

In this Issue :

'Not by Bread Alone' - p. 2

American Scientists  
Speak Out - p. 4

British Terror  
in Cyprus - p. 4

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The greatest of all injustices  
goes on under the name of law."  
—ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

Vol. 18, No. 11

March 16th, 1957

Threepence

## THE ALGERIAN BLOODBATH

FROM the beginning of the Algerian rebellion in November 1954 up to December 31st, 1956, according to figures supplied by Minister Lacoste to members of the French Assembly, military casualties (dead), and victims of terrorism (killed or disappeared) totalled 25,609. Of this number, Europeans accounted for 2,520, of whom 659 were killed by terrorists and 88 have "disappeared". The remaining 1,773 were killed during military operations. Arab dead up to December, 1956, officially totalled 23,189, of whom 3,876 were killed by terrorists and 1,310 have "disappeared". Losses inflicted by the French military forces are put at 17,784 killed.

In spite of periodical assurances by M. Lacoste that the end of the blood-bath is in sight the toll of lives continues to mount. According to statements made to the Press by General Salan, 700 "rebels" were killed in the period from January 28 to February 5. In one day (February 8) 130 Arabs were killed; 216 died between the 9th and 10th February. A *Reuter* report from Algiers states that "security forces killed 267 insurgents and captured 478 during the week-end" of March 2-3. The *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent reports (March 5), ten killed and thirteen wounded in terrorist outrages "during the last twenty-four hours," and 137 rebels killed in military operations.

★

FOR more than eight days last month, the United Nations debated Algeria. By one vote the Afro-Asian text urging that the French should negotiate with the Algerians and grant them self-determination, was thrown out. Two "milder" resolutions confining themselves to expressing "hopes" were carried, though neither got the two-thirds majority. The effect of the debate and the resolutions so far as Algeria is concerned was precisely nil—at least from a positive point of view, for so far as the French government is concerned its "success" at Lake Success has possibly encouraged it in pursuing a new "tough" policy in Algeria. But for the amateurs of the political game every vote, every diplomatic cough or nose twitching has meaning and significance. For the *Manchester Guardian*,

The votes on Algeria in the Political Committee of the United Nations Assembly should scotch the notion that

### Gabriel to Blow his Horn for the Beaver

There's not such a chasm dividing Farringdon Road from Fleet Street, after all! "Gabriel", the *Daily Worker's* faithful cartoonist-hack for many years, and now recently parted from them over their Hungarian policy, has now joined Beaverbrook's *Evening Standard*. Gabriel the archangel sent with a message from God (or Stalin—which until the "change" was the same thing), has become plain Mr. Friell (nurturing a God-that-failed perhaps?).

Whatever the archangels of King Street may say about the frailty of their Gabriel, the last laugh is on the Beaver. He at least can declare (with "Low" at his side to give support), that until they quarrel his cartoonist is free to say what he likes, even to bite the hand that feeds him. Which is more than Mr. Friell can say of when he was just Gabriel!

the "anti-colonial" block can have it all its own way. That is about all that the voting has accomplished.

(This considered view was written before the Gold Coast disguised itself as Ghana. Now with one more vote for the Afro-Asian block there will be stalemate!)

The *New York Times*, Anglo- and Franco-ophile to the core, rejoiced over the United States backing France "to the hilt" on the Algerian question.

Ambassador Lodge's intervention on Wednesday gave the French everything they could desire. It was the right thing to do, and it should help a bit in the process of repairing the deteriorated relations between our two countries.

An interesting conclusion seeing that it was ostensibly the problem of Algeria that was being discussed, and when the *N.Y. Times* approvingly refers to Ambassador Lodge's recognition that the Algerian problem is "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of France" one could not help thinking back to its indignant protests when the Russian army interfered in the Hungarian problem. Is the *N.Y. Times*, perhaps unaware that France has an army (apart from the other Services) of at least 340,000 men fully equipped with the most modern weapons of warfare engaged in the "pacification" of Algeria? That a sum of £400,000,000 was spent on military operations in Algeria during the past twelve months and that the French government is budgeting for

£600 millions during 1957-58? For what? We will let the more sober news columns of the *New York Times* give the answer.

"This is the background to the Algerian conflict . . .

Algeria, four times the size of France, is the home of more than 1,000,000 Europeans and 8,000,000 Arabs. For two years Algeria has been a cockpit of Moslem revolt . . .

The Algerian Moslem population has been fired by the nationalist flames which have crackled across the Moslem world. Last year the French relinquished control of Morocco and Tunisia. Paris granted each of these North African protectorates independence. Algeria is wedged between them. But unlike Algeria, each of the protectorates has established political structures headed

by a sovereign ruler. Still, the Algerian nationalists ask: If the Moroccans and Tunisians can become independent, why can't we?

But the French, with their colonial empire fading, view Algeria as vital to their national interest. At stake in Algeria are the interests of the large European population, France's heavy financial investments and the hopes of oil. Last year the first Algerian wells went into production with the promise of more in the future, France is hungry for fuel, an appetite whetted by the temporary closure of Suez and the destruction of Mid-east pipelines." (Our italics).

★

THOUSANDS of people are dying in Algeria to protect a few financial and economic interests and to maintain a European *herrenvolk*

in power. Perhaps the latter is the greatest obstacle to a "solution"—just as it has been in Kenya and is clearly the reason for the bitter resistance of the whites in South Africa to the granting of equal rights to the native majority. Apart from a change of heart—in which case there can be no "solution" except that of grinding down one section of the population by the other. This in effect is the French government's policy in Algeria whatever may be its declared intentions. And we do not doubt that Mollet's government is anxious to find a solution. But as time passes a solution which would satisfy its economic interests as well as bring "peace" in Algeria becomes more difficult to achieve. The *colons* in Algeria, just as the settlers in Kenya, have become more of a liability than an asset to the

Continued on p. 3

## Briggs: Is there a Communist Plot?

DURING the course of the four-day inquiry into the causes of dispute at Briggs Motor Bodies works at Dagenham, some tens of thousands of words have been spoken dealing with all aspects of the relationships between the management and the men. Some two hundred and fifty words, at a rough guess, have dealt with the political opinions of shop stewards—but it is these passing references which have hit the headlines of the daily papers.

Lord Cameron, the judge presiding over the court, started it by

questioning John McLoughlin, the shop steward whose dismissal started the big row, about his politics. It has been openly stated often enough, and never denied to our knowledge, that McLoughlin is a member of the Communist Party. Lord Cameron went out of his way to bring this fact before the public by his questions to McLoughlin, who, however, replied that his politics were between himself, his conscience and the ballot box.

In this we think McLoughlin was quite right—and the Judge quite wrong to try to bring this out, for it can only be prejudicial to this witness. Certainly there is the point to be made that a man's actions in his place of work will be affected by his political or social beliefs—but the most partial of observers must surely see that the long history of discontent at Briggs derives from something much deeper than the agitation of Communists—who no longer have the respect of the workers anyway.

### Committee Funds

If Mr. McLoughlin is still a Communist then his conscience must be a very flexible instrument indeed. But that, as he told the Judge, is his own affair—and of course that of the men he works with and represents as their steward.

Lord Cameron fired the same question at Claude Berridge, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, and a foundation member at that. Berridge, who is also a member of the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and formerly a divisional organiser for the area which includes the Briggs works—he was giving evidence in his AEU official capacity—is extremely well known as a Communist. He admitted his party membership in court, but denied knowing whether or not McLoughlin was a member.

Lord Cameron was also very interested in the finances of the Briggs and Fords shop stewards committee. It seems that quite large amounts of money are handled by this committee, the proceeds of lotteries which they run to raise funds. From March to August last year income amounted to £16,155 and they paid out £9,339 in prizes. They run their own paper *The Voice of Ford Workers*, using their funds for this and to compensate their members for time lost and expenses incurred in connection with their activities. On August 1, 1956, there had been a balance at the bank of £3,118, but,

said Jack Mitchell, convenor of Briggs main plant stewards' committee, 'It's a different state of affairs now.'

One of the things that was brought out by Mr. Blakeman, the Ford Company labour relations officer, was that out of the thirteen members of the Works Committee, no less than eight are Communists. He went on to say: 'We are not interested in our employees' political beliefs in themselves, but we cannot blind ourselves to the disruptive influence exercised by a powerful political clique in our midst.'

### For the Workers to Settle

Now we have stressed time and again our approval of the form of organisation at shop level that the Fords and Briggs workers have created. We maintain that this is very near to the correct pattern for an industrial workers' organisation to take. The way these committees have handled their affairs seems to us to be admirable; they have raised their own finances, run their own paper and the support they get from the workers indicates that they have represented the interests of the rank and file faithfully and with energy. Indeed, it is precisely this which has incensed the Fords management and forced the official union leadership to try to look like leaders.

If within this shop stewards committee there is a preponderance of Communists it can only be because they have been prepared to work at it—unless they are now bringing in their own members in order to pack

Continued on p. 4

## LOOK OUT!

### PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

WEEK 10	
Deficit on Freedom	£200
Contributions received	£186
DEFICIT	£14

March 1 to March 7

Corral de Tierna: F.C. 7/-; London: C.F. 5d.; Oxford: B.E.H. 1/1/0; Greenford: B.M.E. 5/-; Hitchin: H.E.H. 10/-; Neath: I.T. 18/2; Los Angeles: "Man" Group per A.R. 25/5/-; Waltham Abbey: R.J.H. 1/-; London: J.S.* 3/-; London: H.M.* 2/-; London: Anon. 9d.; London: D.M. 1/-; St. Paul: M.S. 7/-; London: E.W.P. 11/-; Stockport: D.F.M. 3/6; Liverpool: C.D. 11/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; London: S.B. 2/6; Northwood: E.H. 1/-	
Total	11 14 4
Previously acknowledged	174 9 7

1957 TOTAL TO DATE ... £186 3 11

GIFT OF BOOKS: London: A.U.

### Doing Something About It

## The Third Programme

READERS of FREEDOM may recall an article in our February 2 issue: "Freedom of the Air Now" in which we drew attention to the B.B.C.'s plans for meeting competition of Commercial Television by drastic cuts in sound broadcast programmes. It appeared that the first victim would be the "Third", which in spite of its limitations, nevertheless offers programmes which are not an insult to the man or woman of average intelligence. We suggested ways and means for protecting our interests by the creation of a co-operative that would be set up to produce these programmes, pointing out that it only needed 100,000 people willing to pay five shillings a week to ensure an income of more than a million pounds a year to this end.

The reactions of our readers were disappointing. Their silence made us feel that perhaps our interest in the Third Programme was generally frowned upon; that revolution "is made of sterner stuff". Our dampened enthusiasm has however been revived on reading the following item in Monday's *Manchester Guardian*:

A week ago, after reports that the B.B.C.'s radio services were to be pruned, Mr. P. H. Needs, of Herne Hill, advertised in the personal column of a London newspaper, inviting other listeners to the Third Programme to join him in a campaign for its defence. The response was so heartening that he has now decided to organise a society and put the campaign on a formal basis.

An appeal, which went out during the week-end, asked those interested in preventing the extinction of the Third Programme to write to him at once, at 19 Danecroft Road, Herne Hill, London,

S.E.24, indicating whether or not they would be willing to pay an increased licence fee for "the incomparable Third."

Mr. Needs, who teaches in a primary school, has never taken part in a B.B.C. programme, and his interest is limited wholly to listening. For him September 29, 1946, was an historic occasion and the date is firmly engraved in his memory. This was when the Third Programme first went on the air. He began to be actively concerned about the financial welfare of his favourite B.B.C. service a few months ago. He says:

"I felt it was up to those who appreciate the Third to do something about it. If our efforts are to be practical, we have to make some reference to finances. I am pleased to say that out of the 700 people who have sent me their names so far, the great majority say they are ready to pay an increased licence fee if that will ensure the continuation of this service. The increase suggested varies between ten shillings and £3.

"I would say that few of us who are involved in this campaign are rich persons. The great value of the Third is that it brings us things which we might never be able to afford to go to in the theatre or concert hall."

We feel that Mr. Needs should be encouraged, assisted and congratulated by all anarchists, if only for his remark, "I felt it was up to those who appreciate the Third to do something about it". This surely is a basic tenet of anarchists. But how many of them do anything about the things they believe in? Let us start by writing to Mr. Needs at 19 Danecroft Road, Herne Hill, London, S.E.24, even if we only tell him that he's got the right approach even if we don't care personally what happens to the Third. And those of us who do care can do more than salute Mr. Needs. We can help him in a practical way!



PEOPLE AND IDEAS

'NOT BY BREAD ALONE'

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP  
OPEN DAILY

- New Books . . .**  
The Guillotine at Work  
G. P. Maximoff 17/6
- Reprints . . .**  
Selected Poems William Blake 9/6  
Pitcairn's Island  
C. Nordhoff & J. N. Hall 2/6
- Remainders . . .**  
The Popes and Social Policy  
J. W. Poynter 2/6
- Second-Hand . . .**  
The Feminine Character  
Viola Klein 7/6  
Doubles in Literary Psychology  
Ralph Tymms 3/-  
Sacrifice to Attis  
William A. Brend 10/-  
Sleeveless Errand  
Norah C. James 6/-  
Moscow Dateline  
Henry C. Cassidy 3/-  
Pleasures of New Writing  
Margaret Cole 4/-  
Women of To-day  
Margaret Cole 4/-  
To the Bitter End  
Hans Bernd Gisevius 3/6  
The Intelligent Man's Guide to  
the Post-War World  
G. D. H. Cole 6/-  
Memoirs of a Shy Pornographer  
Kenneth Patchen 3/6  
Carrotty Broon A. S. Neill 3/6  
The Democratic Ideal in France  
and England David Thomson 2/6  
What is Man? Mark Twain 2/6
- Pamphlets . . .**  
The Hungarian Workers' Revolution 4d.  
Socialism and Workers' Councils  
Jim Graham 2d.  
A Short History of Christianity  
J. M. Robertson 2/6  
The Evolution of the Idea of God  
Grant Allen 2/6
- Periodicals . . .**  
Liberation, February 1/9  
Views and Comments,  
No. 20, February 3d.
- During the next two weeks we are selling off hundreds of second-hand fiction and popular titles at one shilling each, or three for half-a-crown. This is our first sale, so come and see us if you can.  
S.O.S.—from the Bookshop. We have found the first volume of Lyell's "Principles of Geology", but we have lost the name and address of the customer who wanted it. Will he please get in touch with us?  
We can still find the book YOU want.  
Postage free on all items  
Obtainable from  
**27, RED LION STREET,  
LONDON, W.C.1**

"In no other country does literature occupy so influential a position as it does in Russia. Nowhere else does it exercise so profound and so direct an influence upon the intellectual development of the younger generation. . . . The reason why literature exercises such an influence in Russia is self-evident. There is no open political life. . . . The consequence has been that the best minds of the country have chosen the poem, the novel, the satire, or literary criticism as the medium for expressing their aspirations, their conceptions of national life, or their ideals. It is not to blue-books or to newspaper leaders, but to its works of art that one must go in Russia in order to understand the political, economical, and social ideals of the country—the aspirations of the history-making portions of Russian society."

—PETER KROPOTKIN, 1905.

WHEN Matthew Arnold declared that Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* was not to be taken as art but as life itself, his meaning was clear even though his statement was untrue for the simple reason that we read novels but we live life. In the West novels may be anything from sleep-inducers to works of art, but in Russia they were in the period of the great nineteenth-century novelists, something more: a programme, a protest, a declaration of faith. Even their characters became arch-types—larger than life, and added words to the language: *khlestakovshchina* from *Khlestakov*, the bogus inspector-general in Gogol's play, which when first published in 1836, "divided all educated society into two uncompromising factions"; *oblomovshchina* from Goncharov's *Obломov*, of which the critics Dobroliubov declared that "oblomovism is the key to many a riddle of Russian life."

Gogol's *Dead Souls* was eagerly circulated in manuscript copies, and Kropotkin notes that "In my childhood we used to copy the second volume of *Dead Souls*—the whole volume from beginning to end." Gogol himself was frightened by the unexpected impact of his work, and Belinsky wrote him an open letter, which became a kind of radical creed and, long before it was ever printed (by Herzen at the Free Russian Press in London), "there was not a corner in all Russia where revolutionary-minded youth

did not read it, did not know it by heart, did not look on it as a guiding star."



IT is not easy to imagine the excitement with which the nineteenth-century Russian novels were awaited as they appeared, often in serial form. When *Anna Karenina* came out in this way from 1875 to 1877, Tolstoy's readers were breathless, not only for the dénouement of Anna's tragic love affair, but for the resolution of the crisis in the life of Levin (Tolstoy himself), when in his social and political attitudes he had reached a point where "he must either interpret life so that it would not present itself to him as the evil jest of some devil, or shoot himself". The very titles of the novels of the period suggest their expository or questioning nature: Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time*, Herzen's only novel *Who is to Blame?*, and, most influential of all Chernyshevsky's *What is to be Done?*, published in 1862, the same year as Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* which itself, Marc Slonim says, "provoked more violent polemics than has ever been aroused by any other work". Chernyshevsky's book became a gospel to the younger generation, and his hero Rakhmetov became their model. Years later the young Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman sought to emulate Rakhmetov and Vera.

Rakhmetov is a dedicated revolutionary. In Dostoyevsky's hands the same kind of character is developed one stage further in the unscrupulous fanatic who in *The Possessed*, reaches the conclusion that one tenth of mankind is entitled to establish a dictatorship over the other nine tenths in order to force happiness on them, and in *The Brothers Karamazov* Ivan Karamazov tells his brother Alesha the 'Legend of the Grand Inquisitor', a picture of the totalitarian state which has long ceased to be an allegory and become a prophesy. Thomas Masaryk called this "the key to an understanding of the Bolshevik Revolution and of all Russian problems". The Grand Inquisitor accepts the division of mankind into masters and slaves:

"The Grand Inquisitor and his assistants rule through deceit; they are the only ones to know the whole truth and their shoulders are broad enough to bear the burden average mortals would not be able to sustain. In this theocratic State, administered by priests, the citizens

are rewarded and punished like children, whom ignorance of the truth makes happy. When Christ descends upon earth again, the Grand Inquisitor puts Him in prison lest He destroy the existing order. . . . The Son of God said that a man shall not live by bread alone, yet He ignored the fact that a man cannot live without bread either."



THIS background of 19th-century literary history explains something of the impact in the Soviet Union of the novel by Vladimir Dudintsev, a hitherto unknown writer, *Not by Bread Alone*. It appeared in instalments in the magazine *Novy Mir* from August to October. According to Edward Crankshaw in *The Observer*:

"for three months the university students of Russia have been talking about practically nothing else; we have been told that there was a public discussion at Moscow University, when the street outside was packed with people who could not get in, and words flew high, wide and bold." And Manya Harari, in *The Listener* said that at the University meeting, "a thousand students came, and some of them shouted that the whole of Soviet fiction was a lie with the exception of this one book." But how can fiction be true and how can it be a lie? In the same sense in which Matthew Arnold found Tolstoy's book not art but life itself. For the first time, these young Russians could find with an excited shock of recognition, a book which revealed what they felt to be the truth about their world, and the names of the book's principal characters, Lopatkin and Drosdov, have it is said, already passed into the language as proper nouns.

Drosdov is an able and opulent Soviet industrial boss. Lopatkin is a penniless engineer living in poverty. Nadia, Drosdov's wife gradually learns his story which Manya Harari summarises thus:

"Lopatkin has invented a machine. His invention competes with that of the academician Avdiev, an established authority and the head of a powerful scientific group. The relevant Ministry backs Avdiev and has ordered Drosdov's factory to work on his model, diverting to it the funds originally allocated to Lopatkin's. It soon appears that Lopatkin's method was the better of the two, but by then the money has been spent and the Ministry, the Institute, and the factory

must save their faces. For seven years Lopatkin fights these giant vested interests who claim to represent the state and use its power. He works and starves, he is slandered, threatened, offered bribes, robbed of his invention, tricked, imprisoned, and condemned to ten years in a concentration camp. He is unaided except by Nadia, who comes to love him, and a few other isolated 'individualists' like himself. Thanks to them he is at last released and his machine is made and proved to be successful. But his victory makes hardly a dent in the armour of the giants. Although this is after Stalin's death, the commission of inquiry puts the blame on some defenceless stooges, and Drosdov is even promoted."



WHAT is it about this story that has "gone straight to the heart of Soviet youth, bringing a sense of almost intolerable liberation"? Since the end of the Zhdanov period there have been plenty of novels about complacent factory directors, thwarted inventors and rigid bureaucrats. Think of the fuss about Ilya Ehrenberg's *The Thaw*, which, when published here, turned out to be the usual lifeless and sanctimonious Soviet novel. The difference is that in the other books the good, healthy characters, active in the life of the Party, always succeed in the end in overcoming the regrettable blemishes on the face of the otherwise admirable system. This is why the students cried, "Our literature has been the literature of a great lie!". But in Dudintsev's novel Drosdov, Academician Avdiev and the Ministry are the party and the system. "For people who are attached to things", says Lopatkin, "communism is the feeding-trough. But a real man does not live by bread alone". But communism as he conceives it,

"is a moral force which exists in people and has existed 'for a very long time'. He knows that it is in him because his needs are different from those of the bourgeoisie: his chief need is to give. He wishes that a communist society existed already because for him it is a world which would not hinder him from giving. Not that anything can break his spirit. 'Once a man has learnt to think', he says, 'nobody can stop him. There are freedoms of which it is impossible to be deprived'. Even from the concentration camp he comes back with new ideas for his invention; but he would like to hand it over physically to the people. For him the time for distribution is now and the people are not an abstract conception but those living men whom he has seen sweating in unnecessary labour." Lopatkin believes in the formula 'From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs'.

Continued on p. 3

Some Factors Affecting Emotional Development in Children—5

(Continued from previous week)

During the period under consideration the child will normally start to show an interest in such sexual matters as the origin of babies or the reason for obvious bodily differences (if the parents have been wise enough not to shroud the body of the opposite sex in mystery). Any questions must be answered truthfully. The old-fashioned custom—still practised by inhibited parents—of filling the child's mind with rubbish about storks or cabbage patches was not only unnecessary but harmful. The process of development is made needlessly difficult if old misconceptions have to be unlearned. The child should never be given the idea that there is anything secret, nasty or unpleasant about sex. This point is discussed below in more detail.

There is no need, in giving explanations, to go into elaborate detail which would be beyond the comprehension of the child. If questions are answered immediately, simply, directly and without embarrassment the youngster will most probably leave the subject<sup>19</sup>. It is the child who is denied information who is most likely to repeat the same question over and over again and who will invariably bring up the topic at the time most likely to embarrass his or her anti-sexual parents.

The language used in replying to children's questions should, of course, be suitable to the age of the child but it is essential that the correct terms be used from the start. They are no more difficult for the child to say than some of the fantastic euphemisms employed. Particularly to be avoided are such objectionable terms as *self-abuse* or *self-pollution* with their obvious insinuation when reference is made to masturbation.

The need for absolute truthfulness on the part of parents cannot be too strongly emphasized. This applies to all subjects, not just sex education. If a child has ever had an occasion to find his or her parents unreliable his or her faith in them can be seriously undermined and the youngster may doubt them even if told the truth. The boy or girl then becomes more susceptible to the very probably erroneous information of others whom he or she may consider more reliable. Furthermore, the child who has faith in his or her parents and who finds them sympathetic may find it less difficult, than do many children, to bring any personal problems to them.

Cases<sup>20</sup> have occurred where severe emotional disorders have appeared even in children of enlightened parents. In some typical cases the cause has been an unfortunate contact with an adult ignorant of sexual matters (or one who has lied deliberately for some personal gratification). For instance, a child who has grown up free from the guilt complexes

which are so frequently associated with masturbation may one day be found masturbating by some sex-armed adult—perhaps a servant or school-teacher (teachers are notoriously anti-sexual)—who shows the conventional horror of the practice and lectures the youngster on the supposed harmful effects of the act. The emotional impact of such an encounter will be greatly minimized if the child has never been given any reason for doubting his or her parents' word. However, such an episode will generally have some impact on the boy or girl and parents who find a normally emotionally stable youngster showing signs of suppressed anxiety should tactfully endeavour to ascertain the cause and to again reassure the child. Their task will be greatly simplified when the child has faith in them.

Such cases show the importance of warning the child, when the youngster is old enough to understand, about the attitudes he or she will encounter in the outside world. The child should be told that even the most apparently reasonable people have attitudes towards certain subjects which are based more on emotion than reason or knowledge. The more intelligent boy or girl may realize that he or she is not altogether personally free from such attitudes on occasion.

Another possible cause of trauma in a child is the accidental observation by the youngster of his or her parents actively engaged in sexual intercourse. A young child is very likely to completely misconstrue the episode and regard the act as an attack by the father on the mother. The psychological effects of such an occurrence will not be dealt with here but parents who may find that such an incident has unwittingly taken place should take immediate steps to put the child's mind at ease. The problem of those unfortunate children who live in such unsatisfactory social conditions that observation of parental copulation (or even extra-marital intercourse) may become an everyday occurrence is one which can only be solved by action from outside the home. Here, of course, there are more factors than unsatisfactory sexual attitudes contributing to emotional disorientation.

It might be mentioned, in passing, that a sexually enlightened child is far less likely to suffer from emotional shock, should he or she ever have the misfortune to experience a sexual assault by a deranged adult, than would a child brought up in ignorance. (It seems possible that most traumatic conditions consequent upon sexual assaults of children arise from adult attitudes towards the occurrence afterwards rather than from the event itself. But this is a subject outside the scope of this essay.)

Since so many adults regard genital play with horror that to minimize the risk of encounters of the kind mentioned

above it is necessary to teach the child, once the youngster is old enough to understand, that it is not good manners to play with his or her genitals in public—just as he or she is taught the social conventions regarding excretory functions.

Here again great care is required by the parent in the method of approach. During the training in cleanliness—which, of course, as was said above, should have been adjusted to the natural development of the child and not forced—the parent should have avoided any expression of disgust at the natural functions and should have taken great care to avoid instilling into the child any disgust for his or her own body.

When sex education (and by sex education is meant, we repeat, training for life itself—not merely the imparting of biological information) commences—right at the beginning of the child's exploration of the world around—further care should be taken by the parent not to associate sexual activities with excretory activities. Much of the disgust so often shown by sex-armed adults at sexual behaviour can be traced back to early childhood training where the child has been taught that the elimination processes are nauseating and has carried over this distaste to the sexual functions because of the dual purpose of the external genital organs. The parent can assist greatly the journey towards satisfactory orientation if, when bathing the child, the genitals are treated no differently from any other part of the body.

Children, therefore, should never be made to feel ashamed of their bodies. The growing habit, among enlightened modern parents, of permitting their children to play naked besides the benefits of the youngsters' health of nudism, the Besides the benefits to the youngsters' health of nudism, he accustoming of the child to the sight of the bodies of children of the opposite sex is beneficial from the sex education aspect<sup>21</sup>.

So, also, is domestic nudity. There is no reason why children should not see their parents unclothed at the times appropriate for undress—rising or going to bed, bathing, sun-bathing, swimming, etc. It is indeed, important that the child should, before reaching puberty, become familiar with the sight of the adult body. The acceptance of nakedness as not being undesirable in the appropriate circumstances is increasing, most noticeably amongst the college-educated section of the community<sup>22</sup>. A.C.F.C.

(To be continued)

<sup>19</sup> A valuable aid to parents (and adolescents) seeking information and guidance is: Beigel: "Encyclopedia of Sex Education".

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Pearson: "Emotional Disorders in Children".

<sup>21</sup> See: Bibby: "Sex Education".

<sup>22</sup> For attitudes in the USA see: Kinsey et al: "Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male"; "Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female".



## The Algerian Bloodbath

Continued from p. 1

metropolitan government. Mollet's policy of on the one hand pursuing an ever more violent military policy of repression and on the other of offering some kind of bait to the Arabs in the form of free elections (supervised by United Nations observers) once they lay down their arms, has succeeded by the former in intensifying Arab hostility and by the latter in encouraging the extremist fascist elements among the Europeans.

The violence and "terrorist" tactics of the Arabs have clearly been more than matched by the French. The official figures we quoted at the outset coupled with the fact that the Arab population outnumbers the European *colons*, plus the French occupation forces, by at least seven to one must surely indicate that if the French maintain their stranglehold it will only be because their weapons of repression are more deadly than those of the "rebels". It should perhaps be also pointed out, since we are always told that the "terrorists" in such situations are but a small minority of the native population (*the way they carried on in Malaya, Kenya and Cyprus in spite of being so insignificant always reminds us of other equally unlikely stories as the loaves and the fishes!*) that in Algeria according to *New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin (Feb. 25), those "who sympathise with the rebellion . . . include the vast majority of Algerians". Even the old chestnut that without the backing of Communist agitators and funds the "rebels" would be unable to resist, has worn thin in face of the facts. Evidence by French officers engaged in the fighting make it clear that the Communists are no more than parasites on a movement firmly founded in Moslem nationalism (see *Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 22).

But whilst the growing French military activity, terrorism and show of naked force (the government is now carrying out death sentences more frequently and there are said to be 250 Algerians in prison who have been condemned to death), has hardened Arab intransigence\*, so has the French government's expressed intention to offer some political inducements to the "rebels" in return for "peace" angered the extremists among the *herrenvolk*. According to the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent (March 5):

Twenty-two members of the Committee of French Renaissance, an organisation of French Nationalist Extremists in Algiers, which was dissolved at the beginning of the winter by M. Lacoste, were to-day accused of distributing subversive pamphlets, forging police cards, kidnapping, and acts of violence ending in death.

\*Tillman Durdin, *N.Y. Times* correspondent reports his conversation with a member of the thirty-four man National Revolutionary Council which is in "over-all supervision of the rebellion for the National Liberation Front" in which while "deploring" the killing of French men, women and children in the "indiscriminate terrorist acts of the revolutionists" added: "It is war. It is our only way to fight and then we remember the tens of thousands of Algerians the French have killed, the villages wiped out, the tortures and executions. "We have laid our plans for a ten-year war. The longer it goes on, the more bitter will our people become and the harder it will be to settle short of a complete victory by one side or the other. I do not think the French economy can stand the drain of a ten-year war that is sure to spread elsewhere in French colonies in Africa before long."

The pamphlets are described as extremely violent, demanding the execution of such "traitors" as MM. Mollet, Pineau, and Lacoste, the Mayor of Algiers, and prominent Algerian Liberals, both Moslem and European . . .

It is stated that the conspirators' first act of violence was kidnapping an Algiers Moslem shopkeeper, about mid-November, for reasons not indicated. The man died after days of interrogation. The accused are also charged with throwing hand-grenades at Moslem establishments on several occasions, and of committing other outrages. The police state that they found at a villa which served as their headquarters not only arms, ammunition, and explosives, but also apparatus apparently intended for torture.

★

IF there could be a "solution" in Algeria by military force, then Mollet is going about it the wrong way. He would need to deploy his armed forces against the million strong European *colons*, more strongly entrenched in their positions of power and privilege than his much ambushed and disgruntled conscript army, and not, as at present, against the eight million Arabs who, to use a much hackneyed—but for all that true—phrase, "have nothing to lose but their chains"! But obviously short of genocide military measures will bring no permanent solution. The alternatives offered by the political Left opposed to the Algerian campaign, range from the hopes expressed in a recent issue of Bourdet's *France Observateur* that the leaders of Morocco and Tunis—the Sultan and M. Bourguiba respectively—between which countries Algeria is sandwiched and represents a threat (to their hegemony?) should be allowed to negotiate a peace, to that of the socialist Lucien Weitz in *Tribune*, who declares that

The Algerian war will end only when the French people, awakened by the truth, frees itself of its chauvinism and forces the Government to negotiate.

We do not profess to know the answer in terms of power politics. At best *France Observateur's* reliance on diplomacy will result in Algeria living on a volcano. As for the *Tribune* correspondent's solutions, they sound to us more utopian than anything a starry-eyed anarchist could put forward. And in any case when the people are strong enough to "force" their government to negotiate it's high time to dispense with governments!

## BAA, BAA, BLACK SHEEP

I remember in our former Contests about Commerce, great Noise was made of the *French* imitating our woolen Manufacture, and making them to such Perfection, as to out-do us in foreign Markets; from whence it was infer'd, that they would in Time supplant our Trade, and carry away the Business from us: The Reason that was given, was, that their Poor could work so much cheaper than ours, that their Goods would be sold cheaper than the *English*, and consequently they would have the first and best of the Market always from us; and had this been fully and fairly made out; had they brought sufficient Evidence of the Facts suggested, the Inference had been good.

DANIEL DEFOE: *A Plan of the English Commerce* (1728).

PLUS ça change, plus c'est la même chose. After more than 200 years we still hear the old familiar chant: foreign workers will accept lower wages than greedy British workers, and before we know where we are they will have taken our trade away from us.

Nowadays, of course, the French are our buddies (for the time being, at any rate), and the chief villains, especially in the textile trade, are the Japanese.

So we can expect a strong blast of hot air from Lancashire M.P.s shortly when the significance of a recent news item has sunk in. An agreement has just been made between Ethiopia and Japan whereby thousands of Japanese are to emigrate to Ethiopia and help to establish a textile industry in that country.

Up till now the Ethiopians have imported their textiles, much of them from Britain. Recently, however, they have shown a preference for Japanese goods, and exports of British cotton goods to

## THE IDEA OF PROGRESS, an inquiry into its growth and origin, by J. B. Bury, Dover Publications, Inc. 16s.

IT is the author's thesis that the idea of Progress did not come into being until relatively recently. It is a product of modern times. In the Ancient World the doctrine of eternal recurrence was generally accepted. This belief is by no means extinct to-day. Most people will tell you that all civilisations have their rise, their period of prosperity and their decline, and that this has happened and will continue to happen over and over again. A common phrase is, "History repeats itself." The same wars, the same dictators, the same conspiracies and the same conflicts.

The Greeks believed that "hubris" or overweening pride led to the hero's downfall. There was a certain limit that must not be overstepped. To the Chinese the ideal was "to hold to the mean", the Golden Mean in everything, a reasonable balance without going to extremes. These ideas are not so silly. The Greeks would probably consider our civilisation, with its obsession with technical progress and power, as ridden by "hubris" and heading for a really ghastly crash. Perhaps the reason why we regard the Americans as barbarians is that they have even less sense of balance, proportion and restraint than we Europeans.

Another widespread belief in ancient times, which has more or less faded out in our own day, although there is some evidence for it, was that man had originally lived in a Golden Age of primitive innocence and simplicity but had degenerated. All these concepts stood between men and the idea of Progress. Of course in antiquity there was little technical progress going on, and therefore no particular reason existed for believing that any would come in the future. It was thought that in the end civilisation would fall into chaos from which in time a new civilisation would emerge, and the cycle would be repeated.

Actually this is what did happen, with the barbarian invasions, the collapse of the Roman Empire and the rise of the Medieval civilisation. This new society however was not fertile soil for the idea of Progress. It restated the Pagan idea of the Golden Age, and subsequent degeneration in a new form. This became the Fall of Man. Man had sinned and his age of primitive innocence had come to an end. Now he lived in a fallen and always-to-be imperfect world, which could never be improved. Indeed it would be almost blasphemous to suggest that it should be. Happiness was not to be found on earth but in Heaven.

Ethiopia have fallen by £140,000 in two years. Now they have decided to make their own.

Last year the Emperor of Ethiopia toured the world trying to interest various countries in establishing a textile industry in his country. Apparently he tried Britain, the Continent, and America "but was not successful in these places". Then he tried Japan, and a spokesman of the Japanese embassy in London tells us: "My government eagerly accepted the Ethiopian invitation because of our surplus population."

It looks like an admirable solution for both parties. Japan is overcrowded, and Ethiopia needs skilled textile workers. The fun will start when the Ethiopians want to start exporting their textiles. By that time other countries will no doubt have set up their own industries, and before long we shall have the lunatic situation where everybody wants to export and nobody wants to import. Sooner or later that is what is likely to happen as the "underdeveloped" countries become industrialized and former consumers become producers.

In the meantime we can expect to hear a good deal more about the way foreign workers cheerfully put up with a lower standard of living so that their employers can undercut British exports. It will be argued that we should take a cut in our wages so as to make sure that we don't lose our jobs. If this solution were forced on workers in this country then we could expect foreign employers to follow suit so as to bring their prices down. Eventually the workers in every country would be reduced to beggary and nobody would be able to buy anything.

Defoe was quite optimistic. He said that British manufactures were of such

## BOOK REVIEW

# THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

Furthermore the idea the Pagans had had of everything reverting to its primordial chaos had been transmuted into the End of the World and the Day of Judgment. This was expected at no very distant date.

The men of the Renaissance believed that they lived in the ripe old age of the world. Man had reached his highest point. The co-called "ancients" were in reality children. Although this did not mean continuous improvement in the future, in fact it was really incompatible with such an idea, it represented a clearing of the ground on which the theory of Progress was to grow.

It was a period of technical advance, of the increasing power of merchants, of the opening of the world. Man was now adult. He could afford to regard his forerunners as less developed than himself, and he could with equanimity defy or ignore their authority. It was towards the end of the seventeenth century, stimulated by the continual advance of science, that the idea of Progress began to be developed by certain French thinkers. By the time of the French Revolution it was well established, and it was one of the factors helping to bring the revolution about. It became the key idea of the nineteenth century.

Professor Bury does not continue his survey much beyond the nineteenth century. This book was originally published in 1932. One wonders what the author would say now. A lot has happened since that date, and the world certainly does not seem to be getting any better. Although the doctrine of Progress still survives in all its Victorian splendour in erstwhile "backward" countries, who are now developing their resources or winning their independence, it has diminished in influence in Europe and the United States to an incredible extent.

Indeed, to some people, not of a particularly reactionary type, it has come to have a sinister sound. It has come to mean a sort of devouring monster, a dragon impossible to kill.

"Yes, they're going to take the main highway right through the centre of the village green . . . but you can't stop Progress, can you?"

Well, it was an inspiring idea in its heyday. It could prompt men to sacrifice everything for the cause of human freedom and betterment. Its passing into disfavour has been hailed with joy by

## 'Not by Bread Alone'

Continued from p. 2

"he says that his own material needs are almost satisfied even now, in his dire poverty; not that he would reject material comfort but it is not 'To each according to his work'. He works for the 'material basis' as he calls it. Human relationships will come later. In his epoch the end is wealth, power, and it justifies his means. He says to Lopatkin, 'We don't need either you or your idea, however good it is. There are no capitalists to buy it, and the people can do without it and without your elemental ardour—all it does is to upset the economic system. The collective has more genius than any genius, but it works at its own pace'. It maddens Lopatkin that this pace is not even the pace of efficient materialism. It is his invention that will add to the 'material basis' after millions have been squandered. But he is powerless: the ant-heap works only for the established authority."

And he sees that in fact it is the members of the ant-heap who really feel the desert wind of isolation. They are the lonely individualists, united only by the feeding-trough:

"it seems that team life, with its easy extrovert relationships, does not of itself give life, only bourgeois cosiness to those inside it . . . And what then is the state? We are, says Shutikov and his friends, deciding to take over Lopatkin's invention after he has vanished into a concentration camp. There are no mono-

superior quality to foreign that buyers would continue to prefer them in spite of their higher cost. This is another argument we hear a good deal of, especially from the *Jingo* press; but anyone who takes the trouble to make the comparison will see that in most cases it is far from true that British-made goods are better.

Inside the framework of capitalist economics the problem is insoluble. It will never be possible to strike a sensible balance until production is planned to keep pace with need and not in terms of profit and loss. E.P.

all those who hate freedom and happiness. But it is no good clinging to an idea that no longer appears to be true, and the champions of human liberty must find some better idea, or even a new concept of Progress, rather than cling desperately to the old.

Surely this is, if one may use the expression, good Progress? Old-style rationalists will very likely regard the abandoning of the Victorian concept of continual amelioration as a sort of treachery. All the same, the only guarantee of survival is the ability to adapt to changing conditions.

One serious weakness of the old idea was that so much emphasis was placed on its inevitability. Another weakness was the idea that improvement in techniques led to improvement in social conditions. The Nazi régime was capable of making use of all the acquisitions of modern science, and the Allies equalled their barbarity by using the atom-bomb, another product of modern science. Yet a further flaw was the utter contempt for the past, and the things of value in it. Trying to cut one's self off from the past is similar to an individual saying in effect that his childhood, with all its decisive influence on his character, had no further importance, since it was all finished. It is like a plant trying to grow without roots. Throughout history there have been humane and libertarian elements in life. These positive things must be set against the wars and persecutions (which in any case still go on).

What form a new theory of Progress would take it is difficult to say. We cannot really go back to the cyclical theory of endless rise and fall of cultures. The world is in too much of a mess for us to try and accept it as it is. We have to want it changed, and any desire for a fundamental change, if held for any length of time, almost inevitably involves some sort of idea of Progress.

Perhaps the new idea of Progress will begin to manifest itself during the sixties. People cannot go on living on disillusion and anger forever. Let us hope that the new idea will base itself more on effort and less on inevitability, more a social and psychological affair than a matter of more and more ingenious machines. In fact let it be humanistic in the deepest sense, not mechanistic. Man is not a machine, nor is society. Machines have their place, but that is not as society's rulers.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

polies in our country. Everything belongs to the State. And who is the State? We are—the Institute, the Ministry, the Factory. Why shouldn't we take what belongs to us? And who are the people? 'We are,' says a broken-down inventor whom Lopatkin meets. 'You and I and the rest.' 'Who are you?' Lopatkin asks him. 'I am a broken man. I have learnt to sit quietly in my corner, keeping my eyes open and my mouth shut.'

★

FROM Miss Harari's account of this novel, it seems unlike any new book appearing in Russia since the very early twenties, and one which we must hope, will be translated and published here, not for its curiosity value, as with Ehrenburg's *Thaw*, but for its general relevance in the West as well as the East. For, as she says, the real struggle is "between the kingdoms of this world and of the spirit—of this world in which the ends are made to justify the means and the means are substituted for the ends, and where Drosdov builds his abiding city; and of the spirit which does not allow the end to be put off or separated from the means, and where Lopatkin finds his indestructible freedom." But will it be published in book form in Russia? It got a mildly hostile reception in the Soviet press and is announced for publication in the spring. Often in such circumstances in Russia the author revises his work in the light of criticism. Edward Crankshaw believes that the book is so absolute a reversal of all official values, that at first people did not grasp its real nature, "certainly the Soviet publishers and critics did not realise what they were handling."

But even if the publication of *Not By Bread Alone* is delayed; even if a more 'satisfactory' ending is tacked on, reconciling Lopatkin with the hierarchy, one can imagine the original version circulating from hand to hand like Gogol's or Chernyshevsky's novels a hundred years ago. As Mr. Crankshaw says, it is strange how often the truly revolutionary act is quiet and small. C.W.



## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

## LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

## LECTURE-DISCUSSION

Every Sunday at 7.30 at  
THE MALATESTA CLUB,  
32 Percy Street,  
Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

MARCH 17—To be announced  
Questions, Discussion and Admission  
all free.

## OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting  
HYDE PARK  
Sundays at 5.30 p.m.

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

NEW YORK GROUP  
(Libertarian League)

announce a new series of Classes on  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
LIBERTARIAN THEORY

These classes will be held at 813  
Broadway, New York on Monday nights,  
starting promptly at 7 p.m., and ending  
no later than 10 p.m.

Mar. 25.—The Libertarian League.

LIBERTARIAN FORUM—  
FRIDAY NIGHTS AT 8.30—  
813 BROADWAY.

Mar. 22—The People of the Paris Com-  
mune.  
Mar. 29—The World Government Move-  
ment.

## ★ 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 Friday and Saturday:  
SOCIAL EVENINGS

## AFRICAN FORUM

HENRY USBORNE, M.P.,  
on  
AFRICA & WORLD  
GOVERNMENT  
March 26, at 7 p.m. prompt.  
Followed by Social

## Debate in Leicester

'THAT COMMUNISM IS THE ONLY  
ROAD TO FREEDOM'  
F. WESTACOTT (Communist)  
PHILIP SANSOM (Anarchist)  
Secular Hall, Humberstone Gat,  
Leicester.  
Sunday, 17th March, 1957, at 6.30.  
Organised by the Leicester Secular Society  
Admission Free

## MEETING

Dick Sheppard House,  
Endsleigh Street, London W.C.1.  
Thursday, March 21st, at 7.30 p.m.  
JACK ROBINSON (L.A.G.)  
'ANARCHISM AND PACIFISM'

## FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly  
Postal Subscription Rates:  
12 months 19/- (U.S.A. \$3.00)  
6 months 9/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50)  
3 months 5/- (U.S.A. \$0.75)  
Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies  
12 months 29/- (U.S.A. \$4.50)  
6 months 14/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25)  
Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should  
be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed  
s/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers  
FREEDOM PRESS  
27 Red Lion Street  
London, W.C.1. England  
Tel.: Chancery 8364

## American Scientists Speak Out

new catastrophes capable of ending the creative mission of humanity on this planet."

He then went on to point out that "we cannot fool ourselves with the belief that leaders can never abuse their powers and responsibility. The rulers of states are the most criminal group in a respective population. With the limitation of their power their criminality tends to decrease; but it still remains exceptionally high in all nations."

THE January 1957 issue of "Scientific American", in an article entitled "Paradise of 1984?" reports on a debate held at the Chicago meeting of the American Psychological Association. One viewpoint, expounded by Harvard Professor of Psychology, B. F. Skinner, maintains that, "Science is steadily increasing our power to influence, change, mould—in a word control—human behaviour."

He argues in favour of a behavioural technology which would let men be happy, informed, skilful, well-behaved and productive. Whether we like it or not, society controls human behaviour, by a system of reinforcements for what it considers undesirable. As science learns more of the nature of reinforcements of human behaviour, this knowledge should be used to create a world in which people are wise and good without trying, without "having to be", without "choosing to be". Admitting such control to have dangers, potential benefits far outweigh them.

Professor Skinner's attitude is typical of all too many specialists. They try to compress the infinite variety and complexity of human life within the narrow limits of their particular discipline. In their artificially constructed systems there is no place for freedom or spontaneity. Thus Skinner declares:

"The question of government in the broadest possible sense is NOT HOW FREEDOM IS TO BE PRESERVED but what kinds of control are to be used to what ends." (our emphasis). Carried over to the field of politics this contempt for freedom leads "scientific" socialists like Lenin to declare "Freedom is a bourgeois virtue."

Man cannot be explained by any single branch of science. He is influenced by science. We do not live in a vacuum. Society will not be perfected by the nostrums of a few behavioural scientists. Skinner ignores the fact that society and the individuals who compose it are dominated by the institution of the State, the exploitation of man by man, and the spiritual enslavement of man by the Church. Nor does he take into account the fact that the scientists themselves are corrupted by these sys-

tems, or that science is distorted, and hamstrung by authoritarian strictures.

Carl Rogers, psycho-therapist and Professor of Psychology at the University of Chicago disagrees with Skinner. Conceding the rapidly increasing capacity of science to control behaviour, he poses a few simple, but fundamental questions.

"Who will be controlled? Who will exercise control? What type of control will be used? Most important of all, to what end or what purpose, in pursuit of what value, will the control be exercised?—If behavioural scientists are concerned solely with advancing their science, it seems most probable that they will serve the purposes of whatever individual or group has the power—I would hate to see Skinner become 'well behaved' as that term would be defined by the behavioural scientists... The most awful fate that I can imagine for him would be to have him constantly 'happy'. It is the fact that he is very unhappy about many things that makes me prize him."

Skinner's rebuttal accuses Rogers of "wanting to solve the problem of power by renouncing it. Fear of control, generalized beyond any warrant, has led to a misinterpretation of valid practices and the blind rejection of a better way of life."

Is the rejection of power and control over society a "blind rejection of intelligent planning for a better way of life"? We believe that intelligent planning and a better life can be attained only when

## FREEDOM PRESS

## VOLINE :

*Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed)* cloth 12s. 6d  
*The Unknown Revolution*  
(Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21)  
cloth 12s. 6d.

## E. A. GUTKIND :

*The Expanding Environment* 8s. 6d.

## V. RICHARDS :

*Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* 6s.

## RUDOLF ROCKER :

*Nationalism and Culture* cloth 21s.

## HERBERT READ :

*Art and the Evolution of Man* 4s.  
*Existentialism, Marxism and Anarchism* 3s. 6d.  
*Poetry and Anarchism* cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d.  
*The Philosophy of Anarchism* boards 2s. 6d., paper 1s.  
*The Education of Free Men* 1s.

27, Red Lion Street,  
London, W.C.1.

## British Terror in Cyprus

WE stated a few weeks ago in FREEDOM that in our view the resistance movement in Cyprus was slowly being brought to its knees by the application of superior military strength and the weariness of the general population. There have been a few fairly large sporadic outbursts of violence since then, but the systematic methods of British terrorism have almost knocked the guts out of the movement.

Exiling Makarios was a tactical mistake which only added to his power and glamour, but he has been away for a long time and if not soon reinstated the illusions about him might fade, especially since the Cypriots are harrowed daily by restrictions and violence imposed by a military occupation.

Authorities know that if people are frustrated for a long period the end and the cause begin to lose their importance. This seems to have been an important factor in the failure of all revolutionary and resistance movements—the inability of people to sustain indefinitely their fight and spirit against a well organised force.

The recent appeal from the central committee of AKEL, the Cypriot left wing party and trade union organisation (reputed to be Communist dominated) to put an end to violence, may well further undermine EOKA and its supporters. AKEL is quite a powerful organisation and its utterances will not go unheeded. The real reason for the

change of front can only be guessed at until further information is available, but it is not without significance that last January all of AKEL's leaders were interned but now only a few remain in detention camps. It is claimed that AKEL never approved of EOKA's terrorist campaign but it did 'submit to its discipline once violence had got under way'.

If the cessation of violence (by which is meant the resistance movement coming to terms with the British!) would help to further the cause of the Cypriots and give them the freedom they want, we would also be in favour of it, but if the spirit has been knocked out of a movement and then the terms are made, it is obvious which side is going to be the loser. However, history has shown how quickly and unexpectedly movements of resistance can spring up, so the British should not begin to feel too complacent.

In the meantime, reports of British atrocities and ill-treatment of prisoners in Cyprus are still reaching this country. *The Observer* has said, in its cautious way, that these are no doubt greatly exaggerated. 'But there have been recently some cases which aroused a good deal of suspicion; and indeed it would be surprising if, in the present state of military tension in the island, there were not some of the familiar grim camp followers, the "unorthodox interrogators"'. The suspicion is increased by the obstacles placed in

the way of lawyers wishing to see clients in detention, who are often arrested and imprisoned without any kind of trial'.

Readers will remember the regulation instituted in December which prevents any prosecution of the security forces (except by the Attorney General) for offences during the course of their 'duties'. In other words any psychopath trying to get information from prisoners (or even taking prisoners) can be as cruel as he likes in the course of duty while getting protection from the authorities.

The Governor-General of Cyprus, Sir John Harding, in an interview with the Press says that 'a deliberate campaign of lies and distortion is being built up against the security authorities to distract and divert attention from serious reverses which the terrorists have suffered in recent weeks', although he admits that it would be 'unrealistic' to rule out the possibility that terrorists had been 'handled roughly by soldiers or policemen in the heat of the moment when they were effecting the capture of these dangerous men.' Note the choice of language and the disregard Sir John has for the intelligence of the public.

Of course EOKA will exaggerate and minimise. These are the few miserable methods they have left with which to fight a mighty machine, but there is still plenty of evidence to prove that there is a reign of British terror in Cyprus.

we reject the power of others to control our lives. The problems of the two billion human beings who live on this troubled planet will never be solved by a few self-appointed saviours. Society is far too complicated for that. This can be done only by the people themselves through their own efforts, their own organizations, their human solidarity.

★

IT is gratifying to see the libertarian position re-enforced by such fine thinkers as Erich Fromm and Professor Rogers. We could not state it any better than has Rogers.

"If we choose some particular goal or series of goals for human beings and set out on a large scale to control human behaviour to the end of achieving those goals, we are locked in the rigidity of our initial choice, because such a scientific endeavour can never transcend itself to select new goals. Only subjective persons can do that... I would remark that colossal rigidity, whether in dinosaurs or dictatorships, has a very poor record of evolutionary survival."

Rogers wants a society in which the social sciences will help people to become "self-directing, less rigid... better organized and integrated"—one which will provide the conditions for "creativity and the process by which knowledge becomes self-transcending".

At the A.A.A.S. Convention, the hokus-pokus of religion received rather rough treatment in the discussions revolving around laboratory experiments on the origin of life. Without even bothering to mention the somewhat older Biblical explanations of creation, Dr. George Wald, of the Harvard biological department, said:

"We are beginning to understand that we live in a universe which is some five to ten billion years old. We realize that the universe has its own cosmic evolution. Stars and galaxies are born, they grow, become old, and die. Our life has a place as part of the order of nature. Life is a part of the physics of our universe."

"If we start with a universe containing protons, neutrons and electricity, life will eventually appear. It will pursue evolution. And this gives man his place in the universe. He is its most complex being, the first matter which has begun to contemplate itself."

Such a humanistic approach to man and the universe is not new. Once mankind in its mass breaks its bonds of superstition and realizes that it was not created perfect and then condemned to eternal suffering and error by an egotistic, vengeful deity, but is rather the end result of a long, upward progression, bearing within itself the seed of even greater achievements, then and only then can we truly emerge from the darkness of the past into the better life of the future.

(Views & Comments,  
N.York, Feb. 1957).

BRIGGS Continued  
from p. 1

the committee to use it for party ends. Well, this is for the Fords and Briggs workers themselves to settle. The implication of the 'Red Plot' reporting of the Press and of the Judge's questionings in the court of inquiry is that the rank and file of workers at these plants are stupid enough to be used by the Commies. The object of the Judge's questions was to try to smear the whole shop steward's set-up at Briggs with the Red Bogey.

Little that has been said there has been of any great importance; both sides seem to us to be shadow boxing. This is because the real object of the present struggle as far as the Ford's management is concerned is to crush the shop stewards' organisation. For the official unions the object is to re-assert their discipline and leadership over the rank and file—at the expense of the stewards' committees if necessary. The C.P. gladly takes the publicity and is concerned to retain its influence in the organisation.

But behind them all stand the workers: the key to the whole business. Company, unions and political parties alike need the allegiance of the workers because they are the real strength. The proper function of the shop stewards' organisation is to organise that strength for its real task—the eventual taking over of the factories to establish workers' control of production and distribution. Then both exploitation for profit and manipulation for political ends will be finished for ever.