

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The saddest sight I have seen in my life is false leaders of the people who themselves have no confidence in the people."

—WALT WHITMAN

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May 25th, 1957

Threepence

CONDUCT OF THE PRESS

THE debate in Parliament last week on the conduct of the Press, brought about the discussion of a number of subjects which were not strictly speaking relevant to the motion as moved by Mr. A. Ker-shaw (C. Stroud):

"That the House, recognising the great importance of a free and independent press, views with concern some recent examples of newspaper reporting, and is of the opinion that a vigorous effort by the industry itself to maintain a high standard of conduct is desirable."

The most notable divergence from the point was the considerable emphasis placed upon the financial difficulties which are being experienced by national weeklies of medium circulation and provincial dailies, and the direct consequences of these difficulties as illustrated by the closure in the past six months of at least three daily newspapers, four weeklies and now *Picture Post*. Thrown in for good measure was the possibility, at present believed to be under discussion, of a merger between the *News Chronicle* and the *Daily Herald*.

The main reason given for the shut-down of so many newspapers in recent years is not new, it is because of the ruinous cost of newsprint which has risen to over six times its pre-war price of approximately £10 per ton. It would seem that the newsprint industry is dominated by four companies which together made a profit last year of £27 millions. As Mr. F. Allaun (Lab. Salford E.) said: "To my mind if ever a case existed for bringing before the Monopolies Commission this is it." And he continued: "At this particular point in newspaper history a couple of newspapers are in difficulties because they have less than two millions circulation." Which implies of course that in view of the high cost of newsprint the extraordinary situation has developed in which it is necessary to have a circulation of over two million in order to keep out of financial straits.

Which then are the papers with the massive circulations, and what may we deduce from their character? Top six are the *News of the World*, *Sunday Express*, *Sunday Pictorial* and *The People* (all weeklies), and *Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror* which arrive on the doorstep of over

nine million homes six days a week. All six have something in common besides their enormous circulations—they are large-scale purveyors of sin, sex and sensation. This is presumably what the public demands, for as Mr. J. A. Leavey (C. Heywood & Royton) said: "Circulation is the slave driver of the great national daily newspaper..." and he added a further point of great importance which we shall discuss later: "It (circulation) is not only the yardstick of commercial success, it is the yardstick by which power is measured." With power said Mr. Leavey went responsibility and he wondered by what means Parliament could achieve the "desirable condition required" in the face of the plain fact that taken by and large, the greater the sense of responsibility and the more soberminded the approach of the paper the fewer the people who read it.

Here is the real issue, although the price of newsprint is a considerable factor, the successful newspapers provide what their readers want to read, which is obviously not news, and such news as is served up by the popular press is, in the words of Mr. Allaun, noted for "the glaring headlines, the emphasis on this, the omission of that, and the complete distortion of the other."

Eight years ago the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Press came to the doubtful con-

clusion that the variety of newspapers in Britain compensated for the shortcomings of some of them, and although it found that the selection of news might be affected by a paper's political opinions, or by its scale of values, there were others which gave the necessary information for sound judgment on public affairs. Even assuming this to be a sufficiently accurate statement of the case, we are still left with the undeniable facts that national newspapers are politically biased in almost a direct ratio to their circulations, and most people have little or no wish (if they think about it at all) to obtain unbiased news. Additionally we should add that most people are convinced that "their" newspaper which presents "their" point of view in the only reasonable way, provides all the information needed for sound judgment without recourse to any other sources.

So far as the responsibility of the press is concerned, much depends upon the definition of responsibility, and to whom the press considers itself responsible. The proprietor may consider his responsibility is to the shareholders and their profits, which is another way of saying to circulation, or it may be that he is concerned to wield power, and his responsibility is therefore to a political party and their ideas. Possibly, though not very often, he is inter-

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LABOUR & PENSIONS

or 'Some are more Equal than Others'

MOST of us, at some time in our lives give a thought to the economic problems of our old age. *Labour's Policy for Security in Old Age** the latest of the Labour Party's policy pamphlets cannot therefore but be of very real interest not only to those who already live with the economic problems of old age but also to the millions more for whom it is just visible on the horizon. Socially, the plan under review lacks imagination; financially it seems so complex that few laymen will ever understand how it works!

But let us be more than fair, and recognise that the authors of the plan have attempted to devise a pension scheme which will protect the pensioner from the vagaries of inflation; which goes some way to recognising women as individuals in their own right and not as "dependents"; and finally, which recognises that if old people are to live on their pensions and not on family charity or National Assistance, then the minimum pension must at all times bear some relation to the cost of living.

★

THESE matters apart, however, the proposals make strange as well as dull reading. The view is taken,

*National Superannuation. Labour's Policy for Security in Old Age, 122 pp. 1/6d.

for instance, that those people who during their working lives had low living standards will manage and be satisfied with less in their old age than those who had a much higher standard of living during their working lives. Thus Labour's superannuation scheme would be composed of two "elements": the basic and the differential, and where the basic would be £3, the differential could be anything up to £12. Not only then, would the pensioner with the maximum be five times better-off than the man or woman receiving the minimum, but it is more than likely that whereas the "maximum" pensioner who has been earning a large salary for many years will during his working lifetime have accumulated all the possessions (including a house) he may need to provide a background of comfort in his retirement, the man on the pension "floor", is in that category, just because he has been on the floor all his working life, and it is very unlikely that on his pay packet he has been able to accumulate any possessions, let alone a house, and his old age will in fact be an even greater struggle to make ends meet than ever it was.

It is true that under the scheme contributions will be based on one's wages, and that in consequence the better paid worker will have a larger sum deducted from his pay packet each week than his lower paid fellow worker. It is also true however that the Exchequer—that is the taxpayer—would contribute 2 per cent. of the total earnings of the community to the pension fund. So that the better paid worker's ability to pay a larger contribution is matched by his receiving a larger proportion of the Exchequer's contribution. One would have thought that if anything this latter contribution should have been allocated in the reverse manner: the larger part of it going to supplement the meagre allowances of those on the "floor". But clearly the Labour Party, as we have shown in connection with an earlier policy pamphlet†, advocates equality in the same breath as it lends its support to incentives and differentials.

It believes in "equality of opportunity", as if once higher education

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†Equality through Taxation? FREEDOM Vol. 17, No. 30, 1956.

THE SHIPBUILDING & ENGINEERING WAGE CLAIMS The Fiddle on the Strings

ONE does not have a very difficult task these days in prophesying about decisions or directions in the trade union movement.

Choose the biggest climb-down, the shabbiest offer, the meanest compromise the situation provides, sprinkle with a few high-flown clichés, and the recipe for trade union cookery can be written out well in advance of the meal. When the gas is turned on, in fact.

Just as in the best regulated kitchens lapses do occur, and a cake falls flat or the potatoes burn, so, now and again, regrettable incidents occur in the otherwise well-regulated trade union *menage*. Like that surprising official strike that broke out a couple of months ago in the shipbuilding and engineering industries, for example.

But fortunately the heat was turned off in time and no great damage was done. The lid was firmly clamped on the boiling pot and the whole situation simmered down, under the soothing guidance of the courts of inquiry.

As we discussed a fortnight ago, these courts had produced two alternative suggestions for solving the wage demands in the shipbuilding and engineering industries. The first, a straight 8s. 6d. a week rise with no conditions, the second an increase of 11s. per week with strings—such as no more wage demands for 12 months, a relaxing of restrictive practices, etc.

When we went to press a fortnight ago (FREEDOM 11/5/57), the Amalgamated Engineering Union's delegate conference had just come out in favour of accepting the 11s. with strings—thanks to the rugged tactics of general secretary Carron. But immediately afterwards a delegate conference of the Confedera-

tion of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers at York decided against making a decision, and left their representatives with a free hand in their negotiations with the bosses.

For it should be remembered that the proposals were only recommendations by the Courts of Inquiry, which have no power to enforce their suggestions. The real bargaining had to be done with the employers—though obviously they would be strongly influenced by the Courts' recommendations.

Both the suggestions were thoroughly unsatisfactory, in our opinion, representing only a very partial win on the money issue alone, and placing the confederation's three million workers in a very poor position if all the conditions were accepted. But from the point of view of the union bosses, the 11-bob-with-strings alternative was the best bet. It won the higher percentage of the original wage claim (7 per cent. increase instead of 5—out of the 10 per cent. claimed) and would give them a year's rest from any further work on wage demands, although the discussion on the strings would enable them to justify their jobs.

When the confederation's 'free hand' decision was reached, however, we wondered if we were going to drop a clanger. Would the Court's unsatisfactory suggestions get the treatment they deserved and be rejected even as starting points by the unions?

But we need not have faltered, for following discussions with the employers the whole of the engineering section of the confederation (30 unions out of the 39) have plumped for 11 shillings, although they have instructed their representatives to seek 'modifications' of the strings.

The shipbuilding side of the confederation has maintained opposition to the conditions altogether, however, saying that they must be free to get what they can.

The funny thing about this is that three days before this was announced, an 11s. rise with strings was accepted by 13 unions of the confederation—engineering and shipbuilding—in an agreement with the Admiralty on behalf of 100,000 workers. And in return for the rise these 13 unions have agreed not to press another pay claim for a year!

They are therefore doing piecemeal what they have said they would not do throughout the industry. Those shipbuilding unions concerned with men in the Admiralty yards have accepted the wage freeze for them. How on earth can they refuse to accept it for the hundreds of thousands of their members outside the Admiralty yards? They can't have two standards, two rates of pay, for their members. They can't penalise Admiralty workers, so they will have to bring all the others into line.

Which, of course, they have done by accepting the eleven shillings, irrespective of the bold talk about refusing to accept the conditions.

Hence our opening remarks about the meanest compromise, etc. To make an agreement which enforces a line of action while protesting that they won't accept that line as an impudent piece of deception and it will be faintly surprising if the confederation's leaders get away with it altogether.

Perhaps not, though. The rank and file have been so conditional to double-think that the leadership seems to be able to do just what it likes.

STRIKE IN SUPPORT OF COLOURED WORKERS

BECAUSE they considered that two coloured workers had been unfairly dismissed 100 carpenters working at the BBC's new Television Centre in Wood-lane, Shepherd's Bush, have come out on strike.

The two men, Clovis Johnson, 29 from Jamaica, and Claude London, 30 from British Guiana, received their dismissal notices yesterday. The reason given, they said to-day, was that the contractors, Messrs. Higgs and Hill, did not consider their work satisfactory.

"But," added London, "we have been carpenters in our own countries and have been working on the site for 10 weeks. We have been working on the section with 20 white carpenters. If a job needed to be done in a hurry we are the men asked to do it."

Men working with them had described their work as being as good as that of any other carpenter on the site.

The Star, 11/5/1957.

CONDITION OF OUR PRESS!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 20

Deficit on Freedom	£400
Contributions received	£331
DEFICIT	£69

May 10 to May 16

Abercarn: L.E.L. 1/-; London: M.P. 10/-;	
Bletchley: R.S. 19/5; London: J.S.* 3/-;	
Cleveland: T.H. £1/8/0; Hitchin: L.A. 10/-;	
Peterborough: A.W. 11/-; San Francisco: J.N. 16/-; London: S.B.* 1/2.	
Total	4 19 7
Previously acknowledged	326 16 9
1957 TOTAL TO DATE	£331 16 4

Fire Fund

London: M.P. 10/-; London: Anon. 2/3;	
London: Malatesta Club Social £5; Cleve-	
land: T.H. £1/15/0; Hitchin: L.A. 10/-;	
Buenos Aires: E.N. 10/-;	
Total	8 7 3
Previously acknowledged	111 0 1
TOTAL TO DATE	£119 7 4

Contrary to Our Interests

IN a letter in last week's *New Scientist*, Edward Hyams discussing the difference between human and animal intelligence, concluded: "A didactic rationalist with whom I was discussing this very subject, driven at last into a corner, did, however, produce a definition of intelligence which, I confess, persuaded me that men and beasts are not in the same category in this respect. 'Intelligence,' he said, in desperation, 'is that quality of the mind which enables a living being to act contrary to its own interests.' A glance at the morning paper will convince any reader that my friend was right."

A glance at any newspaper will also reveal our complete inability to prevent those who rule us from acting contrary to our interests. Take three examples from recent events in British politics. When the British and French governments began their invasion of the Suez Canal Zone last Autumn, a demonstration was held in Trafalgar Square. It was attended by 30,000 people. On the same day two million people turned out to watch the annual London-to-Brighton run of veteran cars. This is the relative importance we give to the preservation of our own interests. Then there is the conscription issue. For years anarchists and pacifists have carried on a campaign against conscription, without the slightest influence. Then suddenly last month the government announced that it was going to bring conscription to an end. This did not bring joy to the abolitionists; it was simply the automation principle applied to warfare: a routine administrative decision recognising as a matter of course that future wars will be nuclear wars, which makes large armies of cannon-fodder superfluous. Finally there are the current British hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific. The warnings from scientists, the protests of the Japan-

ese, or of world figures like Albert Schweitzer or Bertrand Russell, quite apart from the agitation of insignificant left-wingers, pacifists and anarchists, were brushed aside by the government which simply brought the tests forward a month and presented the protesters with a *fait accompli* ("The Government did not want the world to know when the H-bomb tests would begin"—*Star*, 16/5/57).

THE protesters are impotent; they are therefore ridiculous; they are not so much opposed as ignored. But they are not wrong, as those who try to persuade themselves that protest is useless, imply. The only thing that is wrong is that there are not enough of them. But why are we unable to persuade men to act in defence of their own interests, and why are governments able so easily to mobilise them to act contrary to their own interests?

One can find answers of every kind. Some people will point to the irrationality of man, some to the 'death wish', some to original sin. But the most obvious and near-at-hand explanation is the hypnotic effect of authority in modern society, which has destroyed our faith in our power as individuals; we don't believe in our power, and we have in consequence become powerless. "The irresistible is often only that which is not resisted".

And this is why when people say, "But what can we do?", the suggestion which they may find most rewarding is the quite unrevolutionary and unspectacular one that they should seek to develop those forms

of social organisation which are the alternative to the governmental and authoritarian social structure which has resulted in such incredible irresponsibility in those who have power and such suicidal indifference in the governed.

A READER asks in our last issue, "How can we live out our beliefs, as anarchists, every one of us, here and now, in the particular environment in which we happen to be?" The answer is of course that it's up to him. "The State," said Landauer, "is a condition, a certain relationship between human beings, a mode of human behaviour; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently." This means, it seems to me, by lending our support to whatever tendencies we can find towards workers' control in industry, towards local autonomy in social affairs and public services, towards greater freedom and responsibility for the young, towards everything that makes for more variety, more dignity and quality in human life.

It isn't a matter of anarchism as a substitute religion, a creed or a dogma, but simply as an attitude to life and human affairs, of ceasing to act contrary to our own interests. We only live once and our lives are inevitably full of compromises between the way we would like to live and the way our society works. There is no judge or arbiter to tell us where to draw the line, but if all we have to look back on is a life of sordid and trivial conformity, we have only ourselves to blame.

C.W.

Science Comments

THE SERGEANT'S hidden heart of gold is now a dependency drive, for social progress demands that our mythology shall be contemporary. This achievement is demonstrated in a report on mental illness issued recently from an American hospital in Germany and is based on the study of some of the numerous cases of emotional and social maladjustment which have occurred among American N.C.O.s after years of efficient service. The psychiatrists have concluded that N.C.O.s with a stronger than average dependency drive might find it difficult to accept a parental role of responsibility because it robbed them of the satisfaction of their own dependency needs. Presumably young conscripts should be reminded not to be too hard on "father" for he too may be missing "mother". The conscript private's dislike of the army hardly takes as long to develop, and an explanation of his problems in psychological jargon would be interesting.

TWO PROMINENT socialist members of the medical profession recently confirmed that we can no longer expect to find members of the Labour party on the side of humanity. Dr. Edith Summerskill in parliament rightly protesting against dearer milk for children also objected to the prescribing of tranquillising drugs under the health service. As she put it, "These things are coming out of the pockets of the taxpayer." Where have we heard that phrase before? These drugs it is true will not cure any disease, but they are bringing some relief from

misery to many people and Dr. E. Summerskill would do well to let them be.

On the same day in the House of Lords during a debate on the homicide bill, Lord Haden Guest spoke of some people who were really an inferior brand of human being. "I think," he said, "in some of these cases it is a very proper thing to get rid of these people and to prevent them from having any more children." I wonder what kind of people he had in mind, and given the power what kind of people future legislators might find it convenient to include in this category. The Labour party has come a long way since the days of Keir Hardie.

IF THE GOVERNMENT'S characteristic English claim that its H-bomb is clean, is confirmed it will illustrate the danger of basing one's objection to the tests on scientific rather than on moral and ethical grounds. The controversy is unresolved but it has stimulated a worthwhile investigation into the other radiation dangers of modern life. Luminous watches and shoe shop X-ray machines contribute a negligible but entirely unnecessary amount, but it has been estimated that medical X-rays contribute equivalent to at least 22% of the natural background radiation, which is many times greater than the most pessimistic figures quoted for weapon test fall-out. A committee on radiological hazards set up by the Ministry of Health, recognising that the value of an X-ray will in future have to be balanced against the possibility of genetic damage, is circulating a questionnaire to all doctors and dentists using X-radiation in order to obtain a more accurate estimate of the radiation danger, particularly in pregnancy. The day of the casual and unnecessary X-ray is nearly over.

CONTROVERSY ABOUT capital punishment, prison reform and education illustrates the importance of not neglecting the tactical approach to anarchist propaganda in favour of the strategic or pessimistic approach. In State education the eleven plus examination and co-education are attracting attention in particular. The progressive school movement while having considerably influenced the course of State school development is now in a process of decline, and any changes of importance in the future are likely to occur within the State system. The progressive movement is best seen as an extreme reaction to the bigoted authoritarian schooling of the past, rather than an indication of the direction in which general educational theory can develop.

The biggest single advance possible in the present climate of public opinion is the introduction of general co-education, and the case for it is very strong. It exists already although mainly in primary schools; and wherever local or national government authorities are trying to turn existing co-educational schools into segregated ones, there is widespread opposition, interestingly enough, especially from the parents of the children affected.

The value of the eleven plus examination is more difficult to assess, for while we want to give all children equal opportunity, they are not equal in intelligence; and heredity clearly discriminates between the bright and the dull. The more opportunity of education is equalised the greater will be the influence of heredity in determining the final intellect of the child. It has been established that adequate psychological testing is the most accurate way of determining a child's ability and that eleven is not too early an age to do this. Teaching a mixture of bright and dull children takes longer and is less successful than when the class members are of relatively uni-

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SPRING READING

New and Forthcoming Books

THE emphasis this season seems to be on books on what are known as the social sciences. A book by the American anthropologist Ashley Montagu (editor of the American edition of Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*), who has often been quoted in these pages, is now being published here. *On Being Human* (Abelard-Schuman, 9s. 6d.) brings together scientific data in support of the principle that co-operation, not conflict is the natural law in life. The same author's *The Direction of Human Development*, to be published by Watts at about 25s., is based on widely ranging experimental data from biology, anthropology and related fields.

Another book with a challenging title is *The Biological Basis of Human Freedom*, by Theodosius Dobzhansky (Oxford University Press, 18s. 6d.), while Prof. Michael Argyle's *The Scientific Study of Human Behaviour* has just been published by Methuen at 21s. *The Human Sum* (Heinemann, about 21s.) edited by C. H. Rolph, will contain articles about changes in the structure of the family by several writers who include Julian Huxley, Bertrand Russell, Jacquetta Hawkes and Edward Blishen.

The Art of Loving is a new book by Erich Fromm, coming from Allen and Unwin at 12s. 6d. *The Theory of Social Structure* by S. F. Nadel will be published by Cohen and West at 18s. *In Search for Purpose* (Watts 15s.), Dr. Arthur Morgan, first chairman of the TVA, describes his endeavours to define a valid purpose for life, not only in terms of philosophy and ethics, but also of biology and sociology. Lewis Mumford will write on *The Transformations of Man* (Allen and Unwin, about 12s. 6d.), and Dr. Karl Popper (author of *The Open Society and its Enemies*) on *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (Hutchinson 35s.).

A symposium on *The Race Question in Modern Science* by nine leading authorities (Sidgwick and Jackson 17s. 6d.) is a collected edition of the very valuable UNESCO Race pamphlets (most of which have been discussed in these columns), including *Race and Psychology*, *Race and Society*, *Race and History*, *The Roots of Prejudice*, *Race Mixture and Race and Biology*.

Family and Kinship in East London, by Michael Young and Peter Willmott comes from Routledge and Kegan Paul at 25s., and *Two Studies of Kinship in*

London, edited by Raymond Firth from London University Press at 13s. 6d. *Crestwood Heights* is a study of family and social life in a residential suburb of a Canadian city, and "reveals the basic unhappiness of a wealthy community" (Constable 50s.). These matters are dealt with on a different level in the season's funny book *A Land Fit for Eros* by John Atkins and J. B. Pick (Arco Publications 12s. 6d.).

OPPOSITE aspects of the same problem are discussed in *City in Flood: The Problems of Urban Growth* by Peter Self (Faber 21s.), and *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales* by John Saville (Routledge and Kegan Paul, about 25s.).

Of outstanding new translations, the one that will arouse most interest will be Hutchinson's publication next month of Vladimir Dudintsev's novel *Not By Bread Alone* (trans. by Edith Bone, at 18s.). Another translation from the Russian of more purely literary interest is Vera Panova's *Time Walked* (Harvill Press 12s. 6d.). Then there is the Penguin edition of Tolstoy's *War and Peace* translated by Rosemary Edmonds (2 vols. at 7s. 6d. each). Thames and Hudson are publishing Federico Garcia Lorca's *Poet in New York* at 15s., translated by Ben Belitt.

Some other new and forthcoming Penguin and Pelican books include *Essays* by George Orwell (2s. 6d.), a new *Dictionary of Politics* at 4s., *The English Penal System* by Winifred Elkin (3s. 6d.), *Social Welfare and the Citizen* ed. by Peter Archer (3s. 6d.), and *Education* by W. O. Lester Smith (3s. 6d.).

Dame Kathleen Lonsdale's Penguin Special *Is Peace Possible* (2s. 6d.) considers problems of science, population and peace, and a forthcoming Penguin by L. Landon Goodman discusses *Man and Automation* (3s. 6d.). Another work on the same topic is Frederick Pollock's *The Economic and Social Consequences of Automation* (Basil Blackwell 21s.), while Martin Mann's *Peacetime Uses of Atomic Energy* (Thames and Hudson 25s.) "tells in the simplest terms of the astonishing achievements in this field".

THE Hungarian Revolution is the subject of a number of books including Noel Barber's *A Handful of*

Ashes (Wingate 10s. 6d.), George Mikes' *The Hungarian Revolution* (Andre Deutsch 12s. 6d.), Peter Fryer's *Hungarian Tragedy* (Dennis Dobson, 5s.), Laslo Beke's *A Student's Diary* (Hutchinson 10s. 6d.), and James Michener's *The Bridge at Andau* (Secker and Warburg 15s.).

Secker and Warburg are also to publish at 15s. Carlo Levi's book about Sicily and Danilo Dolci, *Words are Stones*, the Italian edition of which was discussed in FREEDOM for April 28 last year. Morris West's *Children of the Sun* (Heinemann 16s.) tells indignantly of the slums of Naples and the wild, aimless, criminal urchins of the city. Gerald Brenan in *South from Granada* describes his seven years in a remote Andalusian village (Hamish Hamilton 21s.), and George Woodcock, in *To the City of the Dead* (Faber 25s.) will write of his travels in Mexico.

Hunza: the Lost Kingdom of the Himalayas by John Clark (Hutchinson 25s.) is the story of an 'experiment in living' in teaching 'backward' people to help themselves. *V for Vinoba* by B. R. Misra (Longmans 6s.) evaluates Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan movement in the context of the agrarian problems of India's economy, and Gunnar Myrdal has written *Economic Theory and Undeveloped Regions* (Duckworth 12s. 6d.).

Father Huddleston has provided a foreword to *Rebels' Daughters* by Solly Sachs (MacGibbon and Kee 21s.), the story of the Garment Workers' Union in South Africa and its struggle against the racial policy of the nationalists.

BAKUNIN, Herzen and Belinsky are the subject of E. Lampert's *Studies in Rebellion* (Routledge and Kegan Paul 30s.). Allen and Unwin has just published Alan Wood's biography of Bertrand Russell, *The Passionate Sceptic* (21s.). Ertha Kitt's autobiography *Thursday's Child* comes from Cassell at 16s.

Finally, the two outstanding collections of essays this season are Edmund Wilson's "reflections at sixty" *A Piece of My Mind* (W. H. Allen, 15s.) and Julian Huxley's *New Bottles for Old Wine* (Chatto and Windus, about 18s.) which describes his explorations in the post-war decade of "man's unveiling of the face and figure of the reality of which he forms a part."

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

OPEN DAILY

(Open 10 a.m.—6.30 p.m., 5 p.m. Sats.)

New Books . . .

- Poet in New York F. Garcia Lorca 15/-
- Psychiatric Studies C. G. Jung 25/-
- A Short History of Communism in Asia Malcolm Kennedy 42/-
- Reprints . . .
- Rubeiyat of Omar Khayyam (trans. Fitzgerald), leather 4/6
- Second-Hand . . .
- Oeuvres Ernest Coeuderoy [3 vols., in French of course] 17/6
- The Fifth Amendment To-day Erwin N. Griswold 5/-
- The Riddle of the Universe To-day Joseph McCabe 2/-
- The Rights of Women and On the Subjection of Women Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill 4/-
- Cato or the Future of Censorship William Seagle 2/6
- Faith for Living Lewis Mumford 3/-
- Harmony of Nature L. Richmond Wheeler 4/-
- A Short History of Christianity J. M. Robertson 5/6
- The Growth of Religion Joseph McCabe 4/6
- Memoirs of a Revolutionist Peter Kropotkin 17/6
- Looking Backward Edward Bellamy 3/6
- The Lady's Not for Burning Christopher Fry 5/-
- The Theory and Practice of Socialism John Strachey 3/6
- William Lloyd Garrison Preface by Leo Tolstoy 3/6
- Poverty: a Study of Town Life B. Seebohm Rowntree 2/6
- How I See Apocalypse Henry Treece 3/-
- British Labour and the Beveridge Plan Frederick Joseph Scheu 1/6
- Periodicals . . .
- The University Libertarian, April 10d.

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Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY
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Labour and Pensions

Continued from p. 1

is available to all, and there is no discrimination in filling the higher posts in the civil service and industry it will automatically lead to "equality". Such "equality" is of the kind in which "some are more equal than others". The social injustice is not that some people are prevented from "getting on" because of their social backgrounds, but that we should make economic and social distinctions between the jobs men perform for the commonweal. It is monstrous for so-called Socialists to declare as they do by implication in their pensions policy pamphlet that the retired stock-broker or even the engineer or doctor have earned the right to a pension five times as large as that of a man who has spent fifty years of his life baking bread or collecting refuse.

But this attitude is not surprising. For the Labourites—and alas for the man in the street as well—a scheme is practical only when it is financially possible. Just as their approach to nationalisation was that each nationalised industry must "pay its way"—with the result that these industries retain all the bad characteristics of private ownership—so now with their plans for National Superannuation, they insist that it must be financially self-sufficient. The real needs of the old people are lost in an actuarial nightmare which can already tell us what a man, whose average earnings are anything from £6 a week upwards, will be drawing as his pension in the year 2010!

THE financing of the scheme will come from three sources: the worker will contribute 3 per cent. of his pay packet each week. The Exchequer will provide a further 2 per cent. and the Employer another 5 per cent. The Exchequer will raise its 2 per cent. from taxation, and the Employer will naturally add his 5 per cent. to the price of his commodity to the public. Thus in effect 70% of the income of the pension fund will come from direct or indirect taxation. There are grounds, we suppose, for a worker who makes a larger weekly contribution expecting a larger return at the end. We do not see however on what grounds the public contribution to this fund should be distributed in any way than equally among all who qualify for a pension. Yet this is far from being the case. A man earning an average of £6 a week in the forty years of his working life (on which the full pension is calculated) would have contributed £372 through wage deductions, as against £1,248 by the £20 a week man. But the combined Exchequer-Employer contribution in the same period would have been £868 and £2,912 respectively. How does the Labour Party square a policy of unto those who have, more shall be given, with its professed intention of reducing the "gross inequalities of society" (and, we are told, "National Superannuation would play an important part in achieving this end")?

The answer is contained in the following significant paragraphs from the chapter on "The Principles of National Superannuation":

National Superannuation is not only good economics; it is good socialist ethics too. For the first time it would make it possible to give a precise meaning to the claim that the goal of the Labour Government is an adequate pension for all. We have pointed out that the flat rate contribution—a poll tax which imposes an increasingly unjust burden on the lowest paid worker—is out of date. In a community where wages and salaries vary widely, the idea that all old people should receive the same flat rate pension is just as outdated. In Britain to-day old age, for the over-

age worker, means a fall of nearly 75 per cent. in the standard of life for which he has worked and to which he and his wife have become accustomed. This is poverty. No arbitrary and sophisticated attempts to draw lines of minimum subsistence could supply a better definition. We believe that an adequate pension can best be defined as a pension which prevents this catastrophic fall in living standards as a result of retirement or declining earning power. It means the right to go on living in the same neighbourhood, to enjoy the same hobbies and to be able to afford to mix with the same circle of friends. This goal, we are convinced, would be much more nearly achieved by moving forward to a wage related superannuation scheme than by a policy confined to improving the benefits of the present flat rate pension scheme. (pp. 30-31).

So the former £10,000 a year man whose retirement income through insurances, etc., brings him in £2,500 is, according to our new-look socialists living in poverty. And the idea of equal pensions is as "outdated" as that of equal pay. To think that there was a time when Socialists advocated the abolition of the wage system!

THE Labour policy makers rightly draw attention to the dangers of private superannuation schemes particularly those which are not transferable.

The advantages which occupational pensions . . . bring to the employer is obvious. Where there is competition for labour, a superannuation scheme is an attractive carrot to dangle before an applicant for a job. But superannuation also works as a stick in the case of the older worker with many years' service in a single firm. If he is a member of a scheme, he probably thinks twice before he quarrels with the management, and he is certainly discouraged from changing his job. As the authors of the Fabian pamphlet, *Plan For Industrial Pensions*, say: "The whip of unemployment . . . is gradually being replaced by the rod of the pension fund. The threat of starvation in working life is being replaced by the threat of poverty in old age." For although there are a few occupational pension schemes where pension rights are transferable, in the majority of firms an employee must forfeit his pension rights if he leaves his job. And, so long as pension rights are non-transferable, a new employer can hardly be expected to credit him with those he earned with a rival firm.

But in their turn the Labour Party would add yet another function to, one more *raison d'être* for, the State—and there is no evidence that the State is a better master than the private boss; even when the State is run by our "socialists"! In any case, "good" or "bad" they are both masters—and such relationships between man and man are always bad.

THE problem of old age is a grave one. We see it around us, at every street corner, in the Institutions, in the hospitals. We are all potential candidates for that problem. It is simply a question of time. Yet we have done nothing about it; we leave it to the politicians to do something through the machine of State. They will use our money, they will engage the services of some of us to administer the scheme and will give us something which because it is actuarial will overlook the individual and all the human problems of old age.

How a people treat their old folk is surely an index to their social maturity. The Labour Party's pamphlet will have served some purpose if it stimulates a new and positive interest in this problem, and the determination to solve it not at State level, not by the Boss, but at local level, by the community. In this way we shall not only deal with the economic problem but, just as important, we shall also succeed in finding the solution to that equally grave problem of old-age: loneliness.

Don't Write-off or Pension-off FREEDOM! But instead find us NEW READERS!

There's One Born Every Minute

BEFORE the war the Tokyo correspondent of one of Fleet Street's venerable dailies scorned the cable service and used to telephone his stories to London. One day he sent a dispatch about "an increase in population". The copy-taker rendered this as "an increase in copulation", and it nearly appeared in print as such. It is an understandable slip: the words sound much alike on the telephone; and the fact expressed by the first phrase might well imply that expressed by the second.

Populations are always turning up in the news. We read that one is increasing rapidly, another stagnant and developing a disproportionate number of older people. One part of the world, we are told, is overpopulated, another part underpopulated. And from time to time we are reminded that the total population of the world is steadily increasing.

It is this steady increase that is likely to raise serious problems if it continues. It is obvious that there must be a limit to the number of us that the world can support. Our planet is only so big, and long before we reach the point of "standing room only" we are likely to run short of food.

The unpleasant effects of overpopulation can already be seen in those parts of the world where saturation point seems to have been passed. The British West Indian Federation, for instance, is expected to double its population within 23 years. Already, with a total of 3 million, some areas have a density of over 1,400 persons to the square mile and are among the most thickly populated rural districts in the world. The people live in miserable hovels and shacks. As the pressure increases we can expect more and more West Indians to turn their thoughts to emigration.

China, with 3.8 million square miles, has a population of 630 million. If the present rate of increase (2.2 per cent.) is maintained the total will have risen to 850 million by 1970.

India, with 356.9 million inhabitants in 1,138,814 square miles, is beginning to feel a bit overcrowded.

Quite a number of the 47 million Italians are anxious to emigrate from their 116,224 square miles—in particu-

lar the 2 million of them who are unemployed and especially those who live in such places as the slums of Naples, which are, by common consent, the worst in Europe.

On the other hand there are places like Australia, which has less than 9 million inhabitants and an area of 2.9 million square miles. About the same number of persons live in the area of central London.

Migration from more to less densely populated areas could be expected to improve matters a little; but it is obvious that if the world's total population continues to increase this improvement will eventually be cancelled out.

All populations have an inherent tendency to increase, and they tend to increase exponentially, as the mathematicians say. This means that the rate of increase is proportional to the size of the population at any given time, or, in other words, the bigger the population the more quickly it is likely to grow. The reason for this is that the rate of reproduction of all species, ourselves included, is greater than is necessary to replace its members as they die off. Some human parents have been known to have as many as 20 children. And the more parents there are the greater will be the excess of the new generation over the old.

In practice there are a number of natural and artificial checks that reduce the theoretically possible rate of increase. Accidents and disease take a steady toll, and from time to time famine drastically reduces the total. Economic, legal, social, and religious restraints may delay or prevent marriage. And, of course, there is birth control.

Birth control would solve the whole problem of over-population, but there is considerable opposition to its use. In this matter mankind can be divided into two groups: there are those who desire an increase in copulation without a corresponding increase in population; and there are those who want to increase particular populations and are indifferent to any unfortunate consequences that may result. In the second category we find mostly governments and other organizations whose chief concern is to increase the number of people they can

manipulate—their "manpower", as it is called.

Two of the foremost opponents of birth control are the Communist Party and the Catholic Church, and their motives are similar. The Communists want to breed more Communists, and the Catholics want to breed more Catholics, just as Sir Victor Sassoon wants to breed more racehorses.

The governments of the Communist (and other) countries are interested in securing a good supply of recruits for their armed forces and in expanding their industrial power. The Catholic Church wants to gain more political power by encouraging its members to breed until they outnumber the rest of the population. Then a democratic majority or an armed insurrection will transfer control to the Vatican. This is the situation that is now arising in Holland, where the Catholics, once a minority, now make up half the population.

Even when governments realize the dangers of over-population, their method of control is more often than not the classic one of repression. In China, for instance, where the Communists now admit that overpopulation has become a problem, the marriage law lays down the minimum ages for marriage as 18 for a girl and 20 for a man. It is now proposed to raise them, perhaps to as high as 24 and 28. In India, where the high birth-rate is also recognized as a problem, the minimum age for marriage is now 21. Presumably, if these laws are to be effective, the minimum age will have to be enforced for the act of copulation itself. In some countries, indeed, fornication and adultery are both criminal offences, with jail sentences for those who are caught.

If the question of population is to be left to the governments the outlook is bleak. Even bleaker is the possibility that the problem may be solved for them; for the hydrogen bomb will certainly reduce all their populations considerably if they continue with their present lunacy. The only sure solution is for the peoples of the world to take their affairs out of the hands of the governments and to cease being mere livestock to be bred and used as their masters wish.

EDWIN PEEKE.

Mao's Change of Heart?

A CONDENSED version of a secret speech made by Mao Tse Tung last February is now circulating among Polish Communists according to a report from Warsaw. It contains a condemnation of excessive patriotism and an acknowledgement of the division between the leadership and the masses in Communist countries, also a plea for the right of workers to strike.

Mao's statement is likely to cause embarrassment to Communist leaders and will no doubt cause himself even greater embarrassment. The leaders in other Communist countries can, if necessary, attack Mao for error in thinking, but it will be

much more difficult for Mao to accuse himself of heretical views if the people in China decide to call his bluff. In the meantime his words have started off a 'furious debate' in the rest of the Communist world:

Mao maintains that the "right to riot is as much the people's right as freedom of speech is for the press . . . the right to strike must be maintained in Communist countries . . . strikes are the only reliable signals of major error in labour relations." And on power he says—there is conflict in Communist countries between the part of the people having power and the masses. Hungary's revolt showed that Communist countries must beware of "great chauvinism"—excessive pride in one's own country and contempt for others.

SCIENCE COMMENTS

Continued from p. 2
form ability. It may appear paradoxical to advocate segregation in this instance while rejecting it above, but we should be more concerned with making our principles valid than universal.

Existing faults in the examination are not intrinsic, but are due to insufficient time and care being taken with the tests which should be spread over several years and the results constantly checked. Nevertheless, the pressures on the child from some parents and teachers before the exam. and the implications of second class citizenship attached to those who fail, suggest that the comprehensive school and the Leicestershire experiment deserve our earnest attention as alternatives, without prejudice to our determination to ultimately remove the economic source of the present social conflicts in education. For education is too important to wait for the millennium and indeed may be our only hope of achieving it.

Are these the first signs that Communist China does not want to be too closely allied with Soviet policy so that she might improve her relations with the West? Some time ago in FREEDOM we suggested that China would unhesitatingly secede from the Soviet Union when her economic dependence on Soviet aid rendered her loyalty unnecessary. In addition, Mao Tse Tung cannot be compared to the Communist puppets in Eastern Europe and a "Tito act" in the circumstances is not unlikely. We would like to believe that the admission of the division between those in power and the masses meant a shortening of the gap. Time will show whether Mao is playing for political stakes or has had a genuine change of heart. The cynical anarchists will remain unconvinced unless we see some signs that Mao is going to bridge that gap between himself and the people by repudiating his position of power.

In Peking it is reported that students are already following the advice of Mao by staging demonstrations and strikes! At Chengting, 150 miles southwest of Peking students marched on the capital, and in Harbin students refused to attend

lectures on "collective life, political theories and central guidance".

According to the *China Youth Daily* the reasons are due to "the external and internal events of last year". If this explanation is true it would indicate a tremendous expression of solidarity with Poland and Hungary. But a report from China says that

"many middle-school graduates find themselves conscripted to work as labourers, and that 4,000,000 primary school graduates will be denied entrance to middle schools because China does not have the facilities for them."

The Education Minister, Chang Hsi-jo, has stated his view of the problem:

Let them work in the fields and the factories as in the Soviet Union. We must have the younger generation educated so that they may know that the revolution is painful.

Now it is clear that someone must do the work in the fields and factories even in a free society, and it cannot always be left to a professional proletariat to carry out the jobs necessary for the providing of basic needs. It is obvious that not all people will be anxious to pursue an academic career any more than all people will necessarily be anxious to spend their lives producing. But it is only just that it should not only be a few privileged people who have the opportunity to study the things of their choice.

How do we persuade a class-divided competitive world that it is in the interests of all that labour should be shared if necessary and if possible? That is the problem which faces all anarchists and libertarians. But it will not be achieved by the methods so often adopted—force. There must be a gradual education moving towards the idea of equality and justice, and the basically correct view that the task may not be easy or comfortable.

Bios.

NEW YORK LETTER SOCIAL NOTES

New York, 13th May.

THE buses from New York go at sixty-five miles an hour to Philadelphia across the dead flat surface of New Jersey. After you have left Manhattan and are out of the Lincoln Tunnel you come to an uninhabited part of the country which has situated in it the bulk of the oil refining machinery of the United States. Enormous tanks and towers, some anonymous and some sporting the names of giants of the oil industry, leak from their silver bodies gases of the methane series and others from the distillations within them—a pong which is spread for miles around by the prevailing wind. The odour can be smelled out at sea even; on a bus the passengers pull out handkerchiefs and chatter away for ten miles saying, "What a stink," and "What if they should atombomb it."

This was a party from the U.N. Secretariat out for a hospitality weekend. Secretaries from the U.K., Peru, Denmark, Morocco and all over. Girls from Latin America with flowers in their hair and a scent to make your blood race. The lady from Morocco sensational in beads and sandals. Up front the popular Abdel Hamdy from Egypt with his charming wife and children. Old Belnikov, the Soviet Union's Political Officer to the Security Council, laughing away with the girls around him. A Mr. & Mrs. from Hampstead saying, "Oh is this your first? We always put our names down. They always give you such a good time." As red an international crew as you could imagine, all off for the U.N. Weekend.

With the speed the bus was going at pretty soon the party was swinging off the main road, ducked beneath the welcome sign and came to a stop outside the Community Centre of Morristown where their hosts were waiting to greet them.

Rolleiflexes recorded amity between the nations in front of the flags of those countries represented.

Miss Orson of the U.N. Liaison Committee and the citizens of Morristown congratulated themselves that all so far was running smoothly. Several rather awkward situations had been resolved with the minimum of fuss. For instance there was the problem of that coloured couple who had insisted on offering their home to one of the guests. This couple were good-coloured people who kept up their standard of living, sent their children to the best school in Philadelphia, didn't cause any trouble. So it had been something of a shock when they had still insisted on putting their names down. Obviously they could not be on the actual committee, but—well how did they handle this kind of thing at U.N.?

U.N. has a list for six months of communities wishing to be hosts and the lucky ones are chosen with care. There are ways of ensuring smooth running. Look at a list of the local places of worship. If in a wealthy community such as Morristown there happens to be no synagogue it is wiser to keep Jewish-sounding names off the visiting list. Or again from the telephone book you can get an idea that it may not be the kind of place where Jews tend to settle down too easily, and you would not want to make things awkward.

(At one U.N. trip the photographer of the local paper photographed a Jew shaking hands with an Arab and some-

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how the picture found its way back to H.Q. where officials found it in poor taste and resented interference with the efforts of U.N. to obtain peace).

There may be trouble when you get Indians wanting to go because although they are perfectly acceptable to white folks when the latter know they are Indians, yet because they tend to look coloured you can see how misunderstanding arises.

Again with coloured people who are coloured people, any from the U.N. would of course be good-coloured. Now Morristown has very few bad-coloured. You know just as you can have "good-white" and "bad-white", well Morristown has a far higher percentage than most places of good-coloured over bad-coloured. Still in communities where there are coloured people it is probably easier all round not to send them down from U.N. and in the end two elderly ladies from Belgium were hosted by the couple in question. The arrangement seemed to be a happy one and the ladies may not even have noticed that they were staying at a different end of the town from the rest of the party.

Mr. & Mrs. Sayles, host to the couple from Hampstead, were driving their guests out to the country club. "This is all coloured this district," remarked Mr. Sayles. "You couldn't say they looked unhappy," said his guest.

"Oh Lord no, you see them mowing their lawns, cleaning their cars, fixing up their front porches like you or I or anyone else. But then we do tend to have a good class."

"Indeedy," said Mrs. Sayles, "up to a few years back we would have been real glad to have had a nice place like one of these here. Look at that little coloured boy. Cute isn't he?"

"I suppose they don't mind living sort of together. After all it doesn't look too bad." He was thinking of some of the drearier habitations they had known off Belsize Crescent.

And except that the people were Negro you would think to look around

that the only differences between the coloured district and the rest of town were the dogwoods which were smaller and a shade less pink and the azaleas which may have had a somewhat less sandy soil. The houses were not spacious as some homes elsewhere were spacious but homes that many white folks lived in were not spacious either. There were just as many cars. More children of course since coloured folk tend to have more.

"They talk about a coloured problem in this country but there really isn't any problem at all. 80 per cent. of the people don't want to live near coloured people and the 20 per cent. who say they don't mind are hypocritical. I know we had an Indian staying with us once. Business visit. A real nice fellow. But in the morning he went outside to take a picture of the house and boy you should have heard the neighbours. They said, 'Boy, you putting niggers up?' They didn't know he was only Indian."

"We have them back home too but not so many. They sometimes cause trouble."

"You mean Indians or coloured?"

"Well, both I suppose. I think we call them the same."

"Well here it's just coloured. And they don't give you trouble if they live like this. Of course you got to treat them right."

"It's common sense really," said Mrs. Sayles. "They got their stores and churches all close by so why should they want to spread out all over?"

★

Already at the country club, situated outside the city limits, Mr. Belnikov was seeking some facts and figures. He was amazed to hear that you couldn't get liquor inside the city limits. But there were plenty of places all round where you could get a drink.

"In your country you have freedom to say a whole town shall not drink. In my country you are free to drink everywhere."

The Purvis' had brought him round to the club with some friends. Each had to admit to himself that old Belnikov was perfectly fair and didn't mind discussing anything. He was completely different from the Reds you read about. He didn't hate America as they did, on the contrary he was full of enthusiasm for the automobiles and the kitchens. They were talking about freedom. (Purvis had tried to kick his neighbour when he started to talk about freedom but no social blander had ensued).

"In America you are very rich but you have the freedom to be poor. In the Soviet Union we do not wish people to be poor. But we are still poorer than you. In America you have more freedom than we can afford to have."

Purvis' bridge partner said his boy had built a short-wave set and had tuned in to one of those broadcasts from Moscow. He'd made a record of it and at school the teacher had allowed him to play it and they had had a discussion. Could they do that in Russia?

"No," said Mr. Belnikov, "in my country a schoolboy would not have so much money to buy a short-wave set with." Then he remembered that Morristown was dry and said that could not happen in his country either.

They all laughed and Purvis was heard to say, "That Belnikov, he's quite a guy."

"Say that's quite some fancy subway system they say you got out there in Moscow."

Belnikov told them the old joke about the Moscow subway system. You know, an American comes up and says he hears the lines don't reach to the poorer districts, just serve the centre of the city, and the Russian replies, "Yes the Negro problem in the States is pretty bad, isn't it?"

★

The girl from Peru was taken to see an asparagus farm. Several others viewed Graco Kelly's wedding dress at the museum in Philadelphia.

On Saturday evening the guests and hosts sat in the high-school auditorium for a concert put on by the school children. The popular Mr. Hamdy responded to the speech of welcome by the mayor—"seeing the American people in their homes . . . the greatness of the

Condition of the Press Continued from p. 1

ested in the dissemination of news, though seldom objectively. The journalist who works for the proprietor, may also have varying and various motives; his responsibility is occasionally to his readers, but more often by force of circumstances towards the newspaper's policy—if he steps out of line he is liable to be out of a job, and so he writes what he is told. The free-lance or independent journalist is, in general, only employed by newspapers which concur with his known views.

What of the government's responsibility towards the press? Each successive government pays lip-service to the idea of press freedom, and so long as the press remains within bounds no censorship is imposed, but in the event of an "emergency" or some "difficult situation" the government finds it necessary to take steps to prevent awkward publicity which may prove embarrassing, and press freedom disappears. In fact freedom of the press, so far as the government is concerned, is a relative term, and governmental press responsibility is concurrent with the interests of government. The phrase, "in the public interest", is used as an excuse for the imposition of censorship, but one would suppose the actual interest of the public to be in the facts (or so we should like to think), and anything less than these, together with opinions—all opinions—is not press freedom.

To return to the continuing closure of newspapers over the years, we are faced with two facts—high costs and low standards. The former tending to make mass circulation obligatory and the latter tending to force quality newspapers down to the same mediocre level as the rest in order to gain circulation. There is a further factor of great consequence—advertising. All newspapers (except FREEDOM) depend to a great extent upon revenue from advertisers; this revenue becomes increas-

ingly hard to find. Advertisers are interested in selling their products, and therefore wish their advertisements to be brought to the notice of as wide a section of the public as possible at the lowest price. The larger the circulation the higher the advertising rate, and in addition the financial practicality of a better rate in terms of cost per thousand readers.

The advent of commercial TV and the general increase in other forms of advertising have not helped matters, in this respect. The appeal of an advertisement which is heard as well as seen, is often animate and, most important, is the only picture on the screen, is enormous. What is more, the probable number of viewers far exceeds the number of people who actually take the trouble to read a newspaper advertisement.

There is no easy answer to the problem which faces the smaller newspaper, particularly if it intends to continue its present policy. This is not to say that all papers with small circulations have high-minded ideals and standards, but that this is relatively so in general even if we do not share either the ideals or the standards. It might be argued that for this reason the problem does not concern us, and that the closure of newspapers with which we do not agree is immaterial, but this would be very short-sighted. Mr. Anthony Greenwood (Lab. Rissendale) made it clear during the debate exactly why: "We are getting into a situation in which the future of many more papers is going to be imperilled. Unless the newspaper industry wakes up we are going to wake up one morning and find we are left with only two or three giant newspapers."

Even Mr. J. E. S. Simon (Parliamentary Secretary, Home Office) who spoke for the Government stated that although he found himself in little agreement with papers such as the *News Chronicle* and the *Daily Herald* he did not want to

minimise the loss if they ceased to exist. "It seems to me," he said, "it would be a severe loss." Unfortunately he continued to speak and so rather spoiled the effect: "In any event one should reflect, the needs they meet are to a great extent to-day met by television." This remark would only have been slightly improved if it had been directed at *Picture Post*.

Throughout the debate the functions of the Press Council were constantly being mentioned, for the Council nominally has something to do with the "maintenance of high standards of conduct", but several examples were given of its ineffectiveness despite the use of admonition and censure against those whose conduct falls below the desirable standard. Some M.P.'s suggested that the Council should be given "teeth", but Mr. Simon considered that it would be a "very grave thing indeed" to give anybody the right to suspend anybody from writing or publishing any printed matter. Or perhaps he meant that the rights of censorship should remain in the hands of the government only. In any event we agree with his delightful analogy in this respect, that: "Even a surfeit of cheesecake is more palatable than a gag."

However, the problems remain, except that they are now far more serious than when the Royal Commission considered them eight years ago. There is no reason to believe that the Parliamentary debate will bring about any more fruitful results than did the Commission, and the regrettable diminution in the number of newspapers of all kinds will continue. The price of newsprint is a bitter blow, and the requirements of advertisers are to be deplored, but the real blame will lie with our friends and neighbours who do not care and do not know and do not want to know—if they did perhaps they would also read FREEDOM!

people of the United States . . . principles . . . we at the United Nations . . . our duty with greater energy . . . peace. We will some day return the honour and receive you in our homes in our countries."

After the show there was a reception in the gymnasium for all the townsfolk to meet their guests. Above them the flags and messages of goodwill. "May our hospitality stimulate you in your efforts to secure peace for mankind." The local paper got several good shots. The young fellow from Syria, the family from Colombia, Tang and his wife from Taiwan, that good-looking fellow from Hungary, quite a few from U.K. and Commonwealth nations, all chatting away with the folk of Morristown and Alex Belnikov laughing his head off with the president of the Chamber of Commerce. The school kids were collecting autographs.

The next day the Greyhound was there to take everyone back to New York. They were taking a lot of photographs before the bus left. The coloured couple and one or two others had something to do and had to leave early, but you might say that practically the whole town turned out to say goodbye. J.B.

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IN DEFENCE OF PHILOSOPHY

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WHY I AM AN ANARCHIST

JUNE 9—No Meeting

JUNE 16—John Bishop on
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