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"The one essential is that a society be constituted in which the exploitation and domination of man by man are impossible." -ENRICO MALATESTA.

Vol. 17, No. 52

December 29th, 1956

Threepence

1957 AN IMPORTANT YEAR?

dictator rises to power in Argentina

or in Egypt, or when African miners

in the Rhodesian copper belt or tea-

plantation workers in Ceylon de-

mand higher wages or the right to

organise—these affect us because the

economy of Britain is based on inter-

national trade and the prices at

which all goods enter the country

bears a relationship to the eventual

these events concern us. It isn't a

matter only of economics, it's a mat-

ter of our human dignity. If we ask

ourselves whether we want to enjoy

a high standard of living at the ex-

pense of other people we are not

merely asking an economic question,

we are implying an ethical position.

Is Britain—or France, or Ame-

rica, or Russia—to continue to

dominate the world? Are the im-

perialist powers going on exploiting

the mineral wealth of countries less

powerful militarily, less developed

industrially, less advanced politic-

ally? should they continue to ride

rough-shod over national aspira-

tions, indigent cultures, long-estab-

lished religions, human feelings, as

they have for so long?

Should They Continue?

But there is another way in which

standards of living.

price we pay.

EVERY year is an important year for some of us. We are born, we break a leg or we get married (or its libertarian equivalent); we pass exams or simply leave school and start work; we become parents or move house; our circumstances better or worsen; we die, or someone we love dies.

The things which assume importance within the lives of ordinary people frequently appear unimportant to others; we are affected by different things at different times, and, in a society such as ours, which is fragmented and disintegrated, there is no sociality which binds us together and makes everything which happens to our fellows important to

This is so for most of us throughout our lives. People like anarchists and (some) socialists wish it were not so. We see the apathy of the vast majority towards that which is not of immediately vital concern to them as an ally of the 'divide and rule' principle practised so successfully by our rulers through the ages. We recognise that as long as we are careless of the well-being of others we provide conditions wherein both they and we suffer. As Eugene Debs said: 'While there is a soul in prison, I am not free' or John Donne: 'Ask not for whom the bell tolls: it tolls for thee.'

It Affects us All

Mankind is one, and we overlook that simple maxim at our peril. For while it may appear that white Europeans enjoying their high cosmopolitan standards of living have little in common with the African worker in his petrol-tin shack; while the dollar-rich American businessman seems not to live on the same planet as the peasant of Asia, still what happens in the far-off corners of the world affects us all in ways surprisingly close.

The more so as communications extend and the more so if we live in an imperialist country. Nothing happens anywhere in the world without 'Britain' getting involved, for instance, and although we put 'Britain' in quotes to indicate that it is a kind of abstraction and it

There's still time to reduce our 1956 DEFICIT!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 51

Deficit on Freedom £1,020 Contributions received £868 DEFICIT £152

December 14 to December 20 London: W.E.D.* £1; London: P.F. £1; London: F.S.; £1; London: S.B. 10/-; Solihull: A.W.H. £1: Hoddesdon: A.R. 7/-: London: H.C.R. £1; London: J.S.* 3/-; Chatswood, Miami: B. 7/-; Miami: L. 14/-; Miami: X:Y. 14/-: San Francisco: L'Incaricato £17/10/0; Allentown: W.S. £1/15/0; Los Angeles:

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> own economic units—the workers' councils?

'Revision of existing trade pacts' methods. is thought to mean that the raw materials (like uranium and bauxite)

The imperialists would say yesmeans different things to different people—still it is not only the stockas regards the part they dominate. broker with his gold-plated limous-The British imperialist—such as the ine who is affected—it is all of us, member of the 'Suez Group' in the for the stock-broker's antics and the House of Commons—unashamedly justifies naked aggression in Egypt price of raw materials fix all our but holds up pious hands over Hun-That is why, when a nationalist gary. The Kremlin's imperialist does

> the same thing in reverse. But the anarchist recognises the right of others to be as free as he would like to be himself. If we, British and white, want freedom, then we must demand it also for others, African and black, Asiatic and brown. Mankind is one, and if we acquiese in the crushing of the freedom of any peoples anywhere, then it is our freedom we crush also, and our own integrity we destroy, our own dignity we insult.

On the Brink of War

Every year is an important year for some of us—but for all of us 1957 bids fair to be a very important year indeed. The old year has drawn to a close to a background of war and revolution-both of them, as it happens, bound up with the struggles of small nations to be free from the plundering domination of larger ones. For a week or two last autumn the world hovered on the brink of war-as distinct from 'armed conflict'—over both Hungary and Suez, and it is impossible to say whether the danger has been averted or merely postponed.

Of the two situations, by far the more interesting from our point of Continued on p. 3

Is Kadar Yielding?

FACED with the growing realisation that he is not going to break the spirit of the Hungarian people, and that he simply has no means of forcing them to work, Janos Kadar, puppet head of a puppet government, is announcing that he is preparing changes that will go a long way towards meeting the rebels' demands.

Budapest radio has been announcing that government committees are working hard on the new programme promised by Premier Kadar, the aim of which is to win the nation's confidence by broadening the basis of the Government to include all 'progressive forces'.

These are the principal points: 1, to guarantee social order; 2, to reform the country's social and economic life; 3, revision of existing trade pacts with other countries.

Relations between Church and State may also be revised.

The points are, of course, vague enough to mean anything-or nothing. The rebels would be foolish indeed to do anything to weaken their own position purely on the basis of these 'promises'.

What is meant by 'social order'? The kind of 'order' which the revived secret police are imposing in factories where they are doing their best to prevent any association or discussion between the workers-

What does Kadar mean by reforming the country's economic life when he has banned the workers'

which have been going to Russia at workers have the power.

prices well below the market rate will in fact be paid for at world market prices. But that will not mean that the economic bonds tying Hungary to Russia will be in any way weakened. The Soviet Union will still be Big Brother.

However the proposed changes do have something in common with the original demands of the rebels which Imre Nagy was prepared to concede, and if the new social reforms mean the allowing of free elections (it is significant here that the word 'social' is used instead of 'political') then a great step will have been won by the rebels in the establishment of the freer democratic society they desired.

From the anarchist viewpoint there is one institution in existence in Hungary to-day which above all should be kept intact by the workers and that is the workers' council. While these councils remain the organising factor of the strength of the Hungarian working class, no government can impose measures upon them which are totally unacceptable.

Even now, with secret police and militiamen occupying key factories, production is only a small fraction of what it was before the rebellion. In the mines only half the manpower has returned, and production is down to a third; in factories—like the Beloianis electrical plant-output is down to 8 per cent., mainly through the workers who have returned and are working under military control, practising go-slow

Kadar may threaten and arrest and legislate and execute-still the

Eden's 'Blunt' Statement

The 'Observer' calls it 'Lying'

IN the House of Commons last week as a parting shot before M.P.s closed the democratic talking shop for the Xmas recess, the Prime Minister was again taxed by the Opposition with the question of his government's collusion with France and Israel over the armed attack on Egypt. His reply was:

"I wish to make it clear there was no joint decision in advance of hostilities about the use of a veto, no joint decision about the use of the French Air Force in advance of the hostilities. I want to say this on the question of foreknowledge, and say it quite bluntly to the House, there was no foreknowledge that Israel would attack Egypt. (Government here, hears.)

"There was not, but there was something else. We knew perfectly well the risk of it, and in the event of a risk of it certain discussions and conversations took place as I think any Government would do; and so far from this being an act of retribution I would be compelled if I had the same very disagreeable decisions to take again to repeat them."

This statement has apparently convinced one of Sir Anthony's most forthright critics, the Manchester Guardian, which declares that it "must be accepted and welcomed". (even without endorsing the wisdom of the government's policy) for it at least offers an

"intelligible and authoritative explanation of British policy, on which it is possible to acquit the British Government of the gravest suspicion which hung over it; and we are very glad that it is so."

That Sir Anthony gave "a definite impression" that he had "no foreknowledge that Israel would attack" is agreed by the Observer as well, but that journal has not been taken in as have its Manchester colleagues.

"We believe"-writes the Observer—"that he has given a false impression, and one known to be false by his closest Cabinet colleagues, the Service Chiefs and some Civil Ser-

vants". And that journal concludes:

the truth is known officially in Paris and Canberra and accidentally in Washington. We believe that the truth will inevitably come out, and we fear that then the name of Britain and incidentally that of the Conservative Party, will be stained by what will come to be called, in plain terms, lying.

In spite of Sir Anthony's newlywon allies one can imagine that for its own political reasons the Labour opposition will not be seduced by his "blunt" statement and will continue to probe into the many unanswered—and we think unanswerable—questions on his Middle East policy.

On the subject of "lying" as we have pointed out on other occasions, no self-respecting government can afford the luxury of beliving in the truth on principle. The first casualty both of war and of politics is the truth, and anarchists are therefore not shocked when someone discovers that the government is leading the Commons and the country up the garden! We only underline the cases in which the government is caught-out as a liar in order to convince those member of the public who are impressed when the government tells the truth that, in fact, uttered by politicians, the truth is as immoral as a lie!

THE FORGOTTEN MAN

The birthday anniversary of Stalin, who would have been 77 on December 21, was totally ignored by the Soviet press. Last year the occasion rated a front-page portrait in Pravda, and high praise "as the pupil and successor to the cause of Lenin."

Over the past two years, Stalin's birthday has been the occasion to stress the party line of the "preferential development of heavy industry." But heavy industry was given no mention by to-day's Soviet press, which is now advocating house building and light industries.

TOTALITARIAN TRENDS M.I.5 Snoopers in Universities

ENGAGED recently in a political discussion with a minor Government official this writer noted that his mildest liberal remarks were prefaced with such safeguards is "I support my country, But ... " Is this indicative of the creeping totalitarianism which makes people afraid to voice criticism which might be interpreted as disloyalty to the country resulting in discrimination against people in Government jobs?

In a Democracy, trends away from freedom of expression are generally expressed in a subtle form, and freedom can be paired without the alert citizen realising its full meaning. "Democratic" Governments can always point to the conditions existing in openly totalitarian countries, and people still argue with the anarchist propagandists to the effect that we are able to get up on platforms and oppose Government policies, whereas we would not be allowed to do so in a country which was not free. What has escaped them (like many of the gradualist reformers) is that we are allowed that amount of freedom which is not conceived as dangerous to the "national interest". There are too many examples, particularly in the Colonial countries, where repressive measures have been risk. adopted by the British Government against opposition, which differs only in degree (and sometimes not even that) from totalitarian Governments.

One of the less subtle forms of democratic security was disclosed last week when the Association of University Teacher's discussed what action should be taken against M.I.5 investigators who had visited universities in Britain asking about students' possible connection with the Communist Party applying for security-risk jobs. After a long debate other.

the Association decided not to launch a campaign of "non co-operation with Government security chiefs". Instead they agreed to leave it to the conscience of the individual tutor whether to comply with investigation which might be made with M.I.5. But, "in general, no report should be made on a student's political or religious activities without getting his consent first". (What, we might ask, will happen if a student refuses on principle to be intimidated?)

Many views against this latest Government measure were expressed. Dr. A. B. Hart of Glasgow said that the work of university staffs would suffer if the State came to expect them to "act as an extension of the security police". Their compromising decision however, is a triumph for the trends we have been discussing and will eventually inhibit the free discussion of ideas among students, and create suspicion between the staff and the students. Many innocent people who are critical of Britain, but have no sympathy with the Soviet Union, may be prevented from taking jobs because a chance remark or an honest open statement make them, according to Government interpretation, a bad security

Governments have to behave in this way in defence of their interests; they have to create suspicion and fear in an attempt to force loyalty from their citizens: The only answer is to abolish Government and all the trappings which go with it so that the peoples of the world can live in a harmonious and cooperative way without fear of being deprived of a living or being imprisoned or shot because their National Governments have divided them, one against the

The Homosexual & His World

A WAY OF LIFE, by Peter (Weidenfeld & Wildeblood. Nicolson 18s.).

THE author of this book, who was one of the defendants in the 'Montagu case' a few years ago, wrote after his release from prison, a book, Against the Law (reviewed in FREEDOM, 25/2/56) which was of considerable value for several reasons; as an exposure of police methods, as a comment on the way in which such trials are conducted, and as a description of prison life which while witty and urbane, was a worthy addition to that literature which seeks to arouse the public conscience to the nature of the degradation inflicted in our name on those who break the eleventh commandment: Thou shalt not get found

The most remarkable thing about Mr. Wildeblood's earlier book was that one reader in ten got in touch with him to abuse him or congratulate him. Many of his correspondents were homosexuals, a few of who wrote to accuse him of 'giving the game away', but most of whom thanked him for making hilmself the spokesman for this submerged minority, most of whose members are condemned because of current social attitudes and legal prohibitions, to adopt a protective covering of 'normality'.

It was presumably this exceptional 'reader-response' which prompted Mr. Wildeblood to write his second book. The publishers announced it as a 'oneman report on homosexuality in Britain'. This is a disservice to the author, whose book is altogether slighter than the eader is led to expect. What he has given us in fact is a series of vignettes, in a rather uneasy mixture of fiction and case-history, of homosexual types, with a few other outside-the-law charactersprostitutes and drug addicts-thrown in. There is Gordon, an ironmonger, who through lack of self-knowledge, had contracted a disastrous marriage from which he sought to escape in a series of homosexual encounters; Waldemar, a phoney foreign aristocrat living on the shabby

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fringe of fashionable society; Dickie, the heart-throb journalist; Stepney Pam, a prostitute; Sidney the wide boy, who like many others was introduced to homosexual practices in Borstal; Perry the exconvict who became a popular singer with an addiction to marijuana; French Babette, another prostitute, and Reggie, a man of the type known as a 'screaming pansy' (which simply means of course that his glandular psysiology is just that much more feminine than that of most homosexuals, who are able to conceal their disability), who keeps house for

They are an unlovely lot, and one of Mr. Wildeblood's friends remarks after meeting them, "Goodness, how glad I am to be a normal, healthy, uncomplicated queer."

The book also contains a number of dinner-party conversations in which various points of view of and about homosexuals are expressed. These dialogues are rather stilted and 'clever', and the ideas in them would probably be better stated in a straightforward way. Mr. Wildeblood seems to recognise his book's deficiencies, for he concludes:

"So there is perhaps nothing much to be learned from this book. It has no shape and no message, except perhaps the negative one that men and women will continue to lead their own lives, even though they do not conform to the prevailing ideals of their time. Each community consists of two opposed groups: the majority whose beliefs dictate its customs, and whose members accept its rules almost without questioning them, and the minority which, often violently, rejects those rules and creates an underworld of its own."

WHAT does emerge from this book, irrespective of its merits, is that if homosexuality is a problem ('this scourge in our midst', etc.), it is a problem of the law. It may be considered immoral or distasteful to a majority, but the law is not concerned with matters of morality or taste, but with the prosecution of those who contravene its enactments-in this instance, the Criminal Law Amendment Act. As anarchists, we have often cited the legal attitude to homosexuality as an instance of our contention that the law creates more problems than it solves. For female homosexuality (Lesbianism) is not a 'problem' at all. Why not? Because it is not illegal. I think this is a valid argument, but to convince people that the cases are analogous it would be necessary to find statistical evidence to answer two questions. Is homosexuality a rarer phenomenon in women than in men? Do as large a proportion of homosexual acts among women concern minors as among me? (One gets the impression from the frequency of newspaper reports that the majority of actual prosecutions in homosexual cases relate to those concerning boys).

In expressing our horror at the legal treatment of homosexuality, it is difficult to know where to begin. The flagrant exceeding of their powers by the police in gathering their evidence? (Mr. Wildeblood's earlier book gives in detail this aspect of the Montagu case). The standing invitation to blackmailers which the law provides? The way in which police officers (homosexual ones?) go out soliciting in order to trap potential offenders? (Here this country lags behind those American cities which employ children of both sexes for this purpose). The frequent suicides of people questioned by the police? The deliberate manufacture of evidence by the police? One such case, which was commented on in FREEDOM when it occurred, a year or so ago, is mentioned in the present volume:

"There was another case about a Chinaman from Malaya who was supposed to have done something with another man at Gloucester Road Tube Station. The other man committed suicide soon after he was arrested, but the Chinaman came up for trial at London Quarter Sessions. Two detectives said that they'd been standing on a stool in one of the lavatory cubicles, and had watched what happened through the crack at the top of the door. The defence submitted a film taken from that position, which proved that the detectives couldn't possibly have seen what they said they had seen, and the Chinaman was acquitted.

"But he didn't let the matter rest there, as most people would have done. He brought a High Court action against the two detectives, and was awarded £1,600 damages for false imprisonment, malicious prosecution, conspiracy to give false evidence, and legal costs."

Or shall we assume that our homosexual has received irreprochable treatment by the police and a 'fair' trial, and is sent down to one of Her Majesty's Prisons for a good long stretch? He rapidly discovers that the medical or

psychiatric treatment that has been talked about at his trial is not even farcicalit is non-existent, and he finds himself in an all-male community where the very offences which landed him there are more widespread than in the world outside, not only among the prisoners, but also among the officers. (Anyone who has been in a civil or military prison or Borstal will confirm Kropotkin's remark that prisons are the universities of crime). When eventually he is released, he will, if his homosexuality is congenital, be no more able to keep out of trouble than before; probably less so because of the systematic degradation and stultification of the personal will and responsibility which prison life involves, while if his homosexual tendencies have been acquired, they will have been far more deeply rootd by the conditions and environment

IN considering what changes in the law relating to homosexuality we have to agitate for, it is probably best to separaate it into three aspects, which in order of controversiality are: homosexuel acts between consenting adults, homosexual prostitution, and homosexual acts involving minors. The first of these is not a legal offence in most countries, and is only one here because of the Labouchère amendment in the Criminal Law Amendment Act which was adopted in the House of Commons in 1885 without any discussion. Does anyone really think that the private behaviour of consenting adults should be the subject of legal sanctions? As to homosexual prostitution, is it morally or socially any different from prostitution generally? And if history teaches us anything about prostitution it is that no laws can prevent it, and that legal prohibitions simply act as a sort of police licencing, with a great deal of police corruption thrown in.

The difficulty in getting more enlightened public and legal attitudes towards homosexuality arises when we consider offences concerning boys. And it is certainly aggravated by the prevalent myths about the sexual 'innocence' of childhood, which make it difficult for people to discuss it rationally. (Those who consider homosexuality to be simply a matter of 'arrested development' in a phase which should normally be passed through to childhood, would argue that

From the Other Shore

People often take prejudice or habit for truth, and in that case feel no discomfort: but if they once realize that their truth is nonsense, the game is up.

Destruction creates: it clears the ground, and that is already creation; it removes falsehoods, and that already is truth.

Do you remember the Roman philosophers in the first centuries of Christianity? . . . The one blessing that remained for these people who were strangers to their own times, was a quiet conscience, the consoling knowledge that they had not been afraid of the truth, that, having once grasped it, they had found strength to endure it and to remain faithful to it . . . Another blessing: their personal relations, the certainty that there were others who understood, who sympathised with them, the certainty of a profound rapport that was independent of events.

If only people wanted to save themselves, instead of saving the world, to liberate themselves instead of liberating humanity, how much they would do for the salvation of the world, and the liberation of humanity.

If there is something in you, not only value, but something that will stir others profoundly, it will not be lost, such is the economy of nature. Your strength, like a pinch of yeast, will surely agitate, ferment all that comes under its influence; your actions, thoughts, words will take their place without any special effort.

From "From the Other Shore" Alexander Herzen.

BOOK REVIEW The Quare Fellow

THE QUARE FELLOW, by Brendan Behan. (Methuen 10s. 6d.).

RENDAN BEHAN'S play in its printed version suffers from the lack of the Irish brogue which gives poetry to the prose of prison life,

The play has no plot; in outline it follows Oscar Wilde's Ballad of Reading Gaol, with its description of prison life on the eve of, and during a hanging.

The prison, mainly for reasons of possible libel, is Irish, but as a prisoner bitterly says: "The Free State didn't change anything more [in the prisons] than the badge on the warders' caps."

Brendan Behan's eight years were served in British prisons and the background has all the authenticity of ex-

the taboo in our society on sexual manifestations among children and adolescents is responsible for much of the existence of adult homosexuality.* There is, on the other hand, plenty of evidence for the existence of congenital homosexuality, and there is the persuasive and reasonable argument that everybody's sexual nature is a mixture of homosexual and heterosexual urges in factors which vary in each individual).

There are a number of opinions current about this aspect of homosexuality. It is argued that since pederasty has been accepted and approved in some human societies, there can be no absolute moral taboo on it, or that in many such cases it is not necessarly the adult who is the seducer (Mr. Wildeblood's book contains some evidence for this argument), or that in any case, there is no evidence that Continued from p. 3

*See Sexual Preedom for the Young by John Hewetson, (Freedom Press, 6d.).

perience and awareness. Even the jokes have the bitterness and some of the feebleness which would not raise a smile elsewhere. Sometimes it seems that the flower of humour too is stunted in the prison air.

"The Quare Fellow" is the man who is to be hanged. He is never seen or heard on the stage, his invisibility gives him a third dimension. He is guilty of a particularly brutal fratricide and it would be impossible to feel pity for him as a person. The pity one feels is for humanity. The only evil characters who emerge from the play are the hangman and his assistant who are separated from humanity, the one by professional detachment the other by religiosity.

There may be argument by some that the warders are too human. The bitter joke is repeated about the warder who married the prostitute and dragged her down to his level. It is not the point the author is making, for his play is about an execution, and the scenes of prison life are only incidental.

The anecdotes with which the play is studded are typical. Prison life is a stagnant present and an unwelcome future so the past (real and imaginary) is the chief solace. The story of the bombing of a prison (surely Walton Jail, although described as Strangeways); the stories of previous hangings and the prosecution of a warder for giving away information on hangings.

Prison life is shown in all its deprivations and privileges. The pathetic quest for sight of a woman, the devices for a drink of methylated and the eternal struggle for 'snout'. The moral code that makes a murderer a 'decent' prisoner and the unforgivable crime of wasting cigarette ends.

The literature of prison is a rich one but "The Quare Fellow" makes it richer

OTHERS SEE US Days of the Anarchists

Canadian daily paper The Hamilton Spectator (Nov. 21).:

A NEWS report out of Budapest refers to "armed anarchists" fighting in the streets against the Communists and blocking railroad traffic in and out of the city. Of course, the term "anarchists" may here have been used in the general sense of opprobrium, just as the Communists use such words as "Fascists", "bandits", "running dogs of imperialism", and "bloodthirsty reactionaries" as descriptive of anyone who opposes them. In this case, however, there is a very good chance that they meant precisely what they said, and that the anarchist is making himself heard in Europe again.

If this is true, it augurs little respite for the worried men in the Kremlin, for the Eastern European satellites are tailormade to-day for the appeals of anarchism. Nobody knows this better than the Communists themselves, who many years ago fought on the same bloody barricades with the anarchists in their joint struggle against Czarism and autocracy, for the Communists can never forget the issue on which they and the anarchists split long before the Communists came to power was the same issue that is to-day tearing Eastern Europe apart.

It was the issue of authority. The anarchist fought and still fights against any and all kinds of coercive, repressive authority. The Communist fought instead for the chance to establish an even more repressive authority of his own-the dictatorship of the proletariat, he called it—and in the eyes of the anarchist has succeeded in diminishing instead of enlarging the area of individual human liberty.

In the long story of mankind's sad, proud, violent fight for freedom there are few chapters more fascinating than that dealing with the anarchists. They were thrown up as part of the convulsive protest of the European people against the iron grip of divine right feudal autocracy. In Russia under the Czars, in Austria and Hungary and Poland under the thumb of the Austrian Empire, in Spain under the Hapsburgs, the anarchists wrote and talked and plotted and killed in the name of the sacred right of the individual to be free.

They were not all men of violence. Some of them, anticipating Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience in India, were convinced that a genuine final victory could be achieved only by gentle resistance and the assertion of superior

The following feature, with the title moral power. Russia's great Count "Days of the Anarchists" appeared in a Tolstoy was one of these. Although he never openly called himself an anarchist, Tolstoy was universally accepted as one of the great leaders in anarchist philo-

> Another of the gentle fighters for freedom, a man in whom the passion for liberty burned like a great white flame, was Prince Peter Kropotkin. Like Tolstoy, here was one who sprang from the very ranks of the privilege he sought to eliminate. In great books such as "Mutual Aid", "The Conquest of Bread" and "Memoirs of a Revolutionist", Kropotkin set forth clearly the pattern of anarchist thought. Freedom for the individual could only be achieved, he said, through the complete elimination of the strong, centralized state and all other institutions of a coercive nature. There would be no armed forces, police, or judiciary other than the elemental ones required for the simple regulation of local, autonomous communities.

> People like these, of course, could never be Communists, and they were the first to remind the Communists that to seek to recreate society through the establishment of a strong state could never lead to individual liberty, but only to an increasingly repressive state machine. Anarchists like the German, Max Stirner, were criticizing the Communist "struggle for power" as far back as 1904, long before the Russian Revolution of

> The great woman anarchist, Emma Goldman, was the first of the Western intellectuals to become disillusioned with the Red "freedom" in Russia, and her disappointment was expressed in a book published in 1925, at a time when a great element of liberal thinking in France, Britain and North America was being increasingly influenced by what appeared in Russia to be a gigantic step towards human liberty.

> The anarchist, whether he fights with a bomb or pistol as his weapon, or uses the more powerful instrument of moral superiority, believes fanatically in the individual human being and his right to be free. Empires and police states, whether Fascist or Communist or of any other type, are for the anarchist unscientific and evil. If the power of Western civilization cannot come to the aid of the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe, don't be surprised to hear more in the future, from behind the Iron Curtain, of those greatest revolutionaries of them all, the anarchists.

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1957 An Important Year Continued trom p. 1

view has been the Hungarian one, where the people themselves have taken a hand in their own lives and have shown the hollow nature of totalitarian tyranny. Not only that. The action of the Hungarian masses has undermined considerably the ability of the Soviet Union to wage war, by lighting the fires of disaffection throughout the satellite states and even, it is reported, in the Soviet Army itself.

From the Suez adventure, the immediate result has been the setting up of a United Nations 'police' force which will from now on, we are assured, exist to prevent such adventures taking place again. Nations are not to be allowed to 'go it alone'. They will go it in concert and we may be sure that on any issue big enough—or when the big powers are ready—the United Nations will organise armed conflict efficiently and on a proper scale on our behalf.

The two issues—Suez and Hungary—show in sharp distinction the two motives of human organisation. In Suez the issues were power and profits and the action was organised by States. In Hungary the issue was freedom and the organisation by the people was for the overthrow of a tyranny and the functioning of their society in a humane fashion.

On the one hand war, in which the ordinary people are destroyed in the interests of their exploiters. On the other, revolution in which they attempt to throw off their exploiters.

A Decisive Year

Suez will go down in history as one more blood-stained chapter in the story of empire. But Hungary will prove to be a cornerstone in revolutionary history. For thousands of Communists it is the end of the road. They swallowed Kronstadt, the purges and the Pact, but Hungary stuck in their throats. Neither Russia, nor the satellites, nor communism throughout the world will ever be the same again. 1956 has been a decisive year against the imperialists in the Kremlin.

It has also been decisive against the imperialists of the West. Whether Anthony Eden and the Suez Group like it or not, they have got to live with Arab nationalism, as they have realised they have to live with growing Asiatic and African demands for independence.

The world cannot continue to be divided into haves and have-not nations. The have-not nations are no longer standing for it. Each nation cannot develop peacefully divided into have and have-not citizens. Are the have-not citizens to go on standing for it?

Freedom is indivisible. The freedom of the Egyptians, the Cypriots, the Kenyans, Malayans and Hungarians, is indivisible from ours. But how can we help them to understand that their freedom demands liberation from masters of their own nationalities as well? Perhaps by demonstrating that we do not identify ourselves with governments of our nationality, but with mankind as a whole.

The Hungarians have given us the latest demonstration of the fact that people can get on without government. Will their example be followed elsewhere in 1957?

Next year could be a very important one for the anarchist movements of the world. As authoritarian orders show their weaknesses and their hateful characteristics, opportunities will occur for the convincing presentation of our libertarian alternatives. Are we going to be ready?

AN ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL?

PULGARIAN anarchists in exile have issued an appeal through the Committee of International Anarchist Relations (C.R.I.A., 28, rue Serpente, Paris, VI) for a congress to be held in Paris at the end of July next year in order to discuss the founding of an anarchist world federation. They make the unverifiable claim that their appeal is endorsed by the underground anarchist organization in Bulgaria, the FACB.

The document opens with a call to face the state of decay and complete stagnation in the anarchist movement in general. "Life goes by, and we mark time. No ideological or organizational progress. No increase in membership, either". Then it stresses the contemporary significance of Bakunin's ideas as contrasted with the allegedly spent and obsolete teaching of Godwin and Proudhon, and refers to two main tendencies in the contemporary movement, "a traditional one, instinct witht sterile intellectualism and antisocial individualism, and a revisionist one inspired by marxist phraseology". The movement's chief weakness is stated to reside in its lack of an efficient organization and of a judicious conception of the same.

To remedy this deficiency eight points are put forward to serve as the ideological, tactical and organizational bases of the proposed anarchist federation. Briefly summarized, they are: (1) Scientific materialism, social solidarity, freedom; (2) inalienation of human dignity, and a society without authority; (3) the radical transformation of the present society; (4) a total social revolution; (5) preparation of the masses and the revolutionaries for this task by means of: (6) education, propaganda, example, solidarity and coordinated action; (7-8) no formal discipline, but insistence on the fulfilment of commitments freely undertaken.

The proposed anarchist world federation (referred to by its French initials as FAM) would be constituted through a formal adhesion of individuals and groups accepting those eight points. Groups and individuals would remain entirely autonomous except for commitments taken in common within the federation. A Congress, convened as often as it is necessary and possible, would decide of these commitments, while a Council, issued from it, would meet regularly, and leave the day-to-day task of co-ordination and information to a permanent Bureau. Finances would be provided by regular and special subscriptions, by donations and gifts, sale of literature, and interests on capitals. An

Homosexuals

Continued from p. 2 the youthful and innocent 'victim' has suffered any real harm, or been 'perverted' by his experience. But it can certainly also be argued, that nobody has the right to take advantage of the inexperience and intellectual immaturity of another, nor to introduce a boy or youth into practices which are condemned by public opinion and punished by the law in the society in which he lives. It is also declared that in many cases there is no evidence of 'consent'—the opposite in fact, and that there is evidence of 'perversion' as a result of homosexual seduction.

The present state of enlightened opinion is summed up by an editorial paragraph in The Observer (21/10/56) which after commenting on a particularly savage sentence at the Old Bailey remarked:

"No one seriously disputes that young people must be protected against homosexuals of certain types, and sometimes a homosexual may have to be deprived of his liberty, perhaps for a ling period, on this ground. How this should be done is a difficult question; it will no doubt be discussed in the forthcoming report of the Departmental Committee which is examining the whole subject. What is certainly wrong is to punish homosexuals as criminals by sending them to gaol. Nor is it right to brand them as lunatics and send them to mental hospitals. A special institution is probably required-or perhaps, in the meantime, a prison wing set aside for the treatment of these cases."

TINFORTUNATELY the eventual publication of the Departmental Committee's report will only be the beginning of any legislative changes in the treatment of homosexuals. As one of Mr. Wildeblood's characters says, the natural reaction of any government would be to put the report on a high shelf and try to forget it. Which makes all the more important the task of changing public attitudes to the predicament of the homosexual.

effort would be made to revive the syndicalist movement in conjunction with the A.I.T.; efforts in the struggle against war, colonialism, and totalitarian régimes would be increased and co-ordinated, while the more modest and preliminary tasks of study, documentation, information and mutual aid would be tackled by the Bureau as soon as it is formed.

Little is known as yet of the response to this appeal in the anarchist world. The omens, however, are not favourable. A. Prudhommeaux has dedicated the first number of his Pages Libres to a discussion of it, attacking its pretensions, claiming it to be a re-hash of Archinov's proposals in 1927, and warning against the danger of further division which has often followed previous attempts to unify or organize the movement. He calls attention, in particular, to that by "Federation Communiste Libertaire", which is now defunct together with the once glorious paper of Sebastien Faure and Louise Michel, Le Libertaire. He contends furthermore, that the appeal does not represent the views of the majority of the Bulgarians in exile, and that anarchism is not in a state of stagnation and decay. He queries the soundness of all the eight basic points the appeal puts forward, and calls for a rejection of it on the ground that the bureaucracy of the suggested organization would strain the already scanty resources of the movement, while its centralization would make it vlunerable to persecution and capture by dishonest elements. On the international plane, he affirms, the existing C.R.I.A. is at the present time all that the movement needs and can afford.

It is probable that an anarchist con-

in Italy or in France, but although, I presume, it will acknowledge the Bulgarian appeal, it is most unlikely that it will take it as a base for discussion and the passing of resolutions. Thus the Bulgarian comrades will be disappointed, perhaps embittered, and certainly confirmed in their opinion about the stagnation and powerlessness of the movement, to which their failure to win a sympathetic hearing will be an additional factor. Yet there are individuals and groups in the movement in scattered parts of the world who are in favour of an organization of the type proposed, and it is then natural to ask: Why do they not call their own congress, join forces, and go their own way, still maintaining friendly relations with those who refuse the organization? The answer is simple. All these Georges Fontenis, the founder of the groups and individuals put together could perhaps provide the brain and the effective nerves of the intended organization, but they would have precious little to organize and to draw nourishment from. Thus they could only strain and starve, even supposing that they could harmoniously work together a while, That they would not harmoniously work together for long is to be surmised from human nature and past experience. The authors of the appeal themselves would not be so keen on their idea, if they knew beforehand that following its acceptance by large sections of the movement, they would themselves be excluded from any central position in the Council or the Bureau.

gress will be held some time next year

This is not to accuse them of dictatorial or other sinister intentions. It is not contrary to anarchist human nature to want to be a centre of initiative, and to extend one's influence as widely or as

deeply as possible. What is not anarchist, both in method and intention, is to put the cart before the horse or to build the cart and then ask the horse kindly to come and pull it. The horse has learned that if he does not kindly go and pull it, the chances are that they will come and fetch him with a whip. He can hardly be blamed for viewing with suspicion any new cart that is built. On the other hand, any horse who cannot get his hay without submitting to pulling a cart, will willingly lend his support to other horses in a concerted effort to end their common slavery and to return to the freedom of the prairie. It so happens, however, that the horses ready to risk rebellion are very few, that these few disagree among themselves about the best means to shake off their yoke, and that some of them, who claim to have travelled far and wide, affirm that there are no more prairies to return

The three conditions on which anarchist success depends are accordingly the following: first, that there should be many more anarchists than there are at present; second, that they should know one another's mind, and what they really want; third; that they make sure that the realization of what they want is warranted by human nature and existing modes of survival. When these three conditions are reasonably fulfilled, the question of means, including forms of organization, will frame itself detailedly and be satisfactorily solved. The only good which may result from the Bulgarian appeal is that a discussion may follow, helping to clarify what anarchists severally understand by anarchism, and what they commonly consider the minimum requisite for association and concerted action. But, if to call oneself an anarchist, acceptance of the eight points as worded in the Bulgarian appeal is requisite, then I for one am not an anarchist, for I reject outright the first four of them, and have great misgivings about the other four.

-VIEWPOINT

The Agonising Dilemma of Adolescence

THE lack of freedom in childhood makes children look forward to "growing up" as an escape. Most adults tend to forget what it is like to be a child. They forget the gnawing sense of helplessness that a child has in an authoritarian setting. If the parents decide to send the child away, to school perhaps, or to relatives, or to force it to learn something which to it is deadly boredom, the piano perhaps, the child has absolutely no resource at all. All that is possible is a sort of passive resistance.

It is sometimes objected that children need a "pattern", and they are unhappy and insecure if they do not have fixed bed-times, etc. They like to have decisions made for them because they are not able to decide for themselves, or it is too great a strain to expect them to decide. While this may well be true in some ways, it is iniquitous to try to fit a child into a pattern of life which it does not want.

Very few adults look back on their childhood with an impartial eye. It is seen as all black or all white. Either hell or "the happiest days of your life". This phrase is usually applied particularly to school days, which most children regard as hell, holiday time being heaven. Either way this tendency to exaggerate, whatever its cause may be, helps to obscure the issue. A person who has forgotten what his own childhood was like is not likely to make much of a parent. That is why most parents are bad, and make a mess of their offspring.

The attitude to the adolescent is equally unenlightened. Youth on the whole is not a happy period. It is perhaps a period of plans and ideals for the future, which appears limitless and rosy, but the happiness is something to come, not something present. Older people sentimentalise their youth because they remember the bright dreams and forget the harsh reality. Their adult life is probably pretty unsatisfactory and they want to go back to a time when they could still entertain hopes. This sentimentality can become cruel.

Sentimentality, which is really inappropriate emotion, usually accompanies, causes or covers up the grossest cruelty. In this case it takes the form of efforts to keep the young people artificially young. This custom was probably worse before the war, and is probably more common in Northern Europe than in Southern. Not long ago I read a humorous novel, published before 1939, in which a man of twenty-two, or thereabouts, was addressed as "kid" and treated as a child. Possibly the military and industrial service imposed on so many young men during the war helped to diminish this attitude. The decay of the old semi-aristocratic British ruling class has helped in this. Boys who went

through the grisly experience of boarding school, and then to the university, remained childlike and irresponsible (if children really are irresponsible) until their early twenties. Working class children grew up much quicker.

Wilhelm Reich considers that sexual repression has the function of making the people servile. It is a form of castration. Eunuchs have been great generals and statesmen in ancient times, but I cannot think off-hand of any who were great rebels. Sexual repression of adolescents has the function of keeping them down. Boys and girls may develop normal sexual desires as early as twelve or thirteen, but the obstacles that society puts in the way are enormous.

We tend perhaps too much to regard sexual repression as a purely physical deprivation. It is certainly true that sheer sexual hunger may at times drive a person nearly insane, but an outlet does exist, however unsatisfactory, in masturbation. (Of course many feel guilty when they masturbate, but practically everyone does it). For the emotional need no satisfaction exists at all.

In some co-educational schools boys and girls are brought up to be "brothers and sisters to each other". This is most horrible. It is as bad as segregation. This so very English attitude of "oh, we're just good pals" is mainly restricted to the bourgeoisie. It is just amazing the innumerable tricks and defences that are devised, so that even if the sexes do mingle they shall still be kept essentially

Physical frustration is not the only misery, there is also the terrible sense of isolation of the adolescent who is not allowed to live with his sweetheart. No society can be considered entirely healthy which does not permit such associations. They do not have to be permanent, nor need there be children unless desired. It would be an extremely valuable exprience for the young person. These temporary unions existed among the peoples of parts of Polynesia and Melanesia, yet if one were to suggest them in our society one would be met with horror.

Children of the future age, Reading this indignant page Know that in a former time Love, sweet love, was thought a crime!' -W. BLAKE.

This was written well over a century ago. In this matter we have actually gone back since Blake's time, the age of consent being now sixteen instead of thirteen. So much for Progress!

While the adolescent has not the freedom of the adult, neither does he have the chance to be free from responsibility. He enjoys the worst of both worlds. He lives under parental surveillance and

control, though he may be as big as his parents and as strong physically. He may be at work or he may be involved in arduous studies involving periodical examinations. At the same time he has to read, every time he opens a paper, some letter or article about the vices of modern youth. He has to submit to constant patronage, to reiterated reminders that he is not grown up yet and there-

fore cannot do this that or the other. One of the greatest evils of our authoritarian society is to look upon age in a hierarchical way. We give the greatest honour and respect to men in their fifties and sixties. Unlike earlier patriarchal societies we do not pay much regard to old age, we treat old peoble rather contemptuously. But below the fifties respect sinks rapidly. We patronise young men and women less than we used to, but we still regard adolescents as inferiors and rank children below them. Each age group gets progressively less and less respect, till we regard infants as little beings who do not even know when they are hungry or tired, and have to be fed and put to bed by the clock. One can only pity mankind, who for most of its history has had no clocks to regulate its natural functions.

Age is not a hierarchy. Age does not even necessarily bring wisdom. In Europe we seem to have done without the wise old man for centuries. Our greatest respect goes to the man who is still young enough to be a man of action. Is it therefore too much to hope that people may come to realise that each age has its own appropriate wisdom? People do already accept the fact that small children are very "knowing", and that it is difficult really to deceive a child or put it off when it asks questions the adult does not want to answer.

Each age has a value of its own. Each is a state of transition to the age which follows, but this does not mean that the age is valueless in itself. What of the person who dies before they have achieved maturity? Is one to consider that a wasted life? It is wrong to regard adolescence as simply a transition stage between childhood and adulthood. This belief derives from the storm and stress of the adolescent period. This conflict and confusion is not innate in the human animal, the Tobrianders and the Samoans knew it not, it is a cultural production, perhaps one might even say a European cultural production.

The adolescent suffers because he is not regarded as fully human but as a sort of semi-human creature. We must respect every age of man for the things which are valuable and appropriate for that particular age, and not set up arbitrary goals of "maturity".

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Albania is a tiny, mountainous land of a mere 11,000 square miles in area. Its population is a little over a million. Crude oil, pig copper, and chrome ore are exported, however, and make a contribution to the wealth of the world as a whole. Not that this material contribution does the people any appreciable good. Living standards are among the lowest in Europe, and recently reports have been coming through to the outer world that the people are restless and troubled.

No foreign correspondents are allowed to visit Albania. Tito's Serbian paper Borba (The Struggle) has an accredited reporter in Tirana who writes now of much unrest in the country. In its issue of 28 November Borba speaks of Albania as being "on the verge of revolution, of a wave of terrorism, and of mass arrests."

Prifiti, Spellbinder

The same special despatch maintains that the concentration camps are full. (These camps are definitely an essential element in the exercise of power as wielded by the Communists wherever they rule). To escape arrest many have fled into the mountains. Nearer the Yugoslav border food supplies are breaking down. May it be admitted right away that

this picture of gloom and despair is com-

ALABAMA BUS BOYCOTT VICTORY

Buses having no special seating restrictions for Negroes ran in this Alabama city for the first time to-day. This follows a Supreme Court decision against racial segregation on Montgomery buses, which had been boycotted by local Negroes for the past year. At first Negroes and whites, although on the same buses, sat apart. It was not until the morning rush hour that the segregation barriers really crumbled.

The Negro boycott began in December last year, when a Negro woman was arrested for sitting in the front of a bus-a part which was then reserved exclusively for whites. Now that segregation has gone the Negro leaders here advised their followers to use tact and to avoid sitting next to whites if other seats were empty.

SELECTIONS FROM FREEDOM

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(B.U.P. 21/12/56).

by Comrade M. Prifiti of the Albanian diplomatic service. He is his country's ambassador in Moscow. As such he broadcast and appeared on Moscow TV on 26 November to mark Albania's "Day of Liberation".

Prifiti waxed enthusiastic as he spoke. "After twelve years of self-sacrificing toil, and with the fraternal help of the Soviet people, Albania has repaired all the ravages of war. She has now established new industries, laid railways, built power stations.

Guided by the experience of the Soviet Union we have reorganized the countryside and, adhering strictly to Leninist principles of voluntary action, the peasants of Albania are now entering the path of collectivization."

From the position of a semi-colony Albania, he went on, had become an important sovereign State. No longer a pawn in the hands of the Imperialists, she was now a free and independent nation, an active member of the powerful socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union. Speaking as a diplomat he was proud to say that his country now maintained diplomatic relations with twenty other States.

Pressure from Below

This glowing picture was contradicted, however, in the same issue of Pravda (332/13995). Two inches of space retail the information direct from Tirana that the Government and the Party of Labour (i.e. the Communist Party) had decreed a lowering of prices on foods and consumer goods. These reductions were to be from 5% to 26% in the case of foodstuffs, and on consumer goods from 5% to 64%. It was also decreed that as from January 1957 wages were to be raised for office workers and for the lower-paid grades of labour. Pensions were to be increased all round.

Although the Western press has not been able to confirm the Borba report of general unrest in Albania, this Pravda item is indication enough that the Albanian workers and peasants are anything but well off after twelve years of Communist rule. Decrees of this kind by Communist States are promulgated only when the pressure from below becomes so great as to endanger their governmental structure. It looks as though steps are being taken to prevent revolt on the lines of what is now taking place in Hungary.

Aping the Soviets

On the fifteenth anniversary of his Party's foundation Comrade Hoxha wrote a potted history of his organization across half a page of Pravda (313/ 13976)R. It reveals a slavish aping of Soviet patterns even to collectivization and the launching of a second Five-year Plan and the rest (concentration camps included). He closes by declaring that "Our Party and the entire Albanian nation are filled with a great and boundless love for the Soviet Union for that it freed our land from the yoke of the occupying invaders and has extended to us, and is extending, every possible kind of assistance with no thought of reward in our task of building a new and better life. The Albanian people will cherish this friendship with the USSR as were it the very apple of their eye."

This Enver Hoxha (pronounced as Hoja) is First Secretary to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour, This title is the shop-sign on the Adriatic for the Soviet-controlled Communist Party.

Kremlin Power Maniacs

J. B. Priestley has just denounced the Kremlin overlords of Russia as power maniacs. In Hyde Park my favourite Anarchist speaker often deals with this lust for power as a form of insanity, which no doubt it is. It is this mania for power that has brought Soviet influence into the Adriatic. Quietly over the past fifteen years or more the Kremlin has been organizing her own Cyprus base in the shape, at the present time, of the People's Democracy of Albania.

If need be, Russia will crush any revolt here in a matter of hours. She will readily commit genocide if she thinks that necessary. She will put in a permanent garrison of military and naval personnel if she wants to strengthen her hold on the Great Middle Sea. There, in the Mediterranean, Russia's rival imperialisms France and England have suffered a set-back in the Port Said area. Russia sits in Albania and watches for her opportunity. For the common people of that land it bodes no good. A revolution is indeed needed there. Only the people can bring it about by their succeeding in eliminating the Communist Party; by throwing off the burden of Statism with all therein implied in the form of authoritarian rule and its monstrous excretion of bureaucracy.

The Christmas Card Racket

THE launching of a campaign to sell two million Christmas cards in aid of the Lord Mayor of London's fund for Hungarian relief raised a minor storm among those financially interested in the manufacture and sale of ordinary commercial Christmas cards.

Mr. N. H. Sharpe, president of the Greeting Card and Calendar Association, and boss of one of Britain's largest wedding invitation and greeting card firms, strongly criticised the scheme on the grounds that the large number of charities and organisations which now distribute Christmas cards interfere with the commercial firms whose proper business it is.

Perhaps Mr. Sharpe was also a bit annoyed that his chief rival (Raphael, Tuck) had got the contract for printing the Hungarian cards, but in the event his words do seem to have had an effect, for the campaign has flopped, only 250,000 cards having been sold.

According to Mr. Desmond A. Tuck, head of Raphael, Tuck, Mr. Sharpe's attack induced many retailers not to stock the cards and, for fear of offending local tradesmen, many local mayors would not let them be sold from the town halls.

He said: "I consider uncharitable and unchristion the view that the Hungarian card should be coldshouldered because it could compete with normal Christmas sales.

"I also think it an absurd view, for our target was only two million, out of scores of millions sold.

"What has happened could, in my view, give the impression that the greeting card industry is a kind of racket. This is not the case.

"But a cloud has been cast over the industry which it could ake some time to dispel."

Mr. Tuck, of course, speaks from the favoured view of the man who has made his profit on printing the cards. Mr. Sharpe saw them only as a potential threat to his profits next year. (Since all this year's cards were distributed to retailers months ago a drop in sales this year would be reflected in orders for next year).

Perhaps it is strong to refer to the Christmas card racket. It's just a business like any other and the mere fact that it takes place at a Christian festival is obviously no reason to take all that stuff about charity, loving thy neighbour and the rest of it too seriously.

The really sacred thing about Christmas cards is the profit they

Incidentally 550 million cards were sent this year in Britain alone!

MUTUAL AID

WHATEVER the South African Government's radical policy may be, it cannot in all cases stamp out simple human feeling between people of different colours, as witness the incident reported in the News Chronicle (24/12/56):

"Shift the scene to Johannesburg. Fire destroyed the home of a retired Afrikaans-speaking railwayman in slummy Vrededorp, where whites and blacks live side by side in poverty.

"His 20-year-old daughter, Sarie Kotze, lost her carefully collected trous-

"Sarie is white, but her non-white neighbours came to her aid. The hat went round, money and goods flowed in."

THE EDITORS TO

WORSE PRESS IN THE WORLD?

DEAR SIR,

I should like to make, in the one letter, comments on two articles in FREEDOM, December 8th issue.

Firstly the writer of "Catering for the mass mind" assumes that because the popular papers of Western Europe are equally bad in principle they are equally bad in detail. Certainly the news they give is equally twisted in one direction or another. The amount of distortion in France Soir and Le Parisien is far more than would be tolerated by readers of the Daily Mail, to mention the worst offender in this country. But these papers do deal, however stupidly, with subjects and events of some importance. Last week one popular British daily, faced with vital events in Hungary and Suez, gave as its one inch high front page headline, "The Agony of David Nixon" (a popular television entertainer whose wife died in a motor accident). This is just one example of the irrelevance that dominates the editorial policy of the mass circulation papers in Britain. On the whole the continental papers may shriek, but they have an idea of what is important in this world.

The writer remarks, after dealing with the political distortion of news: "Add to this a liberal dose of crimes of violence, the usual chit-chat about the national film industry and the lives of its 'stars' and finally the insatiable passion for competitive sport, then the daily ration

FOR THE VICTIMS OF STRYDOM & EDEN

I WAS glad to note mention of Canon Collins, and Christian Action, in M's article on the degraded South African Government. I can't myself see how anyone interested in anarchy can withhold interest from that most inconvenient young man, Poet and Anarchist, Jesus Christ. His words were for the understanding of the few, as poetry is. His actions, though, illustrated his words, so that it has never been possible to misinterpret and twist the meaning of christianity quite as much and as often as governing bodies have always desired. This has always been a great nuisance. If there were, at present, more than an inspired handful of people (within organisations and governments) who are actually putting christian action into practice, then the nuisance might grow and grow until it became a genuine revolution. Isn't that what we want more than anything else?

Anyway, anarchists and others can send contributions against Strydomism to The Secretary, Christian Action, 2, Amen Court, E.C.4. This fund is for the purpose of enabling the many impoverished amongst Strydom's victims to procure legal defence; and to help their dependents whilst they are under arrest. I heard of the fund through a letter by Canon Collins in the New Statesman.

Again, one can add to one's protests against our own Government by contributing to a fund for the help of Egyptians who are homeless and destitute because of the military action of Great Britain and France. Money for this can be sent to Mr. George Wigg, M.P., House of Commons. Anarchists who feel that they would need Bell-Book-and-Candle treatment if they went so far as to address an envelope to the House of Commons, could perhaps gain comfort from the thought that if there were more than half-a-dozen christians in any government we are ever likely to have, that government would blow itself sky-high from within!

Goveton, Kingsbridge,

FRANCES BELLERBY. Devon.

Arthur Deakin Memorial

£22,000 X-ray department in memory of the late Mr. Arthur Deakin, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, was opened at Manor House Hospital, Golders Green, London, yesterday by Mr. Frank Cousins, the present general secretary. It will be known as the "Arthur Deakin Department of Diagnostic Radiology."

Manchester Guardian, 7/12/56.

(Our Medical Correspondent informs us that in order for the new department at Manor House to be 100 per cent. in conformity with the extremely high standard of diagnosis of the causes of industrial dispute consistently achieved by the late Arthur Deakin, it has been equipped throughout with built-in Communists under every bed).

is complete." Although it is true that all these ingredients are to be found in the popular Press, their proportions vary enormously. The French papers are luridly concerned with crimes of violence, but are far less interested in the loves of Elvis Presley or the life history of Anita Ekburg than the papers of this country, which are more like daily magazines than newspapers, throwing spicy tit-bits at readers. It is small wonder that the British press has a reputation in America of being the least adult of all the countries in Western Europe.

The controversy about whether the National Health Service is to be admired or despised has been sparked off again, this time by certain statements in the British Medical Journal. The writer in this journal expresses the usual grievances about the NHS becoming an administrative machine, and the "ubiquitous politician". There is a good deal of justice in these remarks. Nevertheless anarchists will realise that the BMA's solution will not be the same as theirs. Many doctors would be only too willing to go back to the jungle which prevailed before 1948, where doctors went where the money called them, and a doctor sold his knowledge at the highest price possible to people who needed it but could barely afford it. It is surprising to see a statement like "Medicine should be taken out of politics" greeted with approval in FREEDOM. The truth is that in the present state of society is soon as politics goes out money comes

The National Health Service is not just a device to bring the public under the sway of the Ministry of Health, but one of the few genuinely socially conscious acts of the Labour Government. The British Medical Association, although having a sufficient professional ethic to recognize the injustice of the new charges for prescriptions, is sufficiently conservative to prefer the complete abolition of the National Health Service.

Yours faithfully,

P. J. HITCH.

Blackburn.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at THE MALATESTA CLUB, 32 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.1. DEC. 30-S. Fanaroff on ANARCHISM & THE REICHIAN REVOLUTION

Questions, Discussion and Admission all free.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting

HYDE PARK Sundays at 3.30 p.m. MANETTE STREET

(Charing X Road) Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

Malatesta Club

SWARAJ HOUSE, 32 PERCY STREET. TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1. (Tel.: MUSeum 7277).

ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. London Anarchist Group Meetings (see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. BONAR THOMPSON Speaks.

Every Saturday: SOCIAL EVENING.

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