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"Good men refuse to govern"

—PLATO,

(The Republic).

THE ANARCHIST WEEK

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Threepence

'DEMOCRACY' IN A JAM!

T AST week's rumours, which the Foreign Office would neither confirm nor deny, that the Government of Cyprus was preparing to take action to jam anti-British broadcasts from Athens were confirmed by the Colonial Secretary in reply to questions put to him in the House of Commons on Monday. He declared that the Government reserved the right to take any "counter-measures which they may consider necessary" against these propaganda broadcasts which, he said, contained "incitements without precedent between allies and which it would be difficult to find a parallel to in history". He told another questioner, "I can only say that a decision has been taken to prepare to take any measures we may consider necessary, including jamming". Obviously the Minister could not hurriedly reverse a decision taken during the recent London talks with Sir John Harding, the Governor of Cyprus, without losing face, even assuming he were of a mind to pay heed to the critical editorials of the Liberal Press and the Times. Ministers have their pride too! But it is not only this human weakness (which incidentally is the strongest argument against the vesting of power in the hands of a group) which explains the politically tactless step taken by the government.

Political leaders only believe in their "freedom of the air", vigorously defending the "principle" of "freedom of the air" for everybody only when the other bloke jams their broadcasts! In the case of the Athens broadcasts there is no question that they are interfering with the British stations on the island or any short wave transmissions from this country. The objection is to what Athens is broadcasting. And believing, presumably, that the Cypriots are more willing to be incited by Athens' "lies and incite-

ments" than by their own version of what is good for Cyprus, the British government feels that Athens is taking advantage of our democracy, and that in the interests of democracy and the future of Cyprus (of which the British are the self-appointed guardians), the people of Cyprus must have their ears plugged in their own interest!

Having for so many centuries treated the non-British peoples as their social, racial and political inferiors one must perhaps not be too harsh on these political backwoodsmen (who can no more run the Railways than they can the "Empire" the present Colonial Secretary is the ex-Minister of Transport), if they have an unquestioning faith in the righteousness of their every action and in the unswerving loyalty and gratitude of those backward people under their care and tutelage! Why, in Cyprus the British authorities are now both locking-up all the Communists (without trial of course) and also telling the people that only under British rule would the

Communists be free. And they are crestfallen that no one seems to be swallowing it!

DEMOCRACY, like freedom, is one of the many abused words of the post-war struggle for power. There is no democracy in the world to-day. There are only authoritarian systems, some more, others less

authoritarian, but none based on freedom.

Scratch "democracy" and you have a Cyprus, a Kenya, a Morocco, a Bombay; you have Defence Regulations, Emergency Regulations and Curfews, whipping orders and wholesale hangings; you exclude your C.O.s from this activity and your Reds from that; you have open, or subtle, censorship and you investigate and docket everyone from the street cleaner to the atomic-scientist. The truth of the matter is that no government or ruler can afford to have principles assuming that he ever believed in them!

Bummarees' Whip Hand at Smithfield

IT is a very sad thing for authority when it loses face. Sadder still when it begins to look ridiculous.

This is precisely what is happening in the Smithfield dispute between the London Meat Traders' Association and the licensed meat porters. (See FREEDOM 21/1/56).

First Judge Block gives his ruling in court that butchers are under no obligation to hire meat porters to carry their purchases out to their vans, only to have that ruling count for nothing in the face of the solidarity of the porters (bummarees), who threaten to strike if any butcher takes away their jobs.

Then we see the meat traders appealing to the Lord Mayor of London, who appeals to the bummarees. No good. Then the Lord Mayor appeals to the wholesalers, but neither is that any good, for they reply that they cannot prevent the bummarees from striking and who is going to compensate them for the losses they would entail through a strike?

The wholesalers, who coudn't care less who carries the meat away once they have sold it, are making a condition of sale that the purchaser engages a licensed porter. A solicitor to the City of London has warned them against this and asked them to abide by the by-law giving retailers freedom to carry the meat themselves. The wholesalers hold their tenancies in the market only subject to obeying the by-laws and regulations. But still they want definite assurances of support from the Lord Mayor and Corporation before they will risk a show-down with the workers.

What a to-do over 600 stubborn workers! Capitalist employers, the Corporation of the mighty City of London, the Law—all set at nought by a handful of men with nothing to sell but their labour power! Such is the power of solidarity among workers in key positions.

Certainly the fight has only just begun; we have yet to see what weapons the authorities can pull out of their armoury. But so far they have succeeded only in making themselves look ridiculous. The reality of the situation was admirably summed up by Mr. Spencer Tribe, market organiser for the Transport & General Workers' Union, to which the porters belong. (How often can one quote a TGWU official with approval?). Mr. Tribe said: "The Judge said he could; the butcher said he would. We said he couldn't—and he didn't!"

Important Announcement

THE Prime Minister's sitting-room on the Queen Elizabeth was decorated in a delicate pastel green. The Foreign Secretary's room was in blue and gold.

Sir Anthony and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd had suites on the starboard side of the ship. Mr. Churchill always travelled on the port side

Letter from Paris

Grocer's France

A T election time politicians and parties are busy heating or cooling the thermometer of public opinion. In other words propaganda and agitation, using modern techniques based on the oldest reflexes, endeavour to make people forget the world of realities for a world of dreams, passions, and feelings. Not a single problem seems to offer material aspects or be rooted in particular interests; all questions are no more than pure doctrine and are raised to inaccessible philosophical heights. And the programmes, prepared by expert cooks who take care to keep their grasp on the handles of parliamentary or ministerial saucepans, are just so many menus, a single reading of which awakens homesickness for paradise lost or a longing for the future Eden.

It would be useful to examine how the electoral game and the parliamentary scene reflect less and less the real conflicts that divide a nation. Likewise it would be interesting to study the candidates' total ignorance about the most urgent problems that the National Assembly must in theory resolve or settle. We may recall that the working of the Monnet plan, which has put the French economy on its feet in a decisive fashion, has in practice never known parliamentary control. And we may recall that not one of the colonial phenomerfa, whether those of Indo-china or the comptoirs indiens, or even those of Tunisia, Morocco, and, to-day, Algeria, has been subjected to interference on the part of deputies, except in the form of confirmation of new situations, which have been brought about by pressure or movements outside parliament.

On the other hand minor quarrels and old antagonisms enliven the campaigns of speeches, pamphlets, and posters.

An example: some months ago a Socialist, Christian Pineau, appeared before the Chamber as a candidate for leadership of the government. He did not obtain a majority. Only the Socialists and Christian Democrats (MRP) voted in his favour. During election time the Socialist party fought the Christian Democrats and made an alliance with the anticlerical bourgeois because a law-bearing the name of Barangé-which the MRP had voted for, granted subsidies to the independent schools. But the same Socialist party came to terms in the "Republican Front" with the remains of the Gaullist movement, whose reactionary and nationalist representatives-especially in the departments of the West-also voted for the Barangé law.

To make the thermometer go up or down so as to be able to claim that the temperature has varied alters nothing in the dramas of France. Observing the electoral thermometer one ascertains that the Communist group has 150 deputies and the Poujadist group 52. The propagandists' ruses have been useless. The first capitalise on the rancours and hopes of a working class that stands aloof from the conduct of affairs and benefit from the almost total lack of a clearheaded and enterprising labour movement. When wage-earners detach themselves from the CP and its trade-union branch the CGT, it is because they are taking up a position to achieve a solution whose elements they know and against which "their guides, philosophers and friends" are ranged. But these same wage-earners vote Communist on a more general plane, that is to say on the plane of myth. The Communist party collects and exploits discontents; it would fall Continued on p. 3

Re-Thinking Without Thought

ing for a change in the social order can get no further than thinking in terms of action within the framework of a governmental society. Thus, even those who recognise the defects in the State, and the conflicts that arise between national States as a result of their divided interests under capitalism, continue to hope for a "movement towards" a more equitable society.

In countries where comparative freedom of expression is "allowed", and theoretically each citizen has equal opportunity to work, worship and wed according to his own choice (so long as he does not break the law), the tendency is for people to think that progress is bound up with a benevolent Government and that in time things will be even better.

When inevitably, as in times of war, or when a political party has assumed power and failed to carry out its election promises, progress and individual freedom have to be subjugated to the needs of the State or the party, most people, having learned little from their experience will proceed to try a "new party" or a "new method" without ever considering that the whole foundation on which our society rests may be in need of demolition and complete re-building.

Foremost among the seekers after new methods are those who are disillusioned with the current brands of socialism and communism, but those pathetic solutions, typified by the following report, only helps to continue the illusions that peace and plenty are possible if only the various political parties would collaborate and aim for peaceful international co-existence inside the Parliamentary framework:

'The frustrated nostalgia in France for a Left-wing reconciliation, despite the evident incompatibility of the Communist and Republican Front aims, explains the strong emotional impact of a new political tract La Révolution et Les Fétiches.

In this a well-known Communist, Pierre Hervé suggests that Soviet-sponsored peaceful co-existence on the international level must be matched by rethinking of Communist policy inside France, and calls on his own party to renounce obsolete revolutionary fetishes in favour of what amounts to a Fabian brand of Communism, progressing towards Socialism without a Russian-style revolution.

M. Hervé says he is speaking for a large part of the French Communist Party "where to-day there is a subterranean movement stretching very far."

He argues that a seizure of power by the Communists in France to-day would set off East-West conflict. He proposes that, instead, the workers should acquire influence inside the Parliamentary framework, using it to forward trade and links with Russia, China and the "popular democracies," so that gradually the country might develop a "complementary" semi-planned economy.

So far M. Hervé has not been evicted from the party, although his book has been sharply criticised in l'Humanité, of which he was once assistant editor. It is possible that he consulted the Russians before publishing.'

Observer, January 28th. | the port side.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

NEVER before has there been such wide-spread feeling in support of the abolition of capital punishment in Britain as exists at the present time.

Much of the credit for canalising this support must be given to the National Campaign for the Abolition of capital punishment, launched by Victor Gillancz on the suggestion of Arthur Koestler. This campaign has rallied together people in many walks of life and by uniting them has given added strength to their individual protests.

Because of this, support has been forthcoming from quarters which, if not hostile, at least remained silent in the past. Mr. Edward Hulton, for example, the publisher, has come out in *Picture Post* with an outspoken series of articles against hanging which is bolder than anything done in a popular magazine before. Two articles have so far appeared with the promise of more to come.

Victor Gollancz, in his capacity of publisher, has announced a new book by Arthur Koestler, Reflections on Hanging, to appear in April. The Observer is beginning this week a series of articles condensed from this book by Koestler himself. It is described as a comprehensive study of the history of hanging, its philosophy and practice.

Recent Cases

The work of the campaign has been greatly helped by some recent cases, which have weakened public faith in the infallibility of the law. The recent instances of innocent prisoners being released from jail

have shaken many stalwart upholders of law and order.

Abolitionists were quick to point out that in the case of the three men released after two years in prison after being wrongly sentenced for assaulting a policeman, it was only the skill of the doctor who attended the policeman which stood between those men and the gallows. Had the policeman died, the three would assuredly have hanged, for, as the Bentley case amply proved, if a policeman dies the State inexorably demands a life or lives in revenge.

It is said that several Conservative M.P.'s have now moved over to the abolitionists, after this case came to light, and when a motion on abolition is debated in the Commons shortly it seems likely that there may be a majority of M.P.'s in favour of at least a trial period of the suspension of hanging. The Lords, however, will probably prove a stumbling-block, with the Judges hanging on to their black caps and the Bishops, as ever, finding Christian arguments for judicial murder.

The subject being in the air, most newspapers are wide open for letters presenting the arguments for abolition and in all local debating clubs, discussion circles or speakers' pitches opportunities can be made for influencing public opinion. Once hanging has been abolished, or even suspended, in this country, capital punishment in the colonies will be on very shaky ground.

The retirement of the public hangman from Wandsworth and Strangeways will be a step towards the destruction of the gallows in Nairobi. One terror-weapon less in the hands of the State.

The Grin of the Cheshire Cat

gulf between the world as it is and the world as we should like it to be, small wonder we sometimes lose faith in our capacity to build a bridge between the two and instead take refuge in cynicism. After all, what is a cynic but an idealist who has come to terms with reality? Only the very young can hope to transform society overnight and only the immature maintain such optimism in the teeth of hard fact.

Are apathy and cynicism, then, to be the crutches of the intelligent anarchist who wants to limp through life with the least discomfort? There are times when we all get tired of fighting against bigotry, ignorance and prejudice, deceit, hypocrisy and petty fascisms. Hatred in all its myriad forms seems to surround and threaten to engulf us, and we feel it is a choice between swimming with the tide or being swamped.

Not being martyrs we stay afloat as best we can and protect our dreams with various brands of opium. Books, friends, work and the cinema serve to keep away cruel thoughts of happiness. Except for a dull feeling of shame occasioned now and then by the glimpse of a child still fighting or the cry of another going under, things are cosy enough. So much of the past lies lost under cotton wool soaked in the antiseptic of contempt that the warmer memories are cooled.

Remember the day you first heard of anarchism? Before then you had been obliged to think yourself the one sane being in a mad world. It was such a relief to find that others had reached the same conclusions independently. If some others why not all others? And for a while the sun was shining.

Every now and again you meet someone who has not been corrupted by greed or corroded by hate, and for a while human nature looks liveable-with. You know instantly that a free society would be possible

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with people like that, and for a moment the world as it is fades into a bad joke. But like the grin on the face of the Cheshire cat it will be back the next time you look.

Utopias come and go and books are written to note their passing. Only the milder mutations we call reforms seem to endure and they grow so slowly that we hardly notice them. What is more, if we give these changes our qualified approval there is always a revolutionary comrade with ants in his pants eager to tie the gradualist or pacifist label round our necks and hint at our treachery.

For him it is syndicalism or nothing. Co-ownership, joint consultation, profit-sharing, any form of democratic participation by the workers in management, are branded as just another cunning scheme to gull the masses and divert them from their historic destiny. Not for a second does he stop to think it is through such schemes as these that the workers will learn to accept responsibility, to think for themselves, to acquire a taste for control of their own affairs and faith in their ability to take over the job of management.

These are the feelings that make the Glorious Day of the Revolution a pipe-dream. From the worker's point of view it simply is not true that he has nothing to lose but his chains. Revolutions are not good for T.V. sets either—they might get scratched. Why should he be expected to worry about the problems of management—what the hell are managers paid for if not to grow ulcers?

As long as the worker has these attitudes you can scream blue murder every Sunday at Marble Arch and he will be amused, but no nearer syndicalism. The only thing that will convince him that workers' control is both feasible and desirable is actual contact with such schemes. It is futile to expect him to plunge in the deep end before he has learn-

ed to dog-paddle. Splashing about with joint consultation may look a feeble sham for workers' control, but until workers have learned the skills of management this is a logical step.

If we consider some of the cases where workers' control is established we may learn how best to bring such changes about. Besides being a sovereign cure for apathy and cynicism such material will give the active propagandist much useful ammunition. There is a booklet recently published by the Progressive League* which surveys a large number of such social experiments. Their very number and diversity makes heartening reading for any jaded anarchist.

We know from Freedom about the Boimondau in Provence, of course, and probably had heard of the Glacier Co. in Alperton because of the publicity it has received generally in this country. But how many of us who normally keep an eye open for such hopeful signs knew that even in Britain, this citadel of suburban proletarian virtue, there are various firms who are approaching the syndicalist ideal along their various lines. Two of these firms in fact come so near to pure syndicalism that we can hardly believe our ears. What with workers appointing Directors (and fixing their salaries!), and distributing the profits, it is hard to imagine a system closer to the ideal in the midst of our present society.

Nor are some of the 44 Cooperative Co-partnerships in this
country lagging far behind. No
wonder that the C.W.S. and the
Trade Unions are not too enthusiastic about these successful schemes.
Both giants are essentially hierarchical in structure and authoritarian in
outlook, and young David looks as
if he might have a lethal stone or
two in his sling. Can't have the
workers being too conscious of their

*Democracy in Our Working Lives, 1/6d.

Continued on p. 3

A Clouded Vision?

LIVING IN THE CLOUDS, by Charles Humana. Longmans, 12s. 6d.

LIKE his previous novels, Charles Humana's "Living In The Clouds" is concerned with a man 'on the run'. This time, however, the man on the run is not seeking to escape the persecutions of Authority, but the more intangible tyrannies of the family and the possessive woman.

Alphonse Paillard comes to Paris to free himself from the frustrations of his provincial, bourgeois family. He meets Cécile, a rich and handsome woman, and becomes her lover and parasite. Tired of her attentions and the hothouse existence of the luxury hotel, he leaves her to make 'a new beginning'. But the new beginning he desires becomes the difficulty of living without money in a money society and the tragedy of a freedom without responsibility. He seduces Henriette, a young crippled girl who works at a cheap hotel and, in the love and affection he evokes in her, he tries to find the fulfilment which his life with Cécile lacked. With Henriette, too, he gets no satisfaction for his tortured being. Humiliated by his dependence upon her for money, made desperate by the seeming possessiveness of her love, he murders her.

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In bare outline "Living In The Clouds" may not appear to be very different from other books with similar themes. Its attraction lies in the skill with which Humana unfolds the neurotic reactions of a rootless young man to the people and situations he meets. The reader is given a varied introduction to that part of Parisian life which the romantic admirer from afar rarely thinks about: the smelly, crumbling hotels; the sordid back streets; the empty life of the non-political exile. Into the main story are woven glimpses of other lives and fates-Paul, the delinquent, who uses Alphonse as his accomplice in crime and then cheats him of the proceeds; Madame Garnard, his mother, a dominating, querulous hotel-owner who turns into bathetic jelly when faced with her son; and Roche, one of the most sympathetic characters in the novel, whose love for his bookshop and the youth who frequent it, causes him to destroy his 'Handbook on Hating', the patient work of two years

Yet "Living In The Clouds" is, in one sense, a disappointing book. One cannot help feeling that in the change from rural Italy, the scene of the author's earlier novels to the complexities of Paris, something has been lost. His two previous 'heroes' sought to live accordinging to a lucid belief. By different ways they achieved their goals. In a manner reminiscent of Silone, Humana gave one inspiration with his depiction of a way of living free from the pretences and false values on which most men base their lives. His latest work, however, leaves one with a feeling of depression. The only reminder of the message of the previous books* is in the person, of Roche and even he is as a glowing ember to a white flame. Amongst the clinical propensities of so many contemporary novelists, Humana stands as one of the few who have helped that simple, difficult act of faith in the potentialities of the human being without which life can have neither beauty nor liberty. It is to be hoped that "Living In The Clouds", good as it is as a novel, is only a temporary diversion from a little-trodden but necessary road. S. E. PARKER.

*The House And The Fort, Hogarth Press, 1951. A Lover For Lucia, Longmans, Green & Co., 1954.

- CINEMA

PEOPLE IN GLASS HOUSES

sents a reviewer with a number of problems. What shall he call it? It is advertised as Maddalena, but the print I saw carries the name Madeleine. The reason for this is that we are being shown the French version of yet another of these Franco-Italian co-productions. It may seem like mere carping on my part, but as the characters are all Italian I should have preferred to see the Italian version. Having dubbed it into French, the producers might just as well have dubbed it into English, called it Madaline, and have done with it.

Another prolem is how to approach it. Is it a piece of subtle Catholic propaganda? I doubt it. Catholics do not know their own friends, and the Irish censors are bound to ban this film as anti-Catholic. Is it a film with a message? Possibly. But the only fair course seems to be to take it straight.

The action takes place in a small Italian mountain village. It is the sort of place that has not changed with the passing of time. The buildings have mellowed, perhaps, but the inhabitants differ little from their remote ancestors. The women, in their drab peasant costume, might have stepped straight out of a painting by Michelangelo. The intellectual climate is pre-Copernican.

The centre of village life is the church, where Don Vincenzo (Gino Cervi) ministers to his unruly flock, who are apt to feel abandoned by the Almighty unless they have at least one miracle a week. Every year on Good Friday they work off some of their religious fervour in a procession, dressing themselves up as various characters from the New Testament. Although the surrounding villages provide some of the extras to make up the crowd, the part of the Madonna is traditionally the prerogative of a girl from the village itself. Unfortunately the girl who has regularly starred in this rôle in previous years is no longer eligible, for, in the words of the synopsis, "it is now suggested that she is no longer a virgin".

The villagers are unable to agree on a substitute, and Don Vincenzo decides to look elsewhere for a suitable virgin. This provides an opportunity for a rich

landowner, Giovanni (Charles Vanel) to work off a grudge against the priest. He visits a brothel in a neighbouring town and persuades one of the prostitutes to take on the rôle. The prostitute, Maddalena (Marta Toren), duly arrives armed with forged references from the mother superior of a convent.

Maddalena is only too happy to carry out this little deception because she, too, is nursing a grudge—against the Madonna. By dishonouring her in this way she hopes to have her revenge.

At first the villagers are hostile. They do not want an outsider. But after she has been mistaken for an apparation by one of the more credulous women there is a sudden swing of opinion in her favour. The rehearsals are put in hand, and the great day approaches.

Meanwhile Giovanni has become more and more fascinated by Maddalena, whose wistful gray eyes and sad expression are outside his experience. When his advances are rebuffed he tries to rape her, but she is saved from this fate by the arrival of Don Vincenzo. She is now in such a state of misery that she confesses the whole sordid story to the priest.

In the circumstances it seems that the best thing is for her to leave. But the villagers are now determined to have her for the Madonna and refuse to let her go. So there is nothing for it but to go on with the show.

The great day dawns, and the procession is all set to move off when Giovanni arrives to tell the faithful that their virgin graduated not from a convent but from a brothel. The incensed villagers stone her to death.

You might think from the foregoing that this is another soap opera in the Stella Dallas tradition. That it is not is due to the skill of the director, Augusto Genina. To watch the way he avoids a slide into bathos is like watching a man on a tightrope, and, considering the nature of his material, I think he has acquitted himself very well.

The film would provide enough raw material to keep a moralist happy for a long time, but as I am not a moralist I propose to say no more. E.P.

YOUNG PARIS PAINTERS

THE exhibition at the Marlborough Gallery, 18, Old Bond Street—La Jeune peinture de Paris consists of a selection made from the 459 paintings exhibited at the 6th Annual Salon de la Jeune Peinture held in Paris during 1955. This selection is considered by this gallery to show the works of young painters who seem to reveal outstanding promise; and indeed, it does. Frankly, these artists are largely concerned with what we call "social realism", the emphasis here is on the workaday world—a rather sunless and sad-looking place generally, though it must be conceded that the French version is nothing like so drab and bleakly unlovely as the English section of this mode of thought. Many of the painters are self-taught and these, curiously enough, show the most impressive paintings. Exhibitions of modern art so frequently reveal the determined emergence of these selftaught painters, and it is encouraging that this should be so, not merely because it represents the active opposition to the academism so persistently taught in the schools, but because it shows an independence of outlook and a rejection of the wholly false idea that good art can only be taught in schools, and then only by specially trained teachers.

The idea—which in spite of these painters, and many others similarly minded—that the life class is the ultimate goal and final test of the artist, is so frequently asserted that its truth seems almost axiomatic. and of course, such a belief is carefully fostered by all those academicians and others whose painting is based not upon an honesty of feeling and a passionate curiosity about life, but upon the facile exercise of sheer technical skill, and little else. Admittedly, this skill is frequently very astonishing, but that this dexterity should be mistaken for the real nature of art is to admit to very

little understanding of art at all. Life drawing, and the standards thereby generally implied have been so instrumental in inhibiting the growth of natural creative expression that even now the adult amateur frequently deserts his home group of "week-end painters" and makes his uncertain way to the art school where "he will really be taught how to paint and draw". How swift is his inevitable disillusioning! Painting is an activity we can all engage in with profit to ourselves. It requires no special amenities and providing the painter is just a little resourceful, the outlay can also be small. This present exhibition demonstrates in a very positive way the resourcefulness of the determined painter who has never been taught the official tricks.

Rene Aberlenc's "Poules", for example, is typical of the kind of picture that results from an instinctive and natural effort to achieve a solution of pictorial problems without letting go of the initial impulse of simply wanting to paint. The same qualities are in the pictures of Simone Dat, Elizabeth Dujarric de la Rivière, and those of Michel Thompson. James Taylor, a young English painter working in Paris, shows works which seem to me more exciting than anything else in this very interesting collection. His paintings "Chemin de fer" and 'Raffinerie Shell" are excellent. The perspective in the first one is so subtle that the constant impression is one of continuous movement, and with it Taylor manages to evoke that strange, slightly sinister atmosphere of orderly emptiness which some of us experience in looking across any wide expanse of railway track. Aberlenc's and Taylor's works are among the very best things in this exhibition which contains so much good painting by young people.

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COMPETITION AND MENTAL ILL-HEALTH

ONE of the basic tenets of anarchism is co-operation based on freedom. Anarchist writers from Godwin to Malatesta have all stressed the point that the happiness of mankind will depend on the abandonment of competition and the organisation of society based on mutual respect and co-operation. Man is not competitive by nature, as the upholders of the existing. system would have us believe, though it is not surprising that he should behave in this way in an environment in which education, work and status are all based on competition, a struggle in which the strongest, the brightest, the most cunning or ruthless come out "on top" at the expense of the rest of the community. This, we are told, "brings out the best" in the individual; it encourages initiative and ambition". Anarchists, they say, would, by their belief in co-operation, reduce everybody to a common denominator, the bright boys would be held back by the "backward" boys, etc.

Yet the curious fact (not to anarchists however!) is that as Man's knowledge of the human mind grows so he draws conclusions which differ little from what we have called the basic tenets of anarchism. A recent example is contained in a booklet issued by the National Association of Mental Health summarising the findings of a study group of doctors, psychologists and educationists inquiring into the sources of stress in the primary school. Their conclusions, comments the Medical Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian (26/1/ 56) "contain a lot of good, sound, common sense which should help both teachers and parents to realise the possible dangers of excessive ambition".

The authorities [that is, the study group] say that competition, with its inevitable complement of failure, is the best example of a teaching technique which, although apparently successful, sets up stresses which are "extremely harmful" to the child's mental health. By emphasising comparisons between class-mates it renders both the successful and the unsuccessful insecure. They recommend that, rather than underlining competition between pupils, the school should exert positive influences to encourage co-operation between them.

Tasks which emphasise that one child has greater ability than another-such as oral tests done against time-should be avoided. Instead, the work of the class should be varied in such a way that there is something for each member to do reasonably well. Comparison, they feel, can be particularly dangerous when applied to members of the same family. Frequently the less able brother or sister is goaded to make great efforts to reach a level which his or her ability does not warrant. The result may be sullen passivity, loss of confidence and interest, or open aggressiveness. Failure, especially where it is accompanied by condemnation, is a bad basis for healthy learning and creativeness.

They agree that teachers are often over-anxious for their classes to become literate, forgetting that reading, writing, and arithmetic are only a means to education itself. And the teacher's anxiety, over the achievement of literacy is likely to infect his class. But, they add, the feeling of inferiority and the confusion felt by the weak and slow from being ridiculed and hustled are high prices to pay for "good class results". Parents, too, could do much to help teachers to "hasten slowly" if they understood what was at stake. Instead, they often cause serious strain by judging the school by the earliness at which the children read rather than by their all-round progress.

The investigators say that the transfer from infant to junior schools at the age of seven plus comes too early for many children. The transition which, instead of serving education may check the child's progress or cause regression or warping, is a further source of stress. The Continued from p. 1

apart if its adherents learned once again to order their affairs themselves. There we have a well-known situation. That of "Poujadism" is less well known.

Pierre Poujade is a loud-mouth that French decadence is lifting into the firmament of strong men. He began his political career a few years ago. After having been, while still young, a sympathizer with Jacques Doriot's movement, then engaged on active service in the French army, he set himself up after the war as a stationer at Saint-Céré, a little town in the middle of France in an economically backward region. He took an interest in the local tradesmen, who were protesting against the amount of their taxes and were indignant about fiscal inspections. Little by little this current gathered force, and the UDCA (Tradesmen's and Artisans' Defence Union) was set up. The UDCA received support from the Communists, who saw in the shopkeepers' agitation a good way of getting themselves known. On the other hand, the big commercial and industrial concerns, accustomed to "com-

effects of too-early transition show themselves in an increase both in emotional troubles, such as nail-biting, bed-wetting, fear of school, and spitefulness, and of learning difficulties such as a standstill in progress with the three R's.



FOR those who feel sympathetic to the anarchist philosophy but then as "realists" dismiss it as utopian, does not this summary of the findings of doctors, psychologists and educationists oblige them to conclude that it is significant that much of what science is discovering about the necessary environment for mental health, can be found in the writings of William Godwin more than 150 years ago, without the aid of these very modern and valuable sciences, but primarily because he had formulated for himself a philosophy of life based on freedom and co-operation which appeared to him to be most conducive to human happiness and from which his prophetic ideas on education stemmed?

The scientist talks of "mental health", the anarchist of "happiness", but they mean the same thing. We anarchists welcome the work of the social scientists. But the question we would wish to put to them is this: do they believe that the present system of education is the result of Man's ignorance of the pre-requisites for the mental health of children or is it purposely designed to turn out docile, amenable individuals the majority of whom are just literate enough to fill the jobs reserved for the millions so that a few may remain on top? Or put very briefly can the ruling class be concerned with the mental health of the young in a society based on inequality, privilege and tooth and claw competition?

This is not a theoretical question, nor, we submit, can they withdraw behind their scientists' iron curtain and say they are not going to be dragged into politics! It is a social question which effects everybody: children, parents, the community. Does the National Association of Mental Health propose to appeal to the Ministry of Education to start a revolution in the schools by abolishing competition and fostering co-operation and freedom to develop young personalities or, if they realise that no government representing a competitive economic and social system will commit suicide for the sake of our children's mental health, do they propose to start a nation-wide agitation among teachers, in particular, and the people, in general, to make them aware of their findings? And if they do are they prepared to go the whole hog and draw the conclusions that what is good for the mental health of the young is equally good for their parents?

Surely they must do so because it would really be very unscientific to declare that having brought up mentally healthy children through co-operation they should then be let loose in a competitive adult jungle to become as neurotic as the rest of the community!

Grocer's France

ing to terms" with the powers that be, looked upon it in a different light.

A number of demonstrations, rallies, and incidents launched the Poujadist movement. Tax inspectors were beaten up or prevented from verifying the accounts of recalcitrant tradesmen. Poujade held meetings, developed his union, and organized his troops. He threw the militant Communists out of his ranks, for he wanted to command not to obey. From the centre and the southwest his influence spread to the southeast and then to the Paris region. He had only one slogan: "No taxation". It was enough to make people listen to him.

Who were his troops? Tens, hundreds of thousands of men and women who, in the unstable times of the Liberation and immediately after the war had set up as tradespeople. Goods were scarce then; everything was sold. Then the market returned to normal. And those who had become accustomed to easy deals, without having to bother about book-keeping or tax regulations, felt themselves caught up in the machinery

of legislation, faced with big concerns, and confronted with competition from chain stores. This mercantile mass (there are 300,000 more tradesmen than in 1938 with approximately the same amount of goods to handle) did not want to sacrifice its independence, nor give up its profits, nor return to the factory. To save their counters they listened to the calls to the barricade.

Before long the single word of command "no taxation" was found to be not enough. And Poujade found the tradesmen's world too limited for his ambition. So the agitational themes were expanded with appeals that were intended for simpletons but always sure of an audience. "Parliament is rotten; the Jews are taking everything from us: the co-operatives are killing trade; France must wake up." Alongside the UDCA was set up a Peasants' Union, then a Workers' Union. There were no staffs to run them? The old technicians of Gaullism and Doriotism offered their services. There was no money! Poujade fixed his subscription rate very low

and rounded up the supporters of every organization of butchers, grocers, hawkers, bakers, of all that France regards as middlemen. At every meeting 1,000 and 5,000 franc notes rained on the Tricolor flag spread out as a collecting box.

The decomposition of the Chamber, its reversals of policy, its sordid combinations, and its impotence offered Pierre Poujade his best arguments for his electoral campaign. The forecasters of the Ministry of the Interior predicted a million votes for the Poujade lists and five deputies. They received 2½ million votes and 52 deputies.

No ideas, no programme, no solutions. Only the exploitation of the general disgust, of interests that dare not be mentioned, of nationalism and xenophobia. And some violence. Let it be well understood that Poujadist violence has been used principally against candidates without courage. His strong-arm squads never dared to come up against those who were not afraid of a scuffle. In the mining town of Montceau-les-Mines the Socialist mayor forbade the Poujadists to appear and warned them that the 'black faces" would receive them if they thought of coming. Poujade did not come. In the peasant centres where the Poujadists had been notified that the farmers owned pitchforks the Poujadists did not risk their skins. And when at some meetings Poujadist opponents discovered practitioners of judo they displayed an exquisite politeness.

What has the labour movement done to break the back of this taxpayers' revolt that is being turned into a fascisttype movement? Very little, unhappily. And yet they had a good chance. The wage-earners are the only citizens in France who pay the whole of their taxes; and if they pay a lot in taxes it is chiefly because cheating is general among all non-salaried taxpayers. A campaign of investigation into tax evasion had met with favourable public opinion and had made labour action easier. If the Communist CGT had no cause, for electoral reasons, to put the tradesmen's backs up, such trade-union federations as Force Ouvrière and the Christian CFCT had no such scruples. Certainly they denounced Poujadist methods and warned the workers against this threat of fascism. But they did not know how to switch over to attack. They protested chiefly through the voice of civil servants' unions whose members were being molested. There it was: bad tactics and false psychology. It was left to the mass of wage-earners to fight against the growth in the number of tradesmen, in defence of the co-operatives, against the vain Poujadist demagogy, and for working-lass solutions to the problem of distribution of products.

Here and there a labour awakening shows itself. The Federation of Post Office Workers and certain departmental unions threw themselves into the fray. Let us hope that they are not putting their shirts on ministerial decrees, which are always influenced by the elector and the deputy, and that in this field they will prove themselves capable of demolishing Poujadism without at the same time allying themselves with those who made Poujadism possible.

Australian Politics

THE recent report of the passage of a Bill abolishing capital punishment in Tasmania through the Lower House of that State, and its subsequent defeat in the Upper House by 10 votes to 5, evokes some general reflections on the antics of Labour politicians the world over.

Five of the six Australian States have Upper Houses-elected on a restricted franchise and an outmoded distribution of seats. This has had three principal effects upon Australian state politics. Firstly, a permanent Conservative Upper Chamber has been able to block any progressive moves on the part of the Lower House. Secondly, and arising out of this, Labour politicians have very often been able to put on most convincing displays of radicalism and forwardthinking, secure in the knowledge that their gestures are ultimately meaningless. Thirdly, it has encouraged coalitioneering, log-rolling and petty corruption of every kind, similar in many ways to the French scene. One State, Victoria, has had six governments in the last decade.

One would think, and in fact it was the case, that Labour would have as a central plank in its platform, the abolition of such chambers. Indeed, their existence was constantly given as the reason why Labour was unable to put its plans for sweeping reforms into effect. (These plans usually centred around the State acquisition of the gasworks, and similar revolutionary proposals). The beauty was that a Conservative Upper House would never oblige by abolishing itself.

However, an unprecedented run of Labour support throughout the forties produced in N.S.W. the eagerly awaited event-an Upper House with a Labour

majority. (Drawing the nominal-for politicians-salary of £300 p.a.). Came the great day in the Upper House for the abolition vote. Numbers of Labour members fell ill, others were irretrievably delayed in various ways, while while several others chose this day to go interstate. The bill to abolish the N.S.W. Upper House was defeated through lack of numbers, and has not reappeared. The party executive, after appropriate expressions of regret, secured the raising of members' salaries to over £1,000 p.a. (there have been further "cost-of-living" rises since). They also had legislation introduced whose effects were to semi-freeze the Labour majority. The effect upon legislation of this change has been practically nil. That this pattern of events would be repeated in each of the other States were the occasion to arise seems beyond doubt.

Returning to Tasmania—that ten men elected under such circumstances can throw out legislation of so critical a character as the bill concerning capital punishment, seems monstrous-but isn't this just what happened in this country with the House of Lords, who are elected by the patronage secretary? But perhaps Earl Attlee will put things right in the way that he put the Labour Party right.

[This is in no way a reflection upon Australian Labour's record on capital punishment-when in office it has invariably used the Governor-in-Council's powers of reprieve to deflect the death penalty-and has in fact abolished it in Queensland, which has one chamber. Steadfast opposition to the death penalty is one of the few of its principles not besmirched by time or office, and contrasts favourably with the slick equivocation of British Labour].

S. PARANE.

Continued from p. 2

The Grin of the Cheshire Cat

strength or there would be no need for T.U. Napoleons and C.W.S. tycoons.

France, Germany, Italy and Israel can all offer examples that are quite as refreshing. In Yugoslavia, it would seem, despite the lack of political freedom, the workers have a great deal to say about managing their own industries and local communes.

So perhaps things are not so bleak after all. There is an unfortunate tendency, cultivated by the newspapers, to be horrified by the monsters of Belsen and forget to be moved by the heroes of the Red Cross. There is, I suppose, news value in a lampshade made of human skin. The fact that many thousands of ordinary folk regularly give their blood for no return other than the satisfaction of doing something worth doing for its own sake, has less the quality of drama. This is because it goes on all the time and is anonymous. Yet it is for these very reasons that in the long run the blood serum must outweigh the lampshade. And then the trusting smile of Innocence will find its reflection in the gentle smile of Experience rather than in the bitter grin of the Cheshire cat.

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Committee publications :

A Tribute

Trade Unions in the Welfare State

THE current number of The Political Quarterly is devoted to a study of problems facing the trade unions in view of the economic and social changes that have occurred since their pioneering days. Eight writers each contribute short studies on a particular aspect of the question, writing of course from points of view sympathetic to the present economic set-up. This article is not intended as a review of these contributions, which would be slightly superflous in view of their shortness and easy availability, but as an attempt to assess the same trade union developments from an anarchist point of view, drawing freely on information contained in the periodical mentioned.

In the days when the organizations were developed the violence of the struggle between employers and workers was obvious to the workers who were sufficiently socially conscious to join the unions (it must be remembered that "100 per cent, trade unionism" is a recent occurrence), and they had therefore a well-defined path of action to follow. The views of the revolutionary syndicalist minority were rejected in favour of reformism, and subsequently official alliance with the Labour Party, but however much revolutionaries to-day may reject the choices made years ago, economic reformism did then have some practical significance, and the ensuing struggles between the unions and employers were by no means mild.

To-day, the aims of the early unions have been more or less realized. The poverty which existed fifty years ago has almost entirely vanished, and while massive wage demands are announced in the newspaper headlines every couple of days, they often mean in economic terms an advance from a comfortable standard of living to an even better one. There are exceptions to this, e.g. railway porters. To a large extent it is true that the former bosses have taken the sting out of the workers' attacks on them, since the maintenance of capitalist economy now requires a far higher economic standard for the workers, but the existence of the mass unions has played an integral part in economic development, and without them the story vantage of the workers. Nowadays, the function of day-to-day economic struggle unions, in view of the above, and also because it is becoming increasingly obvious that wage increases are swallowed up by price increases within fantastically short intervals, and in order to maintain the vested interests that they have made themselves into they have had to gradually take over other functions. Now the stage has been reached when the union leaders, government officials and economic theorists are showing a desire to somehow regularise the new relationship. In Sweden, where social democracy has held sway for decades, the trade union organisation plays a larger part in governmental policy-making, producing economic sur-

veys of which the government has to take notice, and in return for this power, the possibilities of strike action are restricted by the internal structure which the unions have evolved for themselves, namely, rigid control of strike funds by the equivalent of the General Council of the TUC.

There may be elements in the British movement which would favour pushing it in the same direction as quickly as possible, but they are opposed by a very wide feeling of independence among the active members of the rank and file, who have a vague sentimental attachment to the idea of "fighting for socialism". By adopting such a rôle of cooperation with the government, the unions are not, as is often asserted in left wing journals, becoming weapons in the hands of the boss. They are in fact moving into a position in which power passes out of the hands of the capitalist board of directors into the hands of a union general council, but all the time the ordinary productive workers are at the bottom.

The internal organisation of the trade unions has naturally evolved in such a way as to fit in with the State with whom its bargaining is concerned. This has meant a gradual increase in bureaucratic forms of control. The two factors of extenral policy and internal structure are closely bound together of course, and at each stage the district organiser who filches a bit of power from the branch meeting, or the general secretary who makes a decision without consulting a committee can easily justify himself on the grounds of necessity. Incidentally, although the highly-paid general secretary in his Rolls-Royce makes a nice figure for attack, the vast majority of union officials, the body who actually stand in the way of the workers' progress are, like policemen, schoolteachers, ministers of religion, etc., overworked and badly paid.

The subject of strikes is dealt with by H. A. Glegg in the most interesting of the articles. He points out that during 1955 the rate of man-days involved in strike action was the highest since 1932, might have been very much to the disad- although much less than the average since 1900. He fails to find one general factor which directly causes increased has slipped out of the grasp of the use of direct action; the most probable seems to be a rapid change (either up or down), in general economic prosperity, and the degree of conscious revolutionary feeling to have no effect at all. The evident cause of the increase of militancy shown during 1955 was the Conservative government's more open policy. More noteworthy than the total numerical data is the fact that now a much higher proportion of the number of days involved are provided by short, local unofficial strikes. Glegg points out that even a large amount of strike action does not in fact "harm the national economy" as is often contended, and makes the suggestion that the middle class person's disgust against workers going on

strike arises from the fact that he cannot relieve his own frustrations in the same

It appears that the tendency towards increased centralization is too strong to be retarded now, although the militant members will undoubtedly put up a fight on a local level. It is among the halfmillion regular active members that the traditions of solidarity still linger on, and it will be no easy task to entirely get rid of their influence, but the structure of the State, and the rôle which the unions have elected to play in it demands that the last traces of revolutionary influence should be eliminated.

Since the future of the present unions can only be a closer co-operation with the State, producing a welfare capitalism of a greater or less degree of benevolence, the most effective way of putting a brake on the progress towards such a state of affairs lies in desertion of the unions. Such a solution will undoubtedly be criticized on the grounds that it is sabotaging the workers' means of defence, dividing them against each other, and so on. But now that the workers' means of defence no longer defend them, and the unity is a kind of united submission, that is the only sensible thing to do.

The other principle which might be drawn from to-day's industrial disputes is that the local level is all important. A well-planned theory of taking over industry and running it on a basis of workers' control can co-exist with submission to a bureaucratic leadership in practice, but where the local branch of any organisation holds on to its power, it cannot go far wrong. The militants of the trade union movement can turn their struggle against their own leaders to their advantage by getting out and concentrating on the affairs, not of any new national organization, but of their own workplaces.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Detention Centres

REGRET if I unwittingly did not make the facts about Detention Centres plain. I agree that the maximum sentence to these barbaric institutions is not 3 months; though, in the words of Prison Act, the period to which the victim is sentenced is "normally" 3 months. Tony Gibson also mentions the Centre at Goudhurst-this is not, strictly speaking, for juveniles but for young adults aged between 17 and 21-no doubt the idea of treating such persons as children was regarded by the Home Office as a further degradation which would accord well with the infliction of severe discipline.

As Tony Gibson says there is no compulsory provision for after-care, but there is provision, if the boy agrees, for voluntary supervision by the Probation Officer for 6 months after release. It is an interesting comment on the system that of the 200 boys released between August '52 and the end of '54 who were not the subject of a court order which involved supervision, only 20 "Could be persuaded" (in the words of the Re-M.G.W. port) to accept it.

Libertarian Youth

By the way, we are in Perpignan a group of Libertarian Youth and we'll be interested establishing contact for informations with other foreign libertarian groups or comrades.

We are actually in contact with young Anarchists from Italia and we inform each others about Anarchist activities which happen in France and Italia.

So might you put us in relation with English comrades.

51 rue de l'Anguille, G. GONZALBO. Perpignan, France.

A Winter's Tale

DEAR FRIENDS.

Would you congratulate the author of "A Winter's Tale" (FREEDOM, 14/1/56)? My copy has well and truly done the rounds in the factory, and has raised smiles of delight everywhere. Evidently the author has first-hand experience of something we all share with him each morning as we crawl out, cursing the weather, the boss system and the day we were born.

Henley, Jan. 26.

I.W.I.

One of the 999

Like comrade MacConnell of Bakewell (A Practical Suggestion! FREEDOM. Jan. 21), I can guarantee £1 towards the FREEDOM fund. A State school teacher, recently from progressive schools, I always look forward to the paper, and would not like to see it dissolved.

West Ealing, Jan. 23. F.J.M.



The above is one of a number of similar letters from readers supporting comrade MacConnell's suggestion that 999 readers should follow his lead of guaranteeing to contribute at least £1 a year to meet the deficit on FREEDOM. We thank all those friends who have so far responded and hope that their gestures of solidarity will incite very many others to do likewise. It is clear that the general apathy and rising production costs are threatening the minority press in most countries. The need to survive is therefore greater than ever-EDITORS.

- Meetings -

The Over Sensitive University Heretics

the title, "Love, Liberty and the dren'. Pursuit of Happiness", given by Rita Milton, of the Freedom Press Group, last Sunday, the Cambridge Heretics were treated to a somewhat stronger dose of heresy than that to which they have become accustomed. The meeting, which took place in a lecture room within Trinity College, was very well attended by about four hundred undergraduates of both sexes.

Rita Milton, who normally prefers outdoor meetings with an abundance of skilled hecklers, was nevertheless in great form indoors. The audience was most attentive throughout the first part of the lecture, but became extremely lively at question time. Many questions were asked, often several at once, and on occasions the speaker experienced a veritable tirade of cross-questioning from irate students.

Briefly, the talk consisted of a plea for a less restricted personal attitude towards sex, and a reasoned attack upon the church in its attitude towards the institution of marriage. The anarchist case on these matters is quite well known (indeed it is common sense), and it is not necessary here to give a detailed report of what was said. It is perhaps of greater interest to discuss the reaction which was forthcoming from the not inconsiderable student body which constituted the audience.

It is not entirely surprising that, as far as one was able to tell, there was very little agreement with the point of view put forward; but it is far more surprising that the general response was so adolescent in its nature. Whilst it must obviously be admitted that the audience consisted, in the main, of young people, it should be remembered that the supposed level of intelligence was well above average. Furthermore, the particular audience in question consisted of those members of the University who might reasonably have been expected to be more receptive of unconventional ideas than most. In this instance this was not noticeably the case.

Many of the questions indicated a complete lack of understanding of the many sexual problems involved in present-day society, but worse still, there was a distinct atmosphere of antagonism towards the idea of greater sexual freedom outside marriage (although it would be in the audience's own interests). and an apparent unwillingness to admit the existence of a problem at all. More understandable was the general reaction of shock at the suggestion that marriage was not a necessary institution, though the only clear-cut reason given for its

URING the course of a talk under existence was, 'for the sake of the chil-

However, it was a successful meeting if only for the reason that all of those present enjoyed themselves-and especially Comrade Milton, who more than held her own with humour and repartee, giving the audience quite a few surprises too. A number of questions were asked which indicated an interest in anarchism in general-but it should be borne in mind that most University members, including the Heretics, have something approaching a vested interest in retaining the status quo. For the present, at least, we must accept that sexual behaviour at Cambridge will remain roughly the same, and the incidence of undergradualism will be small among the Greats.

The Fears of a High Commissioner

A NOTHER body of students to invite an anarchist speaker to address them is the Ceylonese Students' Association in London. But in this case the result was not quite so happy.

Our comrade Philip Sansom was invited to address the CSA on Anarchism at their hostel in Bayswater. A date was fixed well in advance and notices sent out, and our comrade was preparing his address three hours before the time to speak when he received a telegram cancelling the meeting.

No reason was given, nor has any explanation been offered three weeks after this occurred. Unofficially, however, we have heard that what happened was that the High Commissioner for Ceylon, on seeing the announcement, demanded that the students cancel the meeting.

He is reputed to have said, "It's all right to have Coservative or Communist lecturers-but not Anarchists"!

It should be recognised that an organisation like the CSA in this country is more directly under the jurisdiction of its government's representatives (who hold the purse-strings) than it would be in its own country, but even so it seems that the students have no reason to feel other than sheepish over their abject acquiesence in its interference with their

And it seems rather a pity that the High Commissioner for Ceylon has not more faith in his own students' abilities to weigh social philosophies on their merits, and in the principles of free speech, expression and exchange of ideas which the Commonwealth is supposed to defend.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

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THE MALATESTA CLUB 155 High Holborn, W.C.1. (Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall) FEB. 5.—John Bishop on ANARCHISM & GT. BRITAIN

FEB. 12—DEBATE SOVIET RUSSIA IS THE FREEST SOCIETY IN THE WORLD TODAY Proposer: M. Cumino Opposer: D. Rooum

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS Every Thursday at 8.15. **OPEN AIR MEETINGS**

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The above welcome announcement of a new libertarian journal was accompanied by the following letter which we hope will be acted upon by many of our readers:

DEAR COMRADES,

As you can see from the enclosed

announcement, a group of us here in San Francisco have undertaken to publish a new paper. Our emphasis will not be on the theoretical aspects of our anarchist ideas; but rather on making them known through our critique of events-institutions and mores.

In spite of its immense wealth and multitudes of people, the United States probably has less anarchist activity than any other country outside of those under totalitarian rule. Perhaps the high standard of living of this country and the apathy it breeds is the reason why our ideas find no foothold. Yet there are numbers of rebellious young people who fight, albeit blindly, against the stifling conformity of our society. These are the people we would try to reach. Perhaps through the use of humour, sarcasm, satire and caricature we can arouse more interest than we have heretofore. Also, we would report on events and acts furthering anarchy. The positive example of community, brotherhood, etc. have the power to spread our ideas more than any theoretical polemic or argument.

We need your assistance to make our efforts known. We need funds to get going. But more than anything, we need people to take an interest in what we are doing and aid us with articles, drawings, poetry, etc. and help distribute the paper. Let us try to get our papers out of the traditional anarchist circles and reach that yet untapped multitude of people who must respond to our ideas.

Comradely yours,

DAVID KOVEN.

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