

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Mankind can only flourish
on free soil."

—LAO TZE.

M. & B.: The Treble Chance

OURS is a nation which thrives on the "who-dunnit" mysteries. Our royal family, our politicians as well as our top-flight intellectuals proudly admit to the addiction. Even some of our most eminent judges have confessed that there is more excitement in an Agatha Christie mystery than on the Bench, and even in our prisons, travellers adventures in Poona or Patagonia gather dust on the library bookshelves while the lurid paper-backs are priceless commodities in the prison black-market!

For more than four years Fleet Street's bloodhounds have been on the scent of those two wily foxes M. & B. New rumours, new trails have kept everyone busy and happy; the intellectuals have written their books on the subject and the news-hounds have left no stone unturned (including upsetting the private lives of innocent relatives of the hunted men). Now they have run them to earth. Now we have the answer to one of the "major mysteries" of the post-war decade. M. & B. have made their first public appearance in Moscow. So far no suggestion has been advanced that they were cleverly disguised stand-ins, which might have been suggested had they turned-up in Borneo or Bali. But since they have done the right thing and turned up in Moscow no one questions their authenticity. The mystery is solved... or is it?

The *News Chronicle* was, if we remember correctly, in the forefront of this who-dunnit and again, if our memory is not at fault, one of their bloodhounds even wrote a book about his M. & B. Mission. One would therefore imagine that a sigh of relief drifted through Bouverie Street as the Editor closed his case-

book. Not at all! Last Monday's first editorial is headed "THE MYSTERY DEEPENS", which shows that these sleuths are never satisfied. "The most fascinating real life story of our times enters on a new plane" writes the *News Chronicle* in its best *Daily Dispatch* style. The "early chapters" were mismanaged by the government to a "grotesque degree" so: "From now on the public will want to be kept better informed".

ABOUT what? As the *Manchester Guardian* rightly commented last Monday (thereby showing keen insight into the essentials of the successful who-dunnit story): "[Burgess and MacLean] have thrown away the two things that built them up into an inexhaustible topic for discussion or propaganda—concealment and uncertainty". But for that professional army of political pathologists even a high ranking politician's cough, or nose-twitch has meaning and is therefore open to interpretation or speculation, and one has only to read their first reactions to the timing of the M. & B. statement to realise that it is a fascinating occupation, with more permutations and combinations than a football pool... and as chancy.

If one believes General MacArthur, M. & B. betrayed to Peking the knowledge that the United Nations' forces in Korea would not carry the war into China. This according to the General, resulted in China intervening in the Korean war in the knowledge that the United Nations would not retaliate on Chinese soil.

If on the other hand one believes the *Daily Worker* (Feb. 13) one cannot but be convinced that M. & B. were doves of peace who went to Russia "to work for Anglo-Soviet understanding" at a moment when "the peace of the world was hanging by a thread, etc..." More modestly on the back page we learn that to "the gradual process of the easing of world tension" (which according to the *Daily Worker* dates from the cease-fire in Korea) "Maclean and Burgess may have contributed much or little or nothing. The fact remains that they left Britain at the very high-water mark of world tension".

Temporary Closure of the Malatesta Club

AS announced last week, new premises have been found for the Malatesta Club.

They are an improvement upon the old premises and it is hoped that they can be made very attractive and will bring more people into contact with the Anarchist movement.

A certain amount of work has to be done on the new place and some equipment from the old has to be transferred. It has therefore been decided to close down the club for a fortnight as from Friday, 17th February, to allow the changeover to be made at the convenience of the organisers.

The new address and the actual date and time of re-opening will be made known through FREEDOM.

Meanwhile, members are reminded that extra expense will be incurred through the move and even if they cannot contribute especially to that they are asked to see that their subscriptions are up-to-date.

So much for the rôle played by the "traitors" (incidentally the *Manchester Guardian* finds no evidence to substantiate the MacArthur story. As for the *Daily Worker* piece it must be admitted that one is given a wide choice of believing that M. & B. "contributed much, little or nothing" to that well-worn cliché of the politician "the easing of world tension"). But what of the "timing" of the five minute interview in Moscow?

THREE theories have been advanced by the Sherlock Holmes of Fleet Street. The *News Chronicle* considers it significant that the Statement should have been issued on the eve of the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress: it "clearly indicates that it concerns some plan on the part of the Russian leaders" (if one re-reads the quoted passage one will fully appreciate the cliché-ridden inanities that appear even in the best of the "popular dailies"!). The second theory is that official confirmation that M. & B. are in Russia, added to the MacArthur outburst regarding their rôle in the Korean adventure, will help to sow the seeds of distrust and suspicion between the United States and Britain. Thirdly there is the Crankshaw theory in last Sunday's *Observer* which, by implication states that the second theory is out of date since it failed and a "more subtle" approach has now been adopted:

"In effect Britain is being asked to use her influence with America in the interests of world peace, an approach which not only has some basic sense, but is also flattering to us."

On the basis of that theory Mr. Crankshaw concludes that "it seems likely" that M. & B. with their "intimate understanding of both countries have had a good deal to do with this". And he concludes:

"To suggest that the new Soviet leaders have made use of the special know-

ledge of these two to improve their technique in dealing with the British is not to suggest that there is no genuine desire on the part of the Soviet Government to achieve a *détente* with the West for an indefinite period. There are many things, not least the troubles with the peasants and the perils of atomic warfare, to indicate that they not only want this, but need it."

The Foreign Office must be in a bit of a fix if they are guided in their decisions by the "influential" press. For obviously if they accept Theory 2 then only the firing-squad is good

enough for M. & B. should they ever dare to change their minds and return to suburbia (as did Dr. John of Bonn). But what if they think Theory 3 (the Crankshaw theory on Timing of Interviews) nearer the mark? Then, surely M. & B. should be invited to accompany B. & K. on their State visit in April and offered at least a knighthood and back pay from 1951. For who could deny that in the circumstances they had been at least as successful as the Big Three at Geneva last summer?

SPAIN

FRANCO & THE STUDENT UNREST

THE student demonstrations in Madrid have assumed such proportions that Franco must be having second thoughts as to the stability of his régime. They have blown up at a politically unfavourable moment for he is also concerned with the situation in Spanish African territories where he expects repercussions following the successful agitation in France's African territories, as well as in the economic situation in Spain itself where, in spite of the dollar injection, a substantial deficit is expected in the budget. Furthermore agricultural production last year was 2 per cent. less than it was in 1929 although the population has in the corresponding period increased by nearly six million.

It is difficult to assess from reports what are, if any, the repercussions of the Madrid student riots in the rest of Spain. The disciplinary action announced this week would however indicate that the government views the demonstrations as serious threats to its authority. The *Times* correspondent in Madrid reports (Feb. 13):

"Drastic limitation of civil liberties, amounting to the suspension of *habeas corpus*, was approved at a meeting of the Spanish Cabinet, presided over by General Franco, in an attempt to stifle the students' unrest.

"This unrest is the outcome of student resistance to compulsory affiliation to the Falange students' syndicate, the S.E.U., which during the past week led to serious clashes in Madrid. An official announcement states that the Cabinet had studied the reports of the disturbances and had

decided to employ the full rigour of the law against all who had directly or indirectly disturbed the order, peace, and unity of the Spanish people.

"Another announcement states that Articles 14 and 18 of the Spaniards' *Fueros* (charter of rights), promulgated by the régime in 1945, are to be suspended for three months. The suspension of Article 14 means that by a Government order any Spaniard may now be banished to any part of the peninsular or island possession where it is considered he may be less likely to cause trouble. Under Article 18 a Spaniard could not be arrested without judicial warrant or be kept under arrest for more than 72 hours without being charged before a magistrate. Spanish citizens are now deprived of these rights.

"Disciplinary action will also be taken at the university. Classes have been suspended until further notice, according to a Ministry of Education announcement. The dean of the faculty of law, Don Manuel Torres, has been dismissed and his place taken by the assistant dean.

"Among those arrested is the son of Sanchez Mazas, well known writer and Academician, a former Falange chief and Minister without Portfolio in one of General Franco's Cabinets after the civil war. Another is a son of a former Falange chief. Others include the sons of an eminent Madrid surgeon and of General Franco's official chronicler during the civil war, whose *communi-qués* from the various fronts became well known under the Moorish pen name of Tebib Arrumi."

Work-to-rule compositors

Printers Threatened with Dismissal

FOR nearly a month some 12,000 members of the London Typographical Society have been working to rule and operating a partial overtime ban. They are in dispute with the London Master Printers' Association, which is refusing to meet in full the LTS claim for a rise of £2 per week.

According to Mr. Robert Willis, joint secretary of the LTS (a recent amalgamation of craft organisations for printers) the average wage for their members is £11 4s. per week, with a minimum of £9 8s.

The difference is made up by the cost-of-living bonus which the masters' federation had agreed to paying on a sliding scale, overtime, and the extra that employers are paying in order to attract men in a time of labour shortage.

The LTS is demanding that the cost-of-living bonus be included in the minimum wage, and that that wage shall be suitable for the degree of craftsmanship needed in the grades covered by its members.

There are two main bodies of organised workers in the printing and allied industries—NATSOPA, which organises the unskilled and semi-skilled, and the LTS which organises the craftsmen. These latter have been labouring under a

grievance for a long time, as they have seen the earnings of the unskilled gradually creep higher and higher while theirs have remained almost stationary.

It is the old question of differentials. The skilled members of LTS—compositors, lino-operators, machine-minders, proof-readers—want their difference in skill recognised in a difference in income. And since that is the whole basis of the wage system—an important feature of which is to divide workers through differentials—within its context they have an argument.

There has been deadlock, however, right up until last Monday, when the London Master Printers' Association announced an ultimatum: that unless they all stop working to rule, all employees of firms in the Association will be sacked.

This would stop national periodicals printed in London, suburban papers and general printing.

It would affect almost all the London print industry, except the national newspapers, which are not involved in the present dispute.

The tremendous effect which the work-to-rule has had upon the organisation of work, especially in the larger printing houses, is indi-

cated by the Master Printers' statement.

This said:

"Members of the London Typographical Society who refuse to resume normal working will be summarily dismissed this week. The decision that such men should be dismissed was made at a general meeting of members of the London Master Printers' Association held on February 1, but the action has been delayed in the hope that the LTS would agree to conciliation or voluntary arbitration, both of which the union has now finally rejected.

"Meeting in London this afternoon, the council of the LMPA unanimously endorsed the recommendation of its emergency committee that the summary dismissal of LTS members who refuse to resume normal working should take place this week. Members of the LMPA will seek from every employee who is a member of the London Typographical Society an assurance that he is prepared to work in accordance with the conditions which by agreement or custom form part of his individual contract of service. Members of the LTS who are not prepared to give such an assurance by Wednesday next, February 15, will be summarily dismissed for breach of contract.

"Similar action is being taken in respect of members of the Association of

OUR WONDERFUL POLICE

A POLICE INSPECTOR who served in the division covering Piccadilly and Soho was yesterday dismissed the Force by order of Sir John Nott-Bower, the Commissioner.

He is Inspector Charles R. Jacobs. At West End Central station he was responsible for dealing with vice cases. For several months he has been on sick leave.

Details of the charges against Jacobs were given in a statement from the Yard yesterday.

He had appealed against the decision of a disciplinary board which found:

- (1) That he was guilty of charges under the police discipline code, and
- (2) That the punishment be dismissal.

The Commissioner rejected the appeal.

Vice report

Jacob's name was mentioned in a recent Old Bailey trial, when a witness named Joseph Crech said he was asked to pay £500 to Jacobs, and also £30 a week.

On instructions from the Commissioner, Superintendent Herbert Hannan of the C.I.D. investigated alleged bribery and corruption of police officers in connection with vice traffic. Jacobs was named in the Superintendent's report.

The disciplinary board found him guilty of having assisted a convicted prostitute to get premises for the purpose of prostitution, of failing to disclose at court the previous convictions of a man found guilty of living on immoral earnings, and failing to account for property taken possession of by him from another man whom he had arrested for living on immoral earnings.

Now Charles Jacobs is deprived of all pension rights after 24 years in the police.

He has ten days to appeal to the Home Secretary.

(*News Chronicle*, 14/2/56).

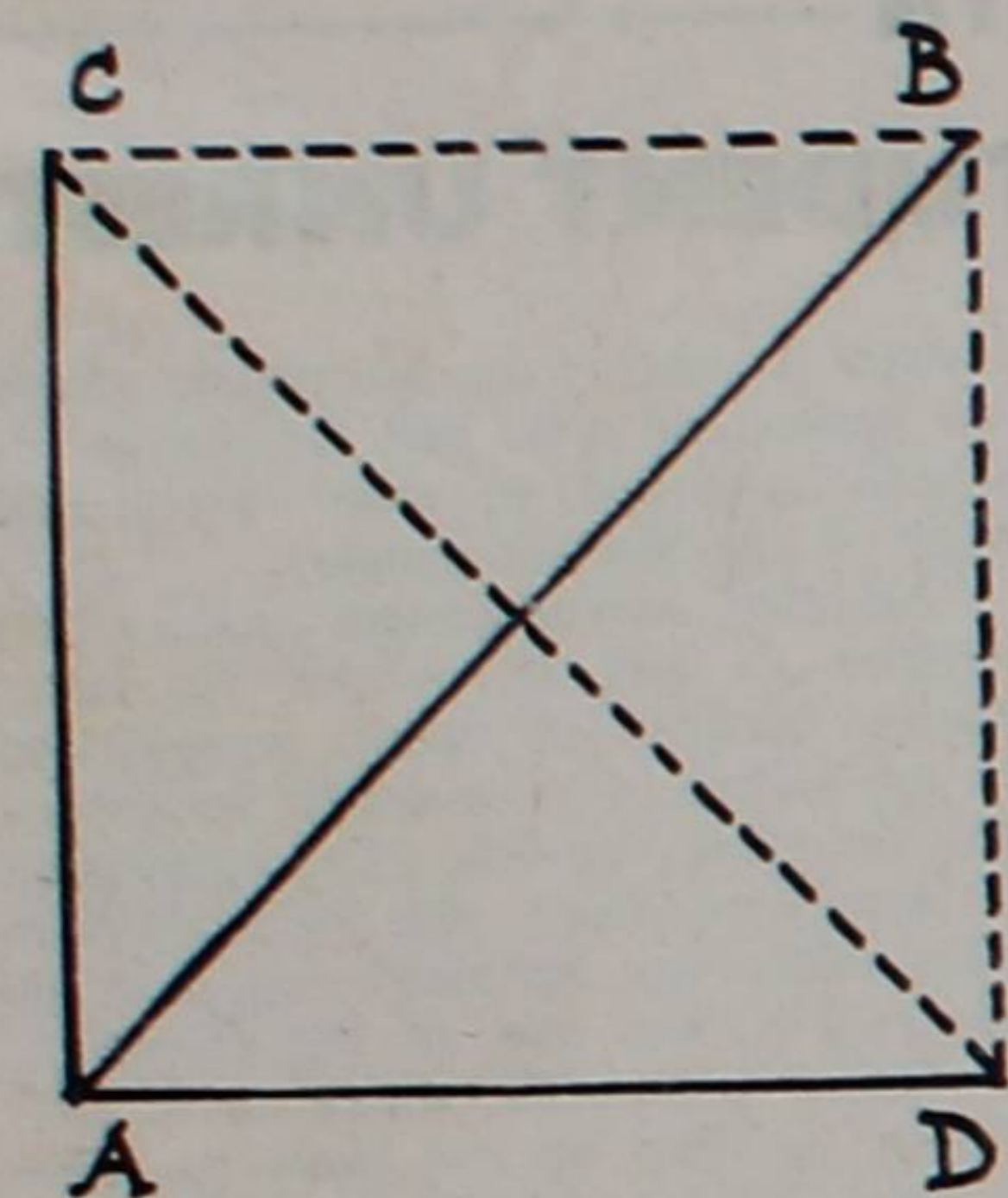
The Relevance of Pareto-2

The Exponent of Scientific Analysis

(Continued from last week)

THE obvious question which must now be answered is what practical use can be made of Pareto's methodology by all those interested in the nature of social change. The answer is that it helps us to understand how the workings of social change do not follow the lines that most moralists, politicians and social planners envisage. What is generally accepted to be 'obvious' in most historical eras later turned out to be a fallacy. I will try to illustrate some of Pareto's analysis by means of a diagram which he gives. He states:

"The proposition so often met with—This or that people acts as it does because of a certain belief, is rarely true; in fact it is almost always erroneous. The inverse proposition—People believe as they do because of this or that conduct—as a rule contains a larger amount of truth; but it is too absolute and has its modicum of error. Beliefs and conduct are not, to be sure, independent; but their correlation lies in their being, as it were, two branches of the same tree."



Pareto uses the above diagram to analyse various social phenomena. Following his method I will apply it to the phenomenon of voting in parliamentary elections. Let us analyse a proposition which would meet with general agreement among most electors, viz: "People vote because they believe in the theory of parliamentary democracy, and respect the authority of parliament because they vote it to power."

First I assign the relevant entities to the different symbols:
 A=public opinion.
 B=the act of voting
 C=belief in parliamentary democracy
 D=respect for the authority of parliament.

According to the popular statement quoted, B depends on C, and D on B. These relationships are represented in the diagram by dotted lines, because they are in fact rather erroneous assumptions. I quote Pareto's text, substituting my own choice of entities.

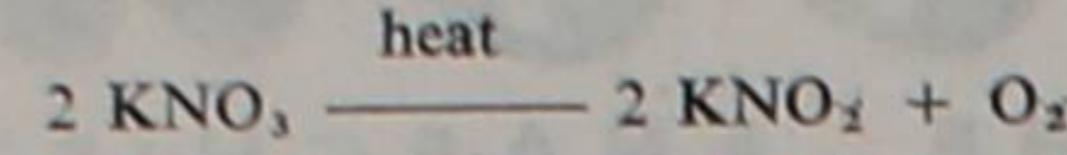
"The rites of [voting] B, do not influence [respect, etc.] D directly, but influence [public opinion] A and consequently D. In the same way they influence [belief, etc.] C and, vice versa, C influences B indirectly. There can in addition be a direct influence CD. The influence of (the belief) C upon A is usually rather weak, and consequently its influence upon D is also feeble, since the influence CD is itself usually slight. In general, then, we go very far astray in assuming that [belief, etc.] C is the motive of the [respect] D."

In the diagram therefore, although all four entities have some degree of influence on one another, the main influences are represented by the heavy lines AD, AB and AC. Any significant change in this whole system will be effected by an attack on A which is determined by innumerable variables not mentioned here) and attacks on C, B and D will be only slight in their effect. That is why we see that it is such matters as the cost of living, housing shortage, the weather, the current marriage rate, the level of employment, which cause fluctuations in C, B and D, by their effect on A.

PART II

It must be emphasised that the diagrammatical and mathematical forms of analysis of social phenomena which Pareto often used are simply conceptual tools to aid logical thinking and have no merit other than their efficiency. He was an engineer and accustomed to the working out of mechanical problems by mathematical means, but seeing the enormous advances which had been made in natural science as compared with the halting progress of social science, he broke away from the metaphysical morass which confused the theory of so many other writers. The advantage of the methods of natural science is that phenomena are concisely described and it is then easier to detect logical connections and predict results with a high degree of accuracy. I could, for instance, write a description of what it is assumed that saltpetre is composed of, and what will happen when it is heated, and hence go on to speculate as to its basic property on the explosion of gunpowder. But such a dissertation would be lengthy and less easy to follow

than if an agreed convention of chemical symbols is adopted and the reaction written thus:



Its basic use in gunpowder is therefore indicated even though this simple equation is not a "picture" of what happens. In the same way the primitive conceptual scheme of Ptolemy, which explained the phenomena of astronomy by assuming that the Sun revolved round the Earth, was not "wrong". Gallileo's more advanced concepts replaced Ptolemy's because they were able to explain more and hence predict more phenomena. And Einstein's more advanced concepts have not proved Gallileo "wrong" but simply made for even greater accuracy in understanding and prediction. Pareto was quite frank about the crudity of much of his method in social science, but he pointed out that he was struggling with a subject which was quite undeveloped, and might be compared to the natural science of Medieval times.

Pareto used such concepts as the systems of forces in mechanics to explain social developments under the pull of various conflicting and differently orientated interest groups. He showed how what we refer to as the status quo is in fact a temporary equilibrium maintained by a multitude of different forces, and that if any force alters in strength so it will produce a reaction in all the other forces according to laws like those met with in the study of mechanics. Every social system appears to have a natural tendency to react to sudden changes from the "outside" (e.g. conquest by a foreign power, disappearance of a world market, a plague, the importation of new productive techniques), in such a way that the equilibrium will be resumed. This equilibrium is not necessarily something static; the rate of industrialization of a country may be considered to constitute an equilibrium.

Pareto sought to demonstrate the fact that the 'obvious' result of a certain social action, as seen by contemporary participants, seldom comes to pass, because of the non-logical nature of a great deal of human action. If someone innocent of a knowledge of mechanics attempts to make a point in equilibrium move in a certain direction when the position of that point is determined by a number of balanced forces, the

'obvious' adjustment will probably have quite unexpected results—the fixed point may move in a direction not desired. So it is with social forces, the 'obvious' action often produces quite unintended results. The working-class support for the Labour politicians at the beginning of this century did not have the 'obvious' result of increasing the workers' control of industry; the working-class political effort simply created a powerful middle-class party machine and a realignment between the forces of the Conservatives and Liberals. Biologists have learnt the lesson of the balance of interacting forces. They have found that it is not safe simply to exterminate an insect or plant pest which is causing trouble in a plant-animal community; they have first to study the balance of forces very carefully to see what the final result will be if one factor is altered. Unfortunately society has to suffer from the results of politicians and professional administrators who have a vested interest in declaring loudly and confidently that whatever policy they decide to try is the obvious and only policy which will benefit the community. They need to drum up all the non-logical sentiments of the community to maintain support for their continued power and irrational policies.

(To be concluded). G.

FILM REVIEW

PROPAGANDA GETS SUBTLER

A FILM which has been called 'Hollywood's best anti-Communist film' is currently enjoying general release on the ABC circuit.

Most anti-Communist films that America has produced to date are merely variants on Cowboys-and-Indians with dirty Red spies being brilliantly unmasked by splendid FBI agents just as they are about to fly away to Russia with the secret formula. All great fun and no doubt effective enough for the simple patriotic peasants of our great democratic ally.

Faced, however, with the unfortunate fact that those adults with mental ages higher than 12 still seemed to be unimpressed with the pure white virtue of the American way of life; that 'intellectuals' are still the section of the public most likely to be critical of capitalism and thus potentially sympathetic to Russia, the moguls of Hollywood (are there 'moguls' anywhere else? One never seems to hear of them), or at least one mogul, decided that an anti-American film could be produced which did not present a stark Black/White picture but one of Black compared with various shades of grey. One, in fact which admitted faults in the American way of life, but showed them to be not only overshadowed by the villainy of Communists but also capable of remedy.

Trial, starring Glenn Ford, Dorothy

McGuire and Arthur Kennedy, does just this, and does it intelligently and most effectively. It tells the story of a trial in a small town, where anti-colour prejudice runs high, of a Mexican boy accused of murdering a white girl on a beach.

There are ugly scenes of a lynch mob raiding the jail where the boy is held, to be turned back only when the governor promises that he will hang anyway—but 'legal'. Glenn Ford as the defence lawyer on a vacation job, fights and defeats (naturally) all attempts to pack the jury and railroad the Mexican boy. Thus showing the safeguards provided by the American Constitution—but only, it would seem from this film, if you can raise the money to pay private eyes to gather information about each member of the jury and everybody else ranged against you.

'Every society has its bigots', says Glenn Ford and proceeds to do the bigots in the eye—but the real villain of the piece is not the local bigotry but Ford's own temporary employer who turns out to be a most cynical Communist lawyer. He turns the trial into a stunt to raise funds for the Party, and, just as Ford's defence looks like meeting with success, makes a move guaranteed to send the boy down—because the Party

needs a martyr. However, this is foiled by honest Glenn Ford, who realises he has been used by the Commies (he could hardly miss it, being presented at a mass rally with all the works) and, since justice can be done according to American law, all ends well.

The love interest is provided by Dorothy McGuire, who it seems, was once a fellow traveller but has long since seen the light. She falls in love with the good lawyer (and he with her) and we are given to understand that she was once the lover of the bad lawyer. However, nothing has happened 'for over a year' so presumably the contamination has worn off.

We are given her reasons for flirting with the Party. She wanted to be 'different', to be pointed out on the campus, to feel she was somebody. Now there is no doubt that many people do join such outfits as the CP for these reasons, but one has the impression that Hollywood, although prepared to admit faults in the American Way, will not admit (yet) that sincere people can become Communists because of those faults. Or that one could embrace Communism for its own sake, for the appeal of its basic ideology.

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WHAT HAPPENS TO PRODUCTION?

AS a change from New Year resolutions on my own expenditure, I decided to have a look at the accounts published by H.M.S.O., entitled "National Income and Expenditure 1955". I found it almost incomprehensible, but it seemed that from such a mass of information, it should be possible to find out what happens to our enormous annual production, and in particular, how many hours work each day is needed to give a productive worker his present standard of living, and how many he works to support the hordes of managers, shareholders, stockbrokers, advertisers, generals, civil servants and all the experts who study his time, motion, psychology, productivity, profitability and so on.

I owe readers of FREEDOM an apology for deserting the individual and presenting an analysis based on units of £1,000,000. As long as we rely on governments for our information, I imagine it will be presented in this way. It serves their purpose in cloaking the truth so well that few people realise that, left to ourselves, we could all live just as well on less than half our present hours of work, and be a great deal freer, healthier and happier too. But that is to anticipate, and I cannot put off the figures any longer.

★

MY method has been to use the information to assess the value of the goods produced and the services rendered in terms of their cost of production, i.e. before profits and taxes are added to bring them up to the price we pay. All figures are for 1954, the latest year for which they are published. I have divided the real producers from the non-producers, and then compared the goods and useful services they receive with the total of goods and services which they produce. I have included in useful services the Health Service, Education, Housing and the Basic Local Services such as roads, public lighting, fire service, water, sewerage, refuse disposal, land drainage and coast protection. Real producers have been taken to

include all who work in these useful services, together with all wage earners in productive and distributive industry, and farmers. This is an arbitrary separation of the sheep from the goats; people who would be valuable to any community fall outside these groups, but they are outnumbered by wage earners in the armament industry alone, and so my estimate of goods received by those who produce something of real value will err on the high side.

The accounts show that incomes in 1954 were divided as follows:

	Million £
Wage earners in productive and distributive industry, and useful services, i.e. productive wage earners	5910
Wage earners in non-productive occupations, public administrations and defence, i.e. non-productive wage earners	577
Salary earners in useful services, i.e. productive salary earners	380
Salary earners in industry and useless services, i.e. non-productive salary earners	2953
Farmers	378
Non-productive self employed	1267
Forces	380
Dividends, Interest & Rent	1678
Total	£13,523

The following additions and deductions must be made to arrive at the value of production cost of goods received by each group.

	Million £
Pensions, industrial benefits, family allowances, public assistance, etc., paid in cash	1021
Subsidy on Agriculture	312
Total additions	1,333

Deductions:	
Income Tax and Surtax	1214
National Insurance contributions	532
Rent & Rates	811
Expenditure taxes on tobacco, alcohol, petrol, purchase tax, etc.	1938*
Gross trading profit made by industry	2427*
Total deductions	6,922

*close estimates

Sufficient information is given for these deductions to be made on each group with reasonable accuracy, and the value of these incomes in terms of production are then found to be:

	Million £
Productive wage earners	3602
Productive salary earners	232
Farmers	195
Non-productive wage earners	352
Non-productive salary earners	1801
Non-productive self-employed	650
Forces	237
Dividends, Interest and Rent	865
Total	£7,934

This shows that only half the goods received by individuals go to the real producers, the other half going to non-productive workers, shareholders, rentiers, etc. In addition goods are used in services provided by the government, in which I include local authorities. These services cost:

	Million £
Education	489
Health Service	537
Housing	377
Basic Local Services	280
Military and Civil Defence	1670
Government administration	519

Total £3,872

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HUMAN GREATNESS

TWO recent cases, one in Italy the other in the United States, illustrate, we believe, most vividly some of the points that have been raised in the correspondence columns of FREEDOM during the past weeks on the subject of "Martyrdom" and "One-man Revolutions".

The case of Miss Atherine Lucy, the first Negro student at the University of Alabama was discussed in FREEDOM last week (*Good Luck Miss Lucy!*). In a report by the *Sunday Times* correspondent on the spot we learn something about Miss Lucy's feelings at the moment of finding herself a "symbol" (good or bad, depending on your colour and your racial prejudices) instead of a young woman preparing to be a school teacher like so many thousands of other young women in all countries.

Miss Lucy lives in fear of her life. When a bouquet of roses from Northern workers was delivered to her as she was being interviewed by the *Sunday Times* man she said "with a sad smile": "It's nice to get them while I'm still alive," to which remark the correspondent adds "This would not sound melodramatic to anyone who had been in Tuscaloosa this week . . ."

"It is clear that the girl's life is in danger—murder threats reach her daily—and the students, judging by their acts so far and by their public and private statements, are not prepared to protect her. Dr. Carmichael [the university's president] has promised that she will be protected; he has not explained who will protect her."

But, in his opinion, whatever happens the Lucy case is already an important moral victory for the Negro.

"The failure of mob force to intimidate this young school-teacher has given an added dignity to the Negro cause and has breathed hope into the clapboard ghettos of Southern cities."

On February 29 the District Court is expected to order her admission to the University. "My parents are very worried," she said, "and would rather I gave up, but they have left it to my discretion. I can't give in now, can I? There's all the rest of us."

These words of a young school teacher are as simple and as noble as those of the fish-peddler Vanzetti before being done to death by the State of Massachusetts after seven long years of imprisonment and mental torture. These words, by simple human beings who by pure chance finds themselves in the spotlight of real greatness and who almost instinctively do great things, these words will live in the history of mankind when the collected speeches of the "greatest" of politicians are collecting dust in the attics of our minds.

DANILO DOLCI is an Italian Catholic writer and social worker who is neither popular with the Government nor with his Church. He is a native of Trieste, an architect by training and a follower of another well known social worker Don Zeno (who was responsible for a community at Nomadelfia to succour the poor and friendless). Dolci is described as "a preacher of non-violence who has lived among the poorest and most derelict people of Sicily, at Trappeto and Partinico, working for their moral redemption, though not in the religious sense. His aim is to restore a sense of human dignity to the people of the depressed areas".

He has now been arrested for organising a "reverse strike" of unemployed labourers at Partinico (The *Manchester Guardian's* Rome correspondent describes a "reverse strike" as "the technique of doing a

piece of unauthorised labour to call the attention of the authorities to the need to provide employment on necessary public works"). He is officially charged with insulting and resisting a police officer and organising an unauthorised demonstration. In fact three weeks ago he organised a community hunger strike on the beach at Trappeto and the following week led a band of unemployed labourers to work on cleaning an unpaved road at Partinico.

Since his bitterest enemies are the ecclesiastical authorities (who have on several occasions pulled strings to try to close down his small welfare centre at Trappeto) it is not surprising that following his arrest the *Popolo* and *Il Quotidiano*, the two principal Catholic newspapers should have passed judgment on "the presumption of amateur reformers". Neither is it surprising that the Communists and Socialists are turning the arrest to political account, or that those Liberals who are sympathetic to Dolci are horrified at the official description of Dolci as a "well-known agitator". The fact is that the arrest of this agitator has stirred the whole country. Petitions are being organised in many parts, demonstrations have been held in Tuscany, questions have been tabled in the Chamber and the Senate, letters of protest from leading intellectuals all over Italy fill the press.

It is true that in spite of the protests and strong feelings Dolci has not been released; no Government could afford to submit to public pressure so easily without losing its dignity and power. But the office of the Procurator of the Republic has announced that the trial will take place immediately, which is an important concession in a country where it is not an uncommon occurrence for a prisoner to be held in custody without trial for a year or more (and who is without redress if eventually he is acquitted). And one can be almost sure that the outcome will be an acquittal or a suspended sentence. But this is of minor importance. In the courts one is dealing with the law; it is only in the streets that the conscience of a people can be felt.

AUTHERINE LUCY and Danilo Dolci are probably two quite different persons in their education, their upbringing and their everyday lives. The life and thought of one has been largely influenced by the Christian philosophy, of the other by the colour of her skin. The former chose his road more consciously than did the former and therefore could foresee the consequences of his actions more clearly (though one cannot believe that Miss Lucy was wholly unaware of the possible outcome of her attempt to enter a white university). Dolci's arrest has stirred the Italian conscience because for the past four years his words and actions have embodied those ideals (of human dignity and

REVIVING VILLAGE CRAFTS

LAST Summer FREEDOM published a story about an exhibition of work by a number of well-known and distinguished artists who live in the village of Great Bardfield, Essex. (*Figures in a Landscape*, 23/7/55).

The exhibition consisted simply of these artists throwing open their doors to the public and letting them come in to see their drawings, or carvings or craft work. "What a wealth of talent in one village street" wrote C.W. of that exhibition.

The sad thing about this, however, was that the artists and craftsmen concerned were not *bona fide* villagers who had achieved outstanding ability in their work. They were established artists who had congregated in Gt. Bardfield to live. It might have been a street in Chelsea and the exhibition told us nothing about the natives of Gt. Bardfield and their craftsmanship or lack of it.

In most villages in Britain to-day there is a deplorable lack of interest and of ability in what used to be the traditional crafts of the countryman or woman.

It is gratifying then to learn of an attempt being made to encourage again an interest in such crafts—on the part of the villagers themselves and not only by refugees from the big city.

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And yet that is the real tragedy of the CP. That it takes people sincerely trying to make a better world, honestly believing in international brotherhood, common ownership, free access to the means of life and so on, and destroys their honesty and sincerity.

We must wait and see if Hollywood will go so far as to present us with an even better anti-Communist film. One which will admit that the basic concepts of the American Way of Life are wrong and that the ideals of true communism are right—but that the CP are destroying them in their struggle for power.

We shall probably wait in vain for that one. In the meantime, however, *Trial* is well worth seeing. It's a good film, well directed and acted. And as propaganda all the better for being subtler than that to which we are used. P.S.

justice), which too many intellectuals and "progressives" preach but do not practice. Miss Lucy has stirred the human imagination because she has taken her stand on behalf of the dignity of a whole section of the community instead of the narrow, minor question of her future as a school-teacher.

Very few of us will ever find ourselves in the position of Miss Lucy or of Danilo Dolci. Yet each one of us is faced with similar problems, without the spotlight of publicity or the feeling that our actions may have bearing on much wider issues. But on the way we solve these problems not only is our own personal future shaped but also that of the community as a whole.

We reprint below an article by Gwendolen Mullins, from *Athene*, the journal of the Society for Education through Art. Mrs. Mullins is clearly not 'an ordinary villager' herself, but she is encouraging those who are to cease being so by becoming extraordinary villagers with command over their crafts.

A VILLAGE CRAFT WORKSHOP

BY GWENDOLEN MULLINS

THERE must be many pairs of potentially skilful hands, especially amongst women, which never acquire a skill because there is no incentive and no recent tradition to do so. Is this a loss both to the individual and to the community? Mass-produced cheap household commodities and clothes have come to stay, and in many respects this is good. One does not wish to turn the clock back. Yet if some of the old skills, and what they can produce have their place in modern life, as I believe they have, perhaps a new sort of tradition has to be built up?

It has been a growing belief of mine that some of the simpler products of the hand-loom weaver, and of the basket-maker, for instance, could be made at reasonable cost for the ordinary home, and much pleasure would be had by those who made and those who used.

In this village successful classes held in basketry and bookbinding under the auspices of the County Council gave birth to a scheme, and in some disused farm buildings we have made a Craft Centre.

We started by holding a meeting in the Village Hall at which we were able to show an astonishingly large variety of articles made in the home either recently or formerly. We promptly enrolled an initial membership of over 70 people. A Committee was formed, and swiftly gifts and loans of tools and apparatus came in. These included tables and chairs, brushes and brooms, buckets, stoves, etc.: also willing hands to help put the buildings in order.

We started with several series of County Council classes but as the first enthusiasm waned more of the teaching was done voluntarily. The first year was hard going, teaching and learning as we went. However local support was very encouraging, and we soon found ourselves binding up large quantities of Medical Journals, which brought us in a useful income. A local draper offered us a window display, and from this we received very encouraging orders for rugs and baskets which was a great stimulus to the work. The sales aspect is important, as in order to pay for materials for their own use workers must sell a certain number of things.

By our second summer, 1953, we were ready for our own show and we began to attract wider interest. In fact we have never been able to catch up with demands.

Of the 70 original members, representing a cross-section of the community, about 30 have been active at some time; but the bulk of the work is done by some 10 or 12 members, none of whom are working full time. We have a low subscription rate, a weekly charge for use of tools and premises, looms etc., and we take 12½% on what is sold. Obviously the Centre could not have got onto its feet without a capital sum behind it, and without the many gifts

and loans which we received, but once established it is paying its way. Two of our village members have bought their own looms, one out of the proceeds of her weaving, and are weaving at home.

Although weaving is our most popular craft, at one time we had two full classes of basketmakers, and our baskets sell with the best both here and in London. We have a woodwork group attended by young boys, and have held classes in pulled linen embroidery, and in rush-work. We are starting to do our own dyeing, making a speciality of using local lichens and barks. This summer a clay modelling class attracts some 40 village children on Saturday mornings. From this group I hope to find the weavers of the future.

At our exhibitions and sales now held twice yearly, we show much work not done actually at the Craft Centre. The purpose of this is to encourage all manner of craft activity. Thus we have exhibits and sales of a wide range of articles including jewelry, patchwork, blockprinting and mobiles.

It is difficult, as yet, to draw conclusions about this scheme, except that it is rich in potentialities. Lack of tradition and consequent lack of standards makes certain aspects of the work very difficult. It appears, for instance, that only in the judging of tweeds is there a first-hand feeling for fitness for purpose, quality, and colour, so although we started determined to keep off tweed since it is so excellently made elsewhere, we are now making it.

On the other hand, and also because of this lack of a tradition, we could not possibly be called a specially gifted or knowledgeable community, and yet starting from almost scratch, as we have, what we produce seems to be acceptable, and for a few the work has opened new vistas to life.

Building anything is a slow process, and one is very conscious of how much better it could be. There are always "ifs". It will be some years before one can begin to measure the value of this venture in any true sense. Till then its strength is in the work of a few enthusiasts, and in a belief in the value to the community of all that lies behind the learning and practice of a craft, and the striving towards a standard that is comparable with the best traditions of the past.

BOTTLE INDUSTRY DEPENDS . . .

MR. DENNIS RIDER, secretary of the Glass Manufacturers' Federation, announced in London yesterday that the British glass container industry's production in 1955 reached a new record level. He said that one of the main causes was increased consumption of soft drinks in Britain. In the first nine months of 1955 238,809,000 gallons of "ready-to-drink" soft drinks were consumed, already six million gallons more than in the whole of the previous record year for the soft drink industry, 1953.

The container section of the glass industry produced 27,132,600 gross of bottles and jars in 1955, 1,997,500 gross more than the previous record production of 25,135,100 gross in 1951, and 2,441,100 gross more in 1954. Mr. Rider said this meant that 7,434 bottles and jars were produced every minute of the year.

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From these figures, wages, salaries, and forces pay amounting to £1,470 million, and gross trading profit made by industries supplying them estimated at £306 million must be deducted to give the value at production cost of goods supplied as follows:

	Million £
Education	227
Health	250
Housing	327
Basic Local Services	147
(Useful services £951 million)	
Defence	875
Government	270
(Useless services £1,145 million)	
Total	£2,096

I have grouped them into useful and useless services in a way that I think most readers will approve.

Industry uses a part of its gross trading profit for expansion and re-equipment, which costs £1,246 million. After deducting gross trading profit on this estimated at £159 million, the production cost value of goods used in this way is £1,087 million. There was also an increase in the value of unsold production of £357 million.

This completes the work of extracting from the accounts the use to which the goods produced in 1954 were put. It may be summarised thus:

	Million £
Goods to real producers	4029
Goods to non-producers	3905
Supplies to useful services	951
Supplies to useless services	1145
Industrial expansion and stocks	1444
Total	£11,474

THE real producers seem to amount to about three-fifths of the producing population, and therefore probably receive useful services worth £560 million in goods supplied to the services. Adding this to the goods they receive, we find that their record for producing £11,474 million worth of goods is £4,589 million—two-fifths of what they produce.

The burden on the backs of the real producers is clearly a heavy one, even by anarchist standards. I do not know how top-heavy the social structure must be before it overturns, but students of Egypt and Rome may be able to make some comparisons with their collapse. I think that the post-revolution structure in Russia and China is a solid

factor accounting for their dynamic outlook, and that we should experience a similar change if the burden were lifted. Instead of working nearly fifty hours a week, we could expect to live as well on twenty hours work. Each reader may judge what the consequence would be for himself. But as long as he works fifty hours a week, the fair reward is £30 per week. And until he is paid that, Joe Soap's daily time-table is:

8.00-11.30 a.m.	Working for Joe Soap.
11.30-12 noon	Providing schools, hospitals, housing and local services for Joe Soap.
12.30-4.-15 p.m.	Working to keep the foremen, managers, advertisers, directors, shareholders, stockbrokers, civil servants, generals, etc.
4.15- 5.30 p.m.	Expanding Industry, to increase the wealth of the directors, shareholders, stockbrokers, etc.
5.30- 6.15 p.m.	Maintaining an army to protect the wealth of the directors, shareholders, stockbrokers, etc.
6.15- 6.30 p.m.	Working to supply a government to make sure Joe Soap keeps working.

