morris envisaged, one should want to leave it. Even if it lacks the conflict of this 'air-conditioned nightmare' which is our world, the Utopians of Nowhere do not seem to mind and, when I think of what sort of people they are, neither should I. The people of Nowhere have a way of life which gives them creative fulfilment and happiness. Why should they want to 'evolve' or go anywhere? Perhaps G.W.'s concern with the 'evolutionary urge' is a hangover from the 19th century mystique of 'onward and upward'; that without Progress and Evolution we would be spiritually dead and materially impoverished. There is no proof that social evolution, as it is usually understood, is 'natural' to man, nor even, with the achievement of a society like Nowhere, necessary. To believe so is to think of human history as a teleological process as do the marxists and christians.

That Morris's Utopia is not so static as G.W. appears to think is shown by old Hammond's description of the early days of the new social order, with their crudity of design and their survivals of the diseased types of the commercial period. Furthermore, Morris seems to imply that a new kind of person is being developed, symbolized by the character of Ellen, of whom he writes:

"... I must say that of all the per-

sons I had seen in that world renewed, she was the most unfamiliar to me... the other girls... seemed nothing more than specimens of very much improved types which I had known in other times. But the girl was not only beautiful with a beauty quite different from that of a 'young lady', but was in all ways so strangely interesting; so that I kept wondering what she would say or do next to surprise and please me. Nor, indeed, that there was anything startling in what she actually said or did; but it was all done in a new way, and always with that indefinable interest and pleasure of life, which I had noticed more or less in everybody, but which in her was more marked and more charming than in anyone else that I had seen."

One might argue that this development that Morris is envisaging is 'evolution'. But it is not an evolution in the basic relationship of man to man—a structural change—but rather a refinement of the sensibility and awareness of the human personality. Ellen expresses the delicacy and grace that would be the human heritage were a free society ever to be realized. Whether the Utopia of the libertarian visionaries will ever be realized is, of course, another matter. I am inclined to agree with George Woodcock that the most we can hope for is to survive and remain human in our "struggle against the overpowering forces of uniformity, or the deified State", even if we are "doomed perhaps to defeat". But let us at least not deny the validity of our dreams.

Yours faithfully,
S. E. PARKER.

LETTER

A Practical Suggestion!

Ever since I fully realised I could not do without FREEDOM, your deficit has caused me acute mental distress. I can do so very little about it. I am in my 78th year, and my only income is old-age pension, plus grant from National Assistance.

Even so, however, I have a proposition to make. You want £1,000. I believe you mean just that, but I

think it ought to be £1,000 per year—every year. If 1,000 guaranteed you £1, you have got it, and I am one of those who will do just that.

It may not come to you in a lump sum, but I shall give it in as large sums as possible until a total of £1 is paid. In addition, I shall go on endeavouring to find likely new readers, and for each one I can think of or discover I shall remit you a three-months subscription for issues I shall ask you to send them.

My proffered assistance may, therefore, well amount to 30/- per annum. It does sound dreadfully paltry. But if another 999 do likewise!!

Yours sincerely,

DAVID MACCONNELL.

Bakewell, Jan. 12.

[Our friend, whose letter has deeply touched us, is right. We need a minimum of £1,000 a year, apart from the debt of £725 which has to be paid off. Are there not 999 readers of FREEDOM who can do at least as much as our old-age pensioner to keep FREEDOM alive?—EDS.]

French Anarchist Publications

AMONG the periodicals of the French anarchist movement is one which has no analogy within British left-wing circles: *Contre-Courant*. This is published monthly, and consists of only four medium size pages of current news, but has as its middle pages a thirty-page pamphlet dealing with a specific topic of sociological interest to libertarians. The current number is a re-issue of a short study of the Spanish Libertarian Movement by A. D. Prudhommeaux, first published during the Spanish Revolution.

Among the forty titles issued in this series of 'Cahiers de Contre-Courant' are: "Neo Malthusian Ideas", by Jeanne Humbert; "Brief Notes on the Argentinian Movement", by Ildefonso; "Bakunin and the Marxist State", by Gaston Leval and "The Spanish Problem", by A. Lapeyre.

Now the editors are going on to the stage of forming an organisation "Friends of Contre-Courant" with the specific

object of assisting in its propaganda. If the result of this is to extend the influence of the periodical, it will be a good step forward in the spread of anarchist ideas.

At the same time *Le Monde Libertaire*, the organ of the French Anarchist Federation, is beginning its second year of publication. This is also a monthly periodical, although the F.A.F. are hoping to transform it into a weekly when finance allows, and so completely repair the damage caused by the split in the movement which resulted in the traditional journal *Le Libertaire* falling into the hands of a group of authoritarian politicians, who have now crowned their revisions of "Libertarian Communism" by presenting a list in the recent elections. *Le Monde Libertaire* has a large format and contains many interesting articles, avoiding the twin evils of talking down to the masses and talking up to the intellectuals.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

WEEK 2
Deficit on Freedom £40
Contributions received £52
SURPLUS £12
January 6 to January 12

Sheffield: G.P.* 5/-; Sheffield: Anon. 2/-; Copenhagen: Anon. 14/6; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Westcott: M.W. £1; Ipswich: W.D. 5/-; Middlesbrough: D.W. 10/-; Edinburgh: A.S.L.R. £2; Esher: Anon.* 5/-; Chicago: R.C. £3/10/0; New York: E.L. 14/-; Lakewood: K.C. £1/4/6; London: Hyde Park Sympathiser 8/9; Newcastle, N.S.W.: B.C. £1/1/6; London: F.J.M. 5/-; London: M.S. 1/6; Alhambra, Cal.: per L'Incaricato £8/15/0; San Francisco: per L'Incaricato £17/10/0; W. Somerville: D.C. 7/-; San Francisco: K.S.L. £1/8/0; San Francisco: C.C. £3/17/0; Gateshead: G.D. 4/6; Penzance: C.S. 3/-.

Total ... 44 16 3
Previously acknowledged ... 7 4 3
1956 TOTAL TO DATE ... £52 0 6

*Indicates regular contributors.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at

JAN. 22.—Francis Tonks
ANARCHISM AND EDUCATION

THE MALATESTA CLUB

155 High Holborn, W.C.1.

(Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall)

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting

HYDE PARK

Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

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.

LIBERTARIAN FORUM

813 BROADWAY,

(Bet. 11 & 12 Sts.)

NEW YORK CITY

Round-Table Youth Discussions

Friday Evenings at 8.30

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