

THE SICK MEN OF THE WEST

FOR many years anarchists have been almost alone in stressing the effect upon a nation's policies and actions of the health—mental and physical—of its leaders.

We do not, of course, claim the credit for all the work that has been done in examining this matter, but it was seven years ago, following his lecture at the 1951 London Anarchist Group Summer School, that we published Alex Comfort's pamphlet *Delinquency* (now unhappily out of print) which made available for the first time in cheap format, a scientifically-argued case that the leaders of the states of the world tend towards delinquency and mental unbalance in the true meaning of the words.

It takes a long time for the rest of the world to catch up with the anarchists. In many aspects of our thought we see the fruits of our labours appearing years after we first begin to give them prominence—often after we have passed on to yet further development of ideas. That this is done in an unspectacular manner, without much banging of drums and without 'big names' such as graced our movement in the past does not make it less true. It may make it less effective in that it does not reach such a wide public so quickly, with the result that even fairly close comrades can be convinced that there has been no new development in anarchist thought since Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*. When, in fact, there has been considerable development, due, for instance, to the wider knowledge of the human mind through psychology, and in many fields anarchist concepts are, gradually, finding corroboration and acceptance.

Danger of Specialisation

Because of the extremely revolutionary conclusions of anarchism, however, we are always bound to go further than those who gradually, even grudgingly, accept part of our ideas. It is difficult for many advanced thinkers in particular fields to accept our philosophy completely largely due to the very fact that they are advanced in a particular field, i.e., they specialise. The contribution of anarchism to social thought is that it provides a general social philosophy within which the most advanced ideas in all fields can come together and lose their divided particularity in the general.

Giant Lollipop

This central flaw, of course, echoes the thundering blarney of all world fairs: the pretence that the real life of cities is dominated by the designer. In the world fair the designer is king. Having shown off his projections, his cantilever capers, his "contemporary" materials all summer, he will retreat in the fall to the place he belongs: a cranky aesthete mistrusted by city councils, the expensive enemy of building commissions, the easy dupe of the real planners and dictators of our time: namely the real-estate shark, the jerry builder, the finance company, the cement firm, the construction grafter, the corrupt highway commissioner, the billboard lobby, and all the other practical scoundrels who reduce our actual towns to obscenities and world fairs, by contrast, to a brief indulgence of the frolicking child and the ingenious pansy: a giant lollipop to take our minds off the universal degradation of the city by the men who really run it.

—Alistar Cooke on the Brussels World Fair.

For so many specialists, however, it seems to be a need of which they are not even aware. They may arrive in their own fields at the most libertarian conclusions and have the courage and energy to push them in the face of public opinion and entrenched conservative interest—but in other fields they may still be themselves the victims of conservative thought, unable to apply the libertarianism they champion in their own work.

This is in part why anarchism as a coherent philosophy remains accepted by so few and why our organised movement is so small, while libertarian ideas find increased validity in the social sciences, in education, in criminology and other fields.

It is in the general political field that progress appears slowest. Yet just as elsewhere, powerful forces are in fact working to help us here, at least in the negative sense. Not least of these is the behaviour of

politicians, their parties and governments, and the widespread disgust and fear they engender. The apathy which has been such a 'problem' for all parties (and the anarchist movement) since the initial post-war enthusiasm for change faded away is a reflection of this—as well, no doubt of the smug contentment which usually arises in an era of prosperity.

But the behaviour which produced apathy when it appeared to be merely disgusting is producing alarm now that it becomes dangerous, and many people are at last awakening to the menace which the statesmen of the world present to the people of the world.

Others Now Realise

In present circumstances the health of these statesmen assumes tremendous importance. Which is why the point we made in our opening paragraph is ceasing to apply. Anarchists are ceasing to be

Continued on p. 3

IN THE DEEP SOUTH

'The Cause of Integration is Far Worse Off than it was Last Year'

TIME newsmagazine is never over-zealous in attacking faults in the U.S. administration at high level, but this week it delicately suggests the need for change in the Administration's position on Southern schools. Dwight Eisenhower, *Time* writes:

"honorably intending to stay above the battle and base his case on the enforcement of law and order, had overlooked the fact that the U.S. needed moral leadership in fighting segregation. Without it, Southern moderates had no place to go. Without it, some of the most patient, effective integration programmes were weakened as Southern diehards mobilized their own legal resources to fight the battle for segregation in the name of states' rights."

It was time for the President to perceive that law enforcement must be accompanied by active effort in behalf of the principle behind the law."

This belated call for Eisenhower's "moral leadership" (a reminder which one might suppose would be unnecessary to give the President of

a democratic state), is brought about by the realisation that "the cause of integration is far worse off that it was last year".

Our interpretation of Eisenhower's honourable intention to stay above the battle (in any case why should an individual in high office be uncommitted on such an important issue as equality?) is not quite the same as *Time's*. It is apparent to any objective person that fear of political reprisal has kept many a politician sitting on the fence, or, depending on his political agility, hopping on and off. This is also true of the Labour M.P. for N. Kensington in "our own" trouble area, whose only unimaginative answer to the recent riots was to limit immigration. Both Mr. Rogers and General Eisenhower may be secret Negro haters. We do not think so, but in both cases they have to consider political and party power and, as all anarchists know, this is what really counts with politicians. Ethics, morality, justice, etc., play a part only when these considerations do not clash with political interests.

Incensed by the Supreme Court's decision which refused an appeal lodged by the Board of Education of Little Rock for a postponement of integration, Governor Faubus, using the anti-integration laws enacted by the legislature at his request, ordered the senior high schools of Little Rock to remain closed. Whether the "legal" clauses will stand up in court will depend largely on the power given to Faubus by supporters outside and within the state law. What is apparent is that many parents and students are anxious to have the schools open whatever the decision on segregation.

In other parts of the South where schools have re-opened, methods ranging from open intimidation of negroes by white students to senseless conditions of entry are being adopted by the psychotic whites. In Arlington, Virginia, 30 Negroes seeking admission to white schools were all turned down, 21 of them on the grounds that their academic achievement was inadequate although all of them had IQ's of over a hundred. Eight were turned down because of "psychological problems" after their records had been checked by the Directors of Psychological Research at the Virginia Department of Mental Hygiene, and Hospitals who found that they were

Continued on p. 4

MOSCOW INTERLUDE

A recent report in *Time* magazine describes a visit to Moscow made by Mr. Cyrus S. Eaton, and his conversations with Mr. Krushchev. Some of the following dialogue is verbatim—the rest might have been.

The time: September, 1958.

The place: Moscow, U.S.S.R.

The characters: N. Krushchev, Premier U.S.S.R.

Cyrus S. Eaton, Industrialist, U.S.A.

The proposition: World peace, better understanding, mutual regard . . . and all that.

The dialogue: (At the airport).

N.K. So glad you could come Mr. Eaton, we in the U.S.S.R. have long wished to meet you, ever since you presented our Agricultural department with the prize Shorthorn bull 3 years ago. It has done wonderful work since then. Did you enjoy the flight to Moscow in our TU-104 jet airliner? What do you think of all these delightful little children who have come to greet you with flowers? May I introduce Vladimir Matkevich, our Minister for Agriculture?

C.S.E. How do you do Mr. K. Pleased to meet you Mr. M. Fine children you have here Mr. K.—and flowers. Your TU-104 is a very fine plane, I would say almost as fine as our Boeing 707. I'm surely glad the bull is doing such fine work here.

N.K. I have enjoyed receiving your letters recently, and am happy to feel that our mutual work in this field is proving of such help towards a better understanding of the U.S.S.R. by your State Department.

C.S.E. Very kind of you to say that Mr. Premier, I certainly aim to bring some further mutual understanding between our two great countries if I can. My present aim in this world-peace tour in which I'm now engaged is certainly to bring about a better mutual understanding between our . . .

N.K. Excellent, Mr. Eaton, and you may be sure that the people of the U.S.S.R. recognise your great contribution—in fact I have already arranged for a presentation of one of our gold medals to you later on at the agricultural fair.

C.S.E. Well Mr. Premier, that surely is kind of you, and you can bet your life my continuing aim will be to promote more and more mutual . . .

N.K. Yes. Let's get off to my office at the Kremlin, here's the car.

Later—in N.K.'s Office

N.K. Well Mr. E., how is business in the U.S., are your railway and mining concerns doing well? Has the recession made much difference?

C.S.E. Naturally—Mr. Premier, there has been some slight cutting back in trading conditions, but it is my opinion that this is purely a temporary trend. What are the conditions in your country at this time?

N.K. I am happy to be able to inform you Mr. E. that our industrial expansion continues to increase as anticipated, and it is now simply a question of time before our standard of living will surpass any in the world. At the moment our people are having to make some slight sacrifices which they do willingly in the knowledge that they are building the great new socialist society as envisaged by our first great leader, Lenin.

C.S.E. Quite so Mr. Premier, and there can be no doubt that our two great countries can and will live in harmony as soon as it is understood that there is no reason for disharmony.

N.K. There you have it Mr. E., but unfortunately it always seems to us that America wants war. Mr. Dulles is, after all, a very difficult man.

C.S.E. I have heard, Mr. Premier, that the Soviet impression is that American industry is in favour of war so that war orders will continue to flow. Speaking solely as a capitalist, we industrialists are not at all happy about spending \$40 billion a year for implements of war that, if they had to be used, would mean the destruction of all our property, and our annihilation at the same time. Don't forget that this arms race places a crushing burden of taxation on industry.

N.K. Of course Mr. E., we too are being driven most reluctantly to these expenditures, despite our most earnest desire for peace. Would it be true to say that industry in the U.S. would be the less by \$40 billion in the event of total disarmament? And that for industry to pay its burden of taxation it must first make some slight profit?

C.S.E. You have things in the wrong light here Mr. Premier, though it must surely be true that the U.S.S.R.

could make a great many automobiles and ice-boxes with 40 billion roubles—for domestic use of course.

N.K. Nothing would give us greater pleasure than to manufacture more automobiles, but it is hard to see how this is possible in view of the threatening attitude of your State Department. It is necessary to be strong in order to meet strength.

C.S.E. This is just how we feel Mr. Premier—we have to be strong in order to negotiate a world peace. But while the U.S.S.R. gets stronger so does the U.S.A., much as we industrialists dislike it.

N.K. But we wish to disarm and the U.S.A. does not agree.

C.S.E. So do we, but you Russians won't come to the summit.

N.K. We have been there before—what about NATO and SEATO and Korea and Suez.

C.S.E. What about Formosa and East Germany and Hungary.

N.K. We desire peace and disarmament.

C.S.E. We want disarmament and peace.

N.K. There you are, a fundamental disagreement.

Later—at the Airport

N.K. Permit me to present to you Mr. Eaton, on behalf of the great Russian people in recognition of your services to world peace, this troika and three matched horses with their trainer.

C.S.E. Thank you Mr. Premier. I am surely most grateful. And I have enjoyed this trip more than I can say. You must come and visit us in the United States soon, you can see how we do things there.

Later—at Mr. E.'s press reception in Washington

C.S.E. My impression of Mr. Krushchev is that he is a man not to be pushed around. You get the idea when you are with him that he's the boss. I have spent most of my life persuading myself that I can read men and their minds. Of Krushchev I am convinced that he wants peace. The U.S.S.R. is a great country. What is required is a greater mutual understanding between our two great countries. My present aim is to bring about a greater mutual . . . (applause) . . . and world peace.

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THIRD OF THE L.A.G. SUMMER SCHOOL LECTURES ON WAR AND PEACE

DURING the height of the aerial war upon London, the South Place Ethical Society invited Prof. Flugel to give a Memorial Lecture on *The Moral Paradox of Peace and War*. It is interesting that their purpose was, as outlined by Dr. Keeton who chaired the meeting, a concern for the future after the end of the war, although at that time the sort of end which the war would have was very much in doubt. Keeton said:

"His address this morning is a most important contribution to the task of reconstruction which it will be necessary to undertake when the war is over and which must necessarily accompany all attempts to establish a durable system of international organization."

Keeton's address as chairman begged the whole question. He was floundering in the morass of ideas which attributed the highly organized, compulsory and totalitarian machine which was doing its best to blow up London at the time of the lecture to the outlook of the "ordinary individual". He said:

"In the years preceding the present war when the breakdown of the League system was already manifest, and also in the early stages of the war, there was a widespread tendency to ascribe the recurrence of international lawlessness to faulty machinery, and it was suggested that if only the machinery of international organization could be improved, wars could be prevented. Accordingly, there was an epidemic of constitution-making by legal and political experts, and constitutions were framed for a

United States of Europe, for a Union of Democracies, and for a Union of American Republics; and there were even more ambitious schemes, all of them with the example of the United States of America more or less plainly in mind. It was said that confederations, to which class the League of Nations obviously belongs, never worked, but that federations such as it was desired to form proved permanent and successful. This is true, but it overlooks the greater truth that when peoples are prepared to associate as closely as federation implies, they are prepared permanently to abandon as between themselves the use of uncontrolled force as a method of settling their disputes. Nevertheless, these proposals embodied two important points of great value. The first is that there must be considerable identity of interest among the component parts of a super-state organization if it is to prove permanent, and the second is that the peoples of the component parts must feel a direct loyalty to the super-state organization transcending, but not superseding, their loyalty to their own State.

Both these points are at bottom psychological. If members of the States which made up the League of Nations had wanted the League to succeed with sufficient intensity it would have succeeded. So long however as the League was no more than an instrument for the prosecution of national policies its failure was certain. How to achieve this fundamental revolution in the outlook of the

ordinary individual is therefore the main problem of the post-war period."

I have italicised the reference to the outlook of the ordinary individual. This reference to the outlook of the ordinary individual is quite extraordinary. What tiny fraction of the ordinary individuals of all the nations whose governments made up the League of Nations knew a damned thing about what was going on at Geneva? What minute percentage of ordinary individuals was in any way informed about their councils enough to have an outlook? Here in this country with a high rate of literacy, a press normally uncensored by the government, and plenty of organs of mass communication, not one in ten thousand of ordinary people had any real appreciation of what was going on in the League of Nations—and what about all these vast illiterate populations entirely dependent upon government-controlled propaganda who were "represented" at Geneva by their governments? It is sheer nonsense to suggest that any psychological change in the "ordinary individual" has any connection with his rulers' deliberations in a remote international council. Now was this Dr. Keeton a drivelling old fool or a cynical charlatan trying to pull the wool over the eyes of his audience? No, I am sure he was not. He was a sincere and intelligent man; but men in his position seldom know what they are talking about when they refer to the "ordinary man". They have little acquaintance with the ordinary man; they think of him as somebody with a university education who takes his opinions from the *Times*, *Telegraph* and *Manchester Guardian*, instead of somebody who thankfully packed his books up at the age of 15 in a Secondary Modern School and who takes his opinions from the *Daily Mirror*, *Express* and *News of the World*.

Having posed this psychological problem, Dr. Keeton then handed the meeting over to Prof. Flugel. Now Flugel was a psychoanalyst, a professor of psychology at University College, London.

In the main his lecture dealt with the paradox that what was considered immoral in peacetime, that is lying, theft and murder, were considered moral in wartime when such actions were directed against the enemy. He showed that we appear to have a natural conscience which will not let us get away with flagrantly immoral acts without causing us acute psychic discomfort; but in wartime such a conscience does not appear to exist provided our immoral acts take forms which are approved of by the State. The State abrogates the place of conscience.

He went on to say that the State itself is not a moral being at all, and can never be restrained by any sort of conscience. Here Flugel was repeating in 1941 in London something that Freud has said much better than he in 1915 in Vienna. Freud had said:

"The individual in any given nation has in this war a terrible opportunity to convince himself of what would occasionally strike him in peace-time—that the State has forbidden to the individual the practice of wrong-doing, not because it desired to abolish it, but because it desires to monopolize it like salt and tobacco. The warring State permits itself every such misdeed, every such act of violence as would disgrace the individual man. It practises not only the accepted stratagems, but also deliberate lying and deception against the enemy; and this too in a measure which appears to surpass the usage of former wars. The State exacts the utmost degree of obedience and sacrifice from its citizens, but at the same time treats them as children by maintaining an excess of secrecy, and a censorship of news and expressions of opinion that renders the spirits of those thus intellectually oppressed defenceless against every unfavourable turn of events and every sinister rumour. It absolves itself from the guarantees and contracts it had formed with other States, and makes unabashed confession of its rapacity and lust for power, which the private individual is then called upon to sanction."

Freud stated in 1915 an excellently clear anarchist analysis of war. Yet as

I mentioned earlier in my lecture, when invited by Einstein in 1932 to discuss this very problem he deserted his earlier position and talked in vague generalizations about the aggressive instincts of mankind, much in the same way that we heard Giovanni Baldelli talking yesterday. In 1941 Flugel followed Freud in this matter; having made the point that the State was an entity with no moral sense which abrogated the conscience of the individual citizen thus making him capable of completely irresponsible behaviour, Flugel then abandoned his own line of reasoning. He made the confusion between the nature of the individual man, the Nation—that is an aggregate of individuals dominated by one political system, and the Nation-State which is the organization of political control.

Having made this fundamental confusion he then served up the old trash about war being due to the aggressive instincts of man—he served it up to us there in the Conway Hall in the midst of a war which no-one had wanted, and what's more, no-one outside of government circles had been asked if they wanted it or not. By and large the war was just bloody tedious; few, very few indeed got any opportunity to satisfy their aggressive instincts if they had any. Are we to believe that the Chamberlain cabinet had its finger on the pulse of public feeling, that it had a superb telepathic service so that when the thirst for aggression in the ordinary man reached boiling point they declared war? And are we now to believe that the Macmillan cabinet is being swayed by the level of pent-up aggression in the breast of the ordinary man and, that when by some extraordinary means they are aware that the level of aggression is too high they will press that famous button and let loose the Freudian Id in the form of a hydrogen war?

I think you know that that is nonsense. I think you know that the personal aggressiveness of Tom, Dick and Harry has not the remotest connection with the causes of modern war. It was pointed out by a comrade here yesterday that there was an essential difference between the cause of a thing and the necessary conditions for it. I will admit

Continued on p. 3

BOOK REVIEW

The Schoolboy and the Singer

BOY ON THE ROOFTOP, by Thomas Szabo. Translated by David Hughes. Heinemann, 12s. 6d.

HERE I STAND, by Paul Robeson. Dobson, 10s. 6d.

"**BOY on the Rooftop**" is the story of a fifteen-year-old schoolboy in the Hungarian Rebellion of 1955. It is not a work of any lasting value. Change the names and places and it could be an account of any young person's activities in any of the many violent upheavals which continue to expose the phoney peace of our time. The publisher's claim that "Thomas Szabo's narrative has the rawness of truth; awkward but vivid . . ." is an exaggerated one. After reading it one is still left wondering what it was that transformed a schoolboy intent on buying his mother

some nylons for her birthday "into a seasoned street-fighter, killing without remorse". The momentum of violence can do many things, but remorse is usually not so quick in disappearing.

The ideas held by the author consist of undistinguished patriotic platitudes and his view of the "West" seems to have been highly coloured by Radio Free Europe. In one chapter he actually writes of this side of the Iron Curtain as being somewhere in which "there were free men living as they pleased". A war resister in France or Italy, or even in Britain, would find such a view hard to accept.

This is not a book which contributes very much to an understanding of the tragic events in Hungary. And one must protest at the publisher's ridiculous gimmick of printing a photograph of the back of the author with the caption: "Only big brother has organized things to the point where a budding young author does not dare show his face". This is not only a travesty of Orwell's classic, but ignores the fact that big brotherdom is not peculiar to Communists alone.

Paul Robeson writes an impassioned indictment of the wrongs and humiliations endured by the American Negro. Unfortunately, he has allowed his justifiable indignation at these evils to make him some strange bedfellows. In his view of international relations he takes the black-white perspective of "Boy on a Rooftop" and reverses it. Just as Szabo has been sold the pup of the "free West", so Robeson has been sold the pup of the "socialist East". An example, he praises the Soviet Union for blocking "Western imperialism from retaking the Suez Canal from emancipated [and Communist Party banning] Egypt," yet has not one word to say on the brutal intervention of the Soviet Union in Hungary. For someone who takes his stand on the platform of the Bandung Conference of 1955 this is blatantly inconsistent. The ten points of the platform have among them two which read—respectively—"Respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all nations"; and "Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country". Charity begins in Moscow as well as at home.

Paul Robeson is very concerned that the American Negro becomes an "equal" citizen with the "white" American. Important as this may appear to be to the Negro from his actual status as a "second class" citizen, in the final analysis it would not mean that he would really achieve freedom. A citizen is a subject of the state; equal citizenship is therefore equality in subjection. And where the state is, as the author will find in Marx, there is no freedom. But since he has exchanged the statism of "scientific socialism" for the statism of "free enterprise" it is not to be expected that he will agree with such a viewpoint.

"Here I Stand" contains some moving passages. It is marred, however, by its author having plunged from an obnoxious frying pan into an even more obnoxious fire.

S. E. PARKER.

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EXHIBITION

Prestige and Politics at the Biennale

IT would be nice to think that international art exhibitions were held under a different set of principles from those which govern international gatherings in the political arena. Perhaps some are, but the most important event in European art is the Biennale of Venice, and this quite definitely gives the impression of being well under the control of the major Western powers while other nations appear to be allowed to exhibit rather as a privilege and more in order to provide a façade of 'internationalism' than because their art is taken very seriously.

The physical arrangements of the exhibition carry prestige to begin with, since some nations have permanent pavilions of their own in the pleasant Giardini at the Eastern end of the main island of Venice where the Biennale is held. Other nations, however, have to be content with sharing the large main palace, of which the Italians (who after all organise the show) have the lion's share. As well as the Italian exhibits, considerable space is (rightly) given to special shows by major artists—this year Braque and Wols—to small exhibitions of the work of young artists (a new feature introduced this year and confined to work from selected European countries and America) and to work by foreign artists living in Italy.

The remaining space in the main pavilion is shared this year between South Africa, Australia, Brazil, Ceylon, India, Iran, Columbia and Mexico and these eight nations are supposed to have equal space allotted them for adequate showing of their work. This year, however, Brazil has three rooms, Australia an unusually large one, and (for reasons best known to the organisers) a room of normal size was kept empty at least until opening day for works from Argentina which simply did not turn up, while India, with a full entry of serious work which arrived well on time, has been pushed into one half room and a separate, small back verandah with works cramped, double-banked, on to inadequate wall space with sculpture haphazardly crowded in.

A reason for this disparity may be found in the fact that Brazil is a sort of sister country to Italy in the Biennale business in that in the alternate years between the Venice Biennale Brazil organises a Biennale of her own at Sao Paulo. Hence the Venice organisers may

consider it politic to treat the South American countries as handsomely as possible. On the other hand, the Indians were so little interested in the Venice show that, although they sent in a good entry, they did not even bother to send a representative to Venice!

This is rather hard on the Indian artists, whose work is serious and valuable and indicative of the post-war trend among artists of several Asian countries to contribute to the art of the world in a modern idiom enriched by their own background of Eastern culture.

The treatment meted out to India, however, indicates that she is still regarded very much as a third-rate power, artistically speaking (unless the organisers of the Biennale were simply taking advantage of the absence of an Indian representative) and is a reflection of the common assumption that the school of Paris is the leading influence in the art of the world and will always remain so.

In spite of this modern Asian art has already received recognition at the Biennale since in 1956 the main graphic prize went to Munakata of Japan, and the Unesco prize (for outstanding work by a little-known (!) artist) was won by Daraniyagala of Ceylon.

The actual awarding of the prizes—which carry considerable international prestige—provides another parallel with political conferences. One need no longer be a hardened cynic to recognise that the real decisions at a political gathering are made in the notorious 'smoke-filled hotel rooms' while the public discussion merely rubber-stamps those decisions. Well, at the Biennale judgments are made and prizes are awarded ostensibly by a representative international jury which meets for this purpose a day or two before the grand official opening, but in previous years an interesting thing has been that the names of the prize-winners have appeared to be well-known some days before the Jury's meeting—which indicates a smoke-filled hotel room somewhere in Venice. But this year a conspicuous silence prevailed, and the awards of the Jury, when they finally became known, indicated the use of another smoke-filled room somewhere else in Venice occupied by conspirators interested in ousting Paris from its position of supremacy, for no prizes went to France this year.

Consequently one juror from a leading

European nation hitherto considered an undisputed power at the Biennale—and who blandly admitted two years ago that he was passing judgment upon pictures he had not even looked at—walked out of the Jury meeting this year in protest against the way the prizes were being awarded!

That not only questions of prestige but also direct political considerations may influence the awarding of prizes may be judged from the fact that this year the Unesco prize was taken out of the hands of the international Jury, to be awarded directly by an Unesco committee. By a strange coincidence their two prizes went to a Japanese, Okada, and a Spaniard, Tapias, who both received prizes from the Jury as well!

It is surely unprecedented for any artist to receive two prizes at Venice and, since it is certainly not my intention to embark upon art criticism in this article, one can only assume that the awards were made more because of the importance of their countries to the powers behind Unesco than because of any objective admiration for their works as those of artists of world stature.

It is this sort of background and this sort of atmosphere, where firstly the superiority of European art centres is assumed and secondly there is the strong suspicion of political motives behind prize awards, which are making a farce of the claim that the Biennale is international in the true sense of the word, or that it provides a genuine opportunity for the artists of all nations to have a fair showing of their work.

There may be one more parallel with the political scene which the organisers of the Biennale will not find so pleasant in the years to come. Europe is not the dominating force in the world to-day that she was when the Biennale started sixty-four years ago. The United States and South America, Asia and the emergent Commonwealth countries, as well, no doubt, as the Communist countries, will all have more and more influence in the world of art even as they have in the political and military fields.

The days of the Venice Biennale as the significant art event of the world may be numbered if it becomes simply another field for the expression of national politics and if Europe does not recognise and pay honest tribute to the valuable contributions from elsewhere.

P.S.

The Sick Men of the West

Continued from p. 1

so alone in realising the effects upon world affairs of the health of our leaders.

In small ways—letters to editors, isolated comments or paragraphs from worried journalists—we are beginning to notice in the press a beginning of public concern over the health of the leaders of the West.

The Suez misadventure was a terrible shock to many long-standing admirers of Sir Anthony Eden's diplomatic abilities. It was a panic-stricken gesture so completely at variance with the man's background, previous contributions to international intrigue and professed intentions, and it was followed by such hysterical behaviour and physical breakdown that it provided a most salutary lesson on the effects of what one might call 'power-strain' upon a human being.

And Sir Anthony had been trained for years in preparation for the top job. Discussions at the highest levels, decisions involving the fate of millions—these were his daily experience. But the strain of power was too much for him and in a single irresponsible action—he launched a war.

A Cause for Anxiety

To-day it is the health of Dwight Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles which is arousing concern. The sheer irrationality of the latter's pig-headed attitude on China and the former's clear inability to be effective are finding explanation in their physical ailments. Eisenhower, since becoming President, has suffered a coronary and a cerebral thrombosis and a removal of part of his colon, while Dulles is understood to be a sufferer from cancer. The colonic trouble of Eisenhower and the cancer of Dulles both fall within categories of what are thought to be psycho-somatic diseases. We can but wonder how much their policies are due to their illnesses and how much their illnesses are due to their positions in power.

The anxiety this dangerous situation is causing in many who are by no means anarchists is therefore fully justified. As usual, however, we go beyond the others. We think that the very pursuit of positions of power is indicative of sickness in the very first place. The man who seeks power over others—and particularly power which carries with it the frightening coercive abilities of the modern state—is, to our way of thinking, a man who seeks to compensate for weakness, shortcomings, inadequacy in something or other, within himself.

Mental derangement—in a Teddy Boy or a Foreign Secretary—is never so easily seen as a physical ailment. For the delinquent at the bottom the result of this ignorance may be violence against an individual. But the delinquency, through sickness, of the Top People is terrifying in its consequences. That can lead to the destruction of the world.

PLEASE

Don't Forget the Deficit Fund!

EARLY this month Rudolf Rocker died in New York at the age of 85. He might be called the last of the anarchist sages, the last of those teachers and propagandists who were known and read by the sparse and scattered anarchist minority in every continent. No other anarchist author since the days of Malatesta and Kropotkin has been published in Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Bombay, Buenos Aires, London, New York, San Francisco, Stockholm and Shanghai. Rocker in his own person exemplified the truly international character of the anarchist movement. A South German, who in his early twenties became a political refugee in Paris, he spent years in Britain becoming both the spokesman and the inspiration of the Polish and Russian Jewish workers' movement in the East End of London. Later, after being interned and deported, he emerged, in Augustine Souchy's words, "the founder and theorist of German libertarianism", and, driven in turn from Germany, became a prolific anarchist journalist in the United States, not only in the American Jewish press, but in the anarchist papers of Central and South America and in the press of the exiled Spaniards on both sides of the Atlantic.

His place as an anarchist thinker is in the tradition of what used to be called communist-anarchism (before the word communism developed its exclusively Marxist significance), with an emphasis on syndicalism as a means of social struggle, which won him the esteem of the Spanish C.N.T.-F.A.I. He was not in any way a sectarian and deplored the weakening of the libertarian movement by ideological narrowness. But this very tolerance and insistence that anarchism should not stand apart from the main stream of social endeavour and activity, led him late in life to points of view very far from those of the anarchist tradition. His attitude towards the last war, set out in his article "The Order of the Hour" published in the *Freie Arbeiter-Stimme* at the time of America's entry into the war in 1941, was bitterly criticised in Marcus Graham's *Freedom Press* pamphlet "The Issues in the Present War", and his pamphlet *Zur Betrachtung der Lage in Deutschland*, published in Sweden in 1947, in which he advocated a revision of traditional anarchist attitudes in view of the particular and desperate situation in Germany at the time, gave rise to another controversy.

At the same time, the habits of thought which gave rise to Rocker's 'revisionism' and to positions which are untenable from an anarchist point of view, were also the mainsprings of an anarchist attitude free from Messianic utopianism, revolutionary mysticism, and the belief in universal solutions.

ROCKER was born on March 25th, 1873 at Mainz on the Rhine. His parents died during his childhood and he was brought up in a Catholic orphanage. Influenced by his uncle, Rudolf Naumann, he was drawn towards the underground socialist movement, but was repelled by the rigidity and authoritarianism of the German Social Democratic movement. "It was clear to me," he wrote of this period,

"that socialism was not a simple question of a full belly, but a question of culture that would have to enlist the sense of personality and the free initiative of the individual; without freedom it would lead only to a dismal state capitalism which would sacrifice all individual thought and feeling to a fictitious collective interest."

After his apprenticeship to the craft of bookbinding, he wandered as a journeyman in the old German custom through several countries, making contact everywhere with the anarchists, and settling in Paris in 1893, coming to London two years later in order to take over the production of anarchist propaganda intended for smuggling into Germany. In 1898 he was asked to become editor of the Yiddish paper *Arbeiter Freund* which had been founded thirteen years earlier in Whitechapel, and two years later began a new Yiddish monthly *Germinal* which sought "to acquaint its readers with all libertarian tendencies in modern literature and contemporary thought." How he managed, he reflected later, "to write both papers and to set one of them as well is still a puzzle to me." From this time until 1914 Rocker was busy, not only with the weekly and the monthly, but on the platform, in the efforts to organise the workers in the tailoring and baking trades, and lecturing on literary subjects at the Sugar Loaf public house in Hanbury Street.

On the outbreak of the first world war Rocker and his wife Milly Witcop (who

PEOPLE AND IDEAS:

RUDOLF ROCKER 1873-1958

died three years ago) were arrested. She was imprisoned without trial; he was interned, and for four years was the spokesman of his fellow prisoners and the implacable defender of their rights, fostering solidarity between them, educating them, making use of the miserable situation in which they found themselves to open their eyes to the worlds of literature and social thought.

Deported to Holland at the end of the war (for though he was an 'enemy alien' to the British, he had also been deprived of his citizenship by the German government), he returned to Germany in the revolution of 1919, he drew up the declaration of principles of the German Syndicalist union F.A.U.D. In a period of intense activity, after the murder of Gustav Landauer and the imprisonment of Erich Mühsam, Rocker with Fritz Kater and Augustine Souchy strove to win German socialism away from the authoritarianism and centralism of the S.P.D. and K.P.D.

On the advent of the Nazis, Rocker left Germany with little more than the manuscript of the book he had been working on for years, *Nationalism and Culture*. In the United States some of the Jewish immigrants who years before had heard Rocker's lectures in England, introduced a small group of people on the West Coast to his manuscript. A Rocker Publications Committee was formed in Los Angeles and the first American edition of the book was brought out by Covici-Friede in 1937. Rocker and his wife settled at Crompond, New York, and he gathered up the threads of his work, writing in the anarchist press and lecturing all over the continent.

During the second world war he was designated an 'enemy alien' by the

American authorities and restrictions were placed on his movements. Even after the war, in his old age, Rudolf and Milly Rocker were 'investigated' and it was rumoured that they would be deported. Happily this did not happen, but the threat of it symbolises the whole course of Rocker's life. Obligated to leave Imperial Germany in his youth, and deprived of his citizenship under the Bismarckian anti-socialist laws, deported from Britain after four years behind barbed wire, placed 'under protection' by the Weimar republic after the German revolution, fleeing from Germany one step ahead of the Nazi security police, this mildest of anarchists was indeed a man without a country.

Of Rocker's books, by far the most important is *Nationalism and Culture*, a sustained demolition of the ideas of historical determinism, of race, and of the nation. Bertrand Russell called it a "brilliant criticism of state-worship, the prevailing and most noxious superstition of our time." The English edition of his memoirs *The London Years* (London: Robert Anscombe, 1956) is a translation by Joseph Leftwich of that part of Rocker's autobiography describing the period of his life in London. This is underground history, interesting, not only for its account of the anarchist movement and the Jewish labour movement of the day, but also for his personal reminiscences of some of the great figures of anarchist history, Louise Michel, Errico Malatesta, Kropotkin, Landauer, Nettlau and Francisco Ferrer. Rocker's *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, published by Secker and Warburg during the Spanish war is a straightforward description of syndicalist aims and methods. *Pioneers of American Freedom* is a study of the Jeffersonian liberal thinkers and the in-

War and Peace

Continued from p. 2

that you need to have a certain amount of strong aggressiveness to perform some of the duties that are required of people even in a modern war; such aggressiveness is therefore a necessary condition for the performance of the operation. But it is not the cause of the war. Why then do psychologists, philosophers and even some of you attending this Summer School talk as though the roots of modern war were to be found in the personal aggressiveness of the ordinary man? I suggest to you that such discussions, like many others, deal with the manifest content of our preoccupations, and that the latent content is quite otherwise. Here I speak to you in Freudian terminology, for our discussions no less than our dreams can proceed upon two levels. George Orwell referred to the phenomenon as "double-think". It is the mechanism by which highly intelligent men like Freud, Keeton, Reeves, Flugel, etc. can spare themselves the pang of realizing that the institutions which they cherish are in fact responsible for the activity which they condemn.

I cannot put forward any brilliant solution for the problem of war. I can only say something that must sound profoundly pessimistic to you. We will continue to live under the perpetual threat of utter devastation as long as the present form of society exists, that is the domination of human society by rival Nation-States. You have seen for yourselves by the recent international anarchist conference that has been held in London that in many countries there exists a rejection of the State, and however small such a movement is, it is at least a sign that man is not supine beneath the modern Leviathan. To my mind the existence of an anarchist movement in the world to-day is a fact of enormous importance. Even though every individual anarchist may come to a sticky end, the fact is that such ideas

are possible within the general framework of human thought. In Orwell's "1984" he discussed how it was intended by the State to prune the existing forms of language so that "thought-crime" should be impossible, and so everyone would have to think in a stereotyped fashion. Well "thought-crime" is still possible under the modern States and I do not think it will ever be eradicated. In modern warfare you have the quintessence of State power, the logical outcome of the Hegelian ideal. Anarchism is the only answer to it. You may say that if that is so then we are doomed, for anarchism has so little influence in the world to-day. That may be so—perhaps we are doomed to be atomized, because power is too firmly entrenched in the hands of the lunatics who hold it. We who are anarchists would think and act as we do, even though we had not the slightest hope of making any impact whatsoever on society. With obduracy and cunning we have survived so far: long may we live.

TONY GIBSON.

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dividualist anarchists of 19th century America. *The Six* is a study of great fictional characters like Hamlet and Don Quixote, originating from his wartime lectures in the overcrowded prison ship. Rocker's life of Johann Most has not yet been published in English.

★

ONE final thing must be said about Rocker in the century which has seen the extermination of European Jewry. Four million or five million people—the numbers are so vast that they are meaningless—have been systematically destroyed, not by lunatics—that comforting explanation is too easy—but by ordinary 'decent' people like ourselves, model husbands and devoted fathers, conscientious citizens doing their duty. In this appalling century, Rudolf Rocker, Hitler's fellow-countryman, has identified himself with the Jewish people. Of all the *Ohavei Yisroel*, the non-Jewish friends of Jewish culture and aspirations, none had more closely allied himself with the Yiddish-speaking working-class immigrants from Eastern Europe.

Rocker had no religious beliefs; he was no more drawn to Judaism than to the Catholic faith in which he was brought up. Almost by accident he found himself in the East End of London among the poor immigrants who had come, in the eighteen-eighties and 'nineties, from the narrow and restricted life of the ghettos of Tsarist Russia, and from persecution and pogroms. He learnt Yiddish, became the editor of newspapers in that language, and translated the classics of West European literature into it, as well as the work of the advanced writers and thinkers of the day. In the face of the hostility of the established English Jewish community, and of the suspicion of the English trade union movement, he organised the first Jewish trade unions in London, and, as the *Jewish Chronicle's* obituary reminded us last week, he was "the man who inspired, organised, and led the great Jewish tailors' strike in 1912, which brought the end of the sweating system".

Someone said to me a few years ago with great feeling, "Everything I am I owe to Rocker," and there are many immigrants of the first generation in America and Canada, and even in the Argentine who would say the same. William Zuckerman, replying once to some racialist arguments appearing in the *American Atlantic Monthly* about the incompatibility of the 'Occidental Aryan' and the 'Oriental Jew', cited the life of the German gay Rudolf Rocker as a refutation and declared:

"His lifetime of service to the Jewish people, his profound understanding of their innermost thoughts, aspirations and hopes, which have raised him to the position of a teacher and leader of Jews, his great sympathy for them which enabled him to acquire their culture and share with them their inner life, as thousands of Jewish friends who love him and whom he loves—all this tells a story not only of a beautiful, selfless life, but also of the ability of civilised man to rise above an inborn prejudice and turn hatred to love."

But probably the explanation is simpler. It would never have occurred to Rocker to behave in any other way.

C.W.

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Letter to America (and South Africa)

YOU asked me what started the race riots in England. I know they have given comfort to Governor Faubus and Mr. Verwoerd, but it is improbable that they endorse any of the findings of these two.

It is very difficult to say what caused the race riots; it is like when a powder keg explodes; is it the fault of the train of powder or the match? or the man who lights it? or the particular position of one grain of powder or strand of fuse? for if grain or strand were not in position when ignited the explosion would not have happened.

The Nottingham outbreak of August 25th and the Notting Hill outbreaks were the culmination of isolated incidents of feuding between white and coloured. The second Nottingham outbreak was confined entirely to white "Teddy Boys" versus the police. The coloured population kept out of it and were congratulated by the police chief (who glories in the name of Athelstan Popkiss) for their 'exemplary behaviour'. In the first Nottingham riot on August 25th, a blonde, the wife of a miner, was hit on the back by a negro (how heavily perjorative all this is: if a brunette, wife of a shop assistant was slapped on the face by a Red Indian one wouldn't think it so bad), incidentally the *Daily Express* described him as a Pakistani. This apparently was sufficient to start a general fight which worsened when a free-lance TV cameraman incited mock fights so that he could film them, a flashlight used by this character, led to a rumour that there had been shooting and worsened the outbreak. A Nottingham café proprietor described the cause as "Some Negroes live off white women and a lot of Teddy boys would like to."

On August 24th, a gang of nine youths drove in a car round the Labroke Grove and Shepherd's Bush area and beat up any coloured people they could find. (These youths have been sentenced to four years' imprisonment). This can be counted as a factor in the Notting Hill riots, although the Nottingham affair which preceded them is generally regarded as the touch-off.

It is just possible that the whole riots are a part of gang-warfare which has been bubbling up since the Jack Spot-Albert Dimes clash and a highlight of which was a Chicago-style 'bumping-off' in Maida Vale (not far from Notting Hill Gate) of a minor gangster who tried

to move in on the business of "protecting brothels".

STUDENTS of sociology and criminology will note that it was in Notting Hill Gate district that ex-War Reserve Policeman Christie pursued his terrible hobby and it is a tribute to the nature of the district that overcrowded though it is, no-one apparently knew or cared what was going on in Rillington Place. Notting Hill Gate is on the fringe of Hyde Park and is consequently a resort for the prostitutes who carry on their trade in the park and Piccadilly and in easy reach by car for transport to the brothel. The prostitution business boomed during the war, there was an influx of amateur talent into the profession to take care of the increased demand. Now, with a slight fall-off in business and the shadow of the Wolfenden Report in the background (with heavier penalties and higher overheads), competition in prostitution is keener and an influx of West Indian business rivals is frowned upon.

Public opinion can always be relied upon to turn a blind eye to any anti-prostitute measures, however crude or violent, whether official as in the Wolfenden proposals or unofficial as in these riots. Notting Hill Gate is a suburb in decline and pathetically clings to an idea of respectability and feels very much the invasion of the coloured population, but the original settlers are very few and the area is mainly occupied by transients with no local sentiment, background or civic pride. London, which is in the main a 'populous solitude' reaches its apotheosis in Notting Hill Gate.

Grahame Greene in his book *The Lawless Roads*, describes life in Notting Hill, before the war, with its aridity, common to several industrial 'boom' towns. The war worsened the problem with an influx of migrants with housing, employment and race problems all to be faced when the war-time boom evened out.

It used to be said that "Drink is the shortest way out of Manchester" and it is significant that these riots occurred after closing-time at the public houses when the protagonists were presumably

well under the influence, and the subconscious irritations of life in Nottingham and Notting Hill Gate came to the fore in violence.

It was significant that the riots took place in a hot spell during a rather bad summer. The weather was unpleasantly hot and airless and the downpour of rain on September 3rd figuratively and literally cooled off the rioters. In its survey of the riots, the *West London Observer* finds that the sale of ice-cream increased during the riots, one can see two lollipop-suckers in a newspaper picture of Mr. Jeffrey Hamm's audience, that both were children is a tribute to Mr. Hamm's oratory. That it was too fine a night to stop in and watch 'telly' impelled many sightseers to Notting Hill Gate. Like the holidaymakers watching the "Morro Castle" burn out, it made for the crowd a Roman holiday.

This crowd was composed of sightseers, trouble-makers and thrill-seekers, these three groups merged and interchanged but they provided the mob. In Nottingham a Teddy Boy was arrested who had travelled from London to be present at the riot on September 5th, he had in a suitcase a bicycle chain and a piece of a broken bottle. I don't know if there was any cultural interchange but many of the arrested had come from widely scattered districts and it was rumoured that transport had been provided by politically-interested groups. However the idea of violence has a fascination sufficient for some to bring them of their own volition to any trouble area.

GIVEN this material the newspapers and the television cameramen had a field day and added to the importance of the occasion by their coverage. The incident of the free-lance cameraman at Nottingham was perhaps the most outrageous incident, but the general publicity given was an advertisement for general participation. Governor Faubus and Mr. Voerword derived great comfort from newspaper accounts and one could see something symbolic in the fact that Mr. Strydom's death was reported in the same papers that carried news of the first Nottingham riot.

Integration and the South

Continued from p. 1

Continued from p. 1

"shy" and therefore unfit for white schools! And so the farce continues supported by 'science'. (Reminiscent of Hitler's Germany).

What is an even more unhappy situation is to see young people behaving with such viciousness towards fellow students. In Van Buren, Arkansas, integration took a step backwards when 13 second-year Negro students (600 whites) after the third day of school opening did not return because of the behaviour of white students. A strike call was made by about 50 students, and although it is reported that the majority of white children ignored the strike call the humiliation experienced by the tiny group of Negro children was such to keep them away.

The examples of discrimination over the question of integration throughout the Southern States are too numerous to categorise here, and contrary to the popular view, it does not always occur where there is a large Negro population. In fact in Van Buren there are few Negroes.

Two examples of how integration is going in thinly populated towns with different economic needs, may point to one of the reasons why some whites are more afraid of Negro equality than others.

In Fulton, Kentucky (population 4,800), deep in the South there is a "plantation tradition" which has now been replaced by a campaign for industrial development under the slogan—We Want Industry! Now potential industrialists have a lot to gain from hitherto underdeveloped areas with a cheap labour force already on hand. Labour is essential and what better occupation is there for a semi-educated Negro than manning the wheels of industry for a white boss. Is this then one of the reasons why the white population in this very Southern area are happy enough to see 20 black children joining over 160 white in class?

But out of doubtful motives may grow something stronger than dictated by economic expediency: Boys choosing up sides for basketball chose Negro players. Negroes and whites ate together in the school cafeteria, though not at the same tables.

"Why," said one happy teacher at week's end, "they acted as if they'd been doing these things together forever."

A small town to the north has a different story. Colp, Illinois (population 300), used to have seven mines in the area and now has only one. The town is described as "sprawling and weather-faded" and is about 50% negro. In this town there are few signs of general prosperity and here the whites have a different way of expressing their superiority. For the second year running only the Negro pupils have turned up for enrolment at its grade school because the parents of white children send them to schools in other communities where there are fewer Negroes. The whites have nothing to defend it seems but a few disused mines and a grade school which was integrated under Illinois law. The cost of sending each pupil to another school is £75 extra per year. There could be difficulties if a family found they were unable to finance their prejudices, but with such a large percentage of Negroes, intimidation by violence will not be as easy for the Colp whites as it is for the majority of other states.

What attitude should anarchists adopt to the undeniable fact that on this issue legislation is ahead of large groups of the population at least in recognising that segregation is immoral? We can state uncompromisingly that racial prejudice is the meanest kind of emotion and we will combat it wherever we can. But we are not sure that forcing education or a policy of reason on to people who are clearly sick with hate and fear will change their basic attitude. It may be when total in-

tegration takes place in the South the next generation of white and black alike will look upon this period of history with astonishment. In the meantime the incurable segregationists of this generation will live out their lives in hatred which must find an outlet. If they become too afraid of law enforcement to allow them to spew their venom on groups within the nation they will no doubt be provided with forms of legalised violence against another nation.

The local members for Notting Hill Gate area, a Conservative and a Labour Party, were like Tweedledum and Tweedledee on this issue. Mr. Rogers toured the trouble area in his car broadcasting appeals for calm and appealed for someone in authority to deprecate all this. This, a trifle belatedly but well, Mr. Butler did, but since he's Mr. Macmillan's hot potato boy one feels that the right wing of the Tory Party might not be so conciliatory to the racialists.

Political hay was made by the Union Movement who have been having meetings for some time in the area, notably at Notting Hill Gate and Portobello Road. Although their personnel is similar to the old pre-war British Union of Fascists, their leader being Sir Oswald Mosley, any resemblance is purely a coincidence. They have a 'new look' policy of a United Europe and a West Indies fit for West Indians, they are particularly opposed to the sugar agreement. The party is probably intellectually to the rear of Mr. Jeffrey Hamm and Sir Oswald Mosley. Prior to the riots they were distributing pamphlets which midst all the platitudes could be construed as threatening to the West Indians.

In the wake of this party, The League of Empire Loyalists (a whacky Tory teddy-boy party), the "National Labour Party" (a new one this) and the Ku Klux Klan were heard from. The K.K.K. wrote to the first Nottingham victim (the aforesaid blonde), but got no support from her. The initials "K.B.W." (Keep

Britain White) have been seen prior to these riots but it is a rather pointless activity since no one knows what they mean.

On the left, the *Daily Worker* re-narrowed its support for a bill making colour-discrimination illegal and Moscow broadcast a commentary on the riots blaming them on American influence on British Youth. (The *New York Herald Tribune* commentator puts it down to a Communist plot... Ah well!).

To add to the political opportunists we have had an invasion of West Indian politicians concerned about their countrymen's welfare. It seems highly suspicious that this brand of politician cannot concern itself with making the West Indies a place fit for West Indians. It seems like vote-catching to visit the trouble spots and it does not serve to reduce the political temperature.

I have not described the social factors on a larger scale that made these riots. They have been well dealt with elsewhere, but I believe that the wider social issues are smaller grains of powder in this detonation of racial violence. It is on the face-to-face level that the thing happens and on the face-to-face level only can men live in harmony.

J.R.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Owing to the expiry of lease at the Malatesta Club no L.A.G. meetings will be held till further notice. New premises are being sought for the winter series of Lecture-Discussions.

MALATESTA CLUB

32 PERCY STREET, TOTTENHAM COURT RD., LONDON, W.1.

We are sorry to announce that the Malatesta Club has been unable to secure a renewal of lease on its present premises, and cannot see any likelihood of obtaining other suitable premises in the near future. The Club will therefore discontinue all its activities, and cease to exist or function as a club or a group with effect from October 11, 1958, the date of expiry of the lease.

Catering equipment and furniture is being stored in various places, so that it will be available to any anarchist group which may start a similar club in future. It is hoped that all debts will be paid by October 11, but there are unlikely to be any funds left.

ACTIVITIES

Saturday, September 27 at 8 p.m. Malatesta Club farewell party, Admission 3/- in aid of the Freedom Press Group and the *University Libertarian*.

Wednesday, October 8 at 8 p.m. Farewell Meeting of the BONAR THOMPSON SPEAKS committee, with many attractions including the personal appearance of Bonar Thompson.

Every Wednesday until October 8 Bonar Thompson speaks.

CROYDON AREA

Will all comrades and sympathisers interested in libertarian activity in the Croydon area please communicate with:

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Contraception Research

A FIELD trial of the drug "enavid" as an oral contraceptive has been carried out in Puerto Rico with the collaboration of the local family-planning organisation. Each person took a tablet daily for twenty days from the fifth day of each cycle. No undesirable effects were produced, but the influence of this treatment on the pregnancy rate was remarkable.

During a total of 1,279 cycles in which the full course of tablets was taken, the pregnancy rate per 100 woman years was nil; in 282 cycles in which 1-5 tablets were missed out the rate was 9.2; and in 151 cycles in which 5-19 tablets were missed out it was 25.9. These rates compare with a pre-treatment pregnancy incidence of 62.5 per 100 woman years; they are all considerably lower than the comparable figures for mechanical methods of contraception.* Two years have now elapsed since the trial was begun, and so far no failures have occurred among those who have taken the tablets regularly. These trials constitute a remarkable step forward in the search for a harmless drug which can be taken by mouth to prevent conception. The main drawback is the considerable expense and the need to take the pills regularly for 20 days in each cycle.

The above account appeared in the *British Medical Journal* for August 2nd, and concluded with the hope that "it may not be all that long before the discovery of a cheap contraceptive tablet which will be effective when taken perhaps only once a month."

Meanwhile the sponge-and-oil method described by Dr. Marie Stopes in "Birth Control To-day" (obtainable from Freedom Bookshop) remains one of the simplest and safest methods of contraception.

*Since these methods are not described, they may not include the above method.
H. R. LEWIS.