

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it."

—TOM PAINE

## NATO, BERLIN, BOMBS & ELECTIONS—COMMENTS ON THE POLITICAL CIRCUS

WHEN the political experts and commentators express impatience at the deadlock in the Geneva talks and shake their pens more in sorrow than in anger over the lack of unity among the member nations of N.A.T.O. we believe that their impatience and their concern should be taken with a grain of salt. Are they so politically green as to believe that anything "positive" could emerge from the Foreign Ministers' talks, or that unity among the nations of the West has ever been more than a mere marriage of convenience? We think not, for, as we often, but cannot too often, point out, the importance that attaches nowadays to the political game and the comings and goings of political personalities is the result of mass communications, which not only creates the personalities but also magnifies their most pedestrian utterances to make them sound either as profound words of wisdom and great statesmanship, or as portents of terrible things to come!

It is surely naive to suppose that discussion at a conference of nations could be dispassionate and objective when even within the nation, in our most "democratic of parliaments," though the Opposition proposes it is always the Government in power which disposes. However reasonable and sensible are the arguments of the Opposition everyone knows before the debate has started that Labour members will vote one way and Conservatives the other, and that so long as one party enjoys a majority no arguments from the other side will affect the governments policies. How then can one even assume that when politicians of different nations meet to discuss political problems of mutual interest that any of them will think in terms other than of the particular power interests which they represent? The exaggerated publicity given by the press to their deliberations if anything makes agreement more difficult for, apart from the diametrically opposed national and power interests, there is the personal vanity of the participants to be taken into account.

### ENLIGHTENMENT . . .

The U.S. Postmaster-General, Mr. Arthur Summerfield, last week called the unpurgated version of D. H. Lawrence's "Lady Chatterley's Lover" an "obscene and filthy work". He ruled that it was unsuitable for mailing in the United States.

The unpurgated version had been banned since 1928. The Post Office held a hearing recently because a New York book club had arranged to send it to its members throughout the country.

### . . . KNOWS NO BOUNDARIES

Siamese medical and legal authorities are studying a proposal that hooligans should be castrated to prevent them producing delinquent children. Mr. Sarit Tanarat, the Prime Minister, said on June 12 that this had been proposed by the Director-General of the Science Department, and added: "I agree with him."

thousands of anonymous functionaries whose livelihood depends on government in the most direct way: office workers, scientists, economists, historians, chauffeurs, door-keepers and house-keepers, tax-collectors, policemen, judges and prison warders. Government has its own cultural attachés as well as its military attachés.

At any minute of any day thousands of government representatives are travelling on "missions", entertaining or being entertained on behalf of, or by, some government department. But besides these full-time employees of government, these people whose status as well as their bread and butter, depends on government and the political struggle between national governments, is an army of people not directly employed by government, but whose jobs are dependent on the continued "tensions" between nations. From existence of government and the political journalist and a host of other publicists to the unskilled worker in war factories, or workshops turning out such innocuous articles as uniforms or brass buttons for the armed forces; from building workers building barracks or prisons to the printers printing income-tax forms by the million or election propaganda by the thousand—all derive some profit from, have a stake in, the Establishment and in its continued functioning. Their numbers in the past twenty years have assumed vast

proportions, and consciously or unconsciously they supplement the duties of the forces of "law and order" in maintaining the *status quo*.

FOR us what is happening in Geneva is a tragic farce only because the "problems" the politicians are apparently seeking to solve are as unreal as were the Emperor's Clothes to the young child who, not being involved in the game of make-believe in which the Emperor's entourage of sycophants and crooks were engaged, could declare that the old gentleman was in fact naked! But the millions of people throughout the world whose jobs stem from politics and government must believe that "tensions" do exist, that society cannot function without authority and the custodians of "law and authority"; that in the last analysis bombs are more important than bread, policies more important than people.

Only by thinking in these terms can they believe in the social value of their jobs, can they justify the many unpleasant and useless things they have to do as part of their jobs. For today status, approval, is as important as the scale of remuneration. Both, in our society, play a profound role. But we think it important to note that wealth without status is growingly viewed as ostentation, and this is a relatively new trend. In part it is the only tangible legacy from the 19th century socialists, in part the result of the development of capitalism and industrialisation, which has unwittingly removed the

monopoly of wealth and status from the aristocracy and made it possible for any Tom, Dick or Morris with enough cunning and "business enterprise" to build an industrial empire from the most humble cycle-workshop beginnings. But it is interesting to observe the way these *nouveaux riches* have personally

concentrated their efforts in using their millions to acquire status, leaving it to the technicians and managers—who have status (technical) but who want to make money out of it!—to use the remaining millions to make more millions! Indeed it can be safely assumed that these *nouveaux riches* have spent more money

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## Violence—with Social Approval

DURING the week the House of Lords discussed the level of road accidents. It is a grim topic, but one which should be exercising the minds of all believers in law and order, and its effectiveness in protecting the safety of the individual. One speaker revealed the results of a survey which he had conducted among forty of his friends, asking them how many people they thought had been killed or injured in accidents during the past year. A very few put the number above fifty thousand, and replies went down to two thousand. The correct answer is three hundred thousand.

The fact that this state of affairs persists after years of campaigning by road safety organisations, government assisted bodies, and even the police shows that either they have been missing the point completely, or that their work has been nullified by counter effects.

The main arguments advanced by members of the House deserve attention. They were that Magistrates are not sufficiently severe with motorists who break the law. One contributor declared them to be culpably negligent in permitting dangerous and drunken drivers to go unchecked. However, a rather more fundamental reason was touched upon and linked up with the first, namely the fact that among certain sections of the community dangerous motoring is not regarded as a very serious form of delinquency. Since magistrates and as later mentioned, juries are drawn on the whole from these sections, they are unlikely to be very severe, and perhaps even

share the view quoted, that someone who kills a pedestrian has been jolly unlucky, rather than guilty of an anti-social act.

While it is possible that a more strict application of the law would reduce the number of accidents temporarily, the problem as a whole throws considerable light on the application of various types of sanction. Since dangerous driving is tolerated by the large community to which its operators belong, it can be carried on with impunity, just as gang fights and knife assaults can be carried on among the depressed youths in certain areas of large cities. The great difference lies in the operation of the law, and in England the law is on the side of the upper middle class. In correspondence with newspapers, the chairman of the Pedestrians' Association has made the point, which he backed up with figures from a survey conducted by a body concerned with road safety, that an overwhelmingly high proportion of road accidents can be put down to a single factor, excessive speed. If a permanent reduction in the number of accidents is to be achieved, it will have to be brought about by an attack on this factor. What are the influences in society which make getting from one place to another at high speed seem so necessary? What are the psychological factors which make it seem desirable and in a sense worth the damage it causes?

The people who would ask "How could you control the traffic in an anarchist society?" are not making a very good job of it in this one. P.H.

## Florida 'Justice' True to Form

UNLUCKY is the Negro found guilty of raping a white woman in Florida, for he will surely be sentenced to death. That is the tradition in that sunny state.

Equally traditional is the practice of *not* sentencing to death any white man found guilty of raping a Negress. And the tradition was lived up to last week when a court at Tallahassee, Florida, found four young white men, aged from 16 to 23, guilty of abducting a Negro girl of 19 and raping her a total of seven times.

Although the circumstances were particularly horrible—the men had a shotgun and a knife at her throat—and the State Attorney in his prosecution strongly suggested the death penalty, the jury nevertheless recommended mercy, which automatically reduces the maximum penalty from death to life imprisonment. The actual sentence remains the discretion of the judge, who instructed the jury to reach their verdict "without regard to race, colour or creed."

In his closing remarks, the State Attorney Mr. William Hopkins, said "This law enforcement proposition has got to be consistent if it is going to be successful."

Well, the Florida jury was consistent . . . with Florida practice. But if he wants consistency, why doesn't the State Attorney start an agitation to alter his law, so that it is not left to prejudiced juries to decide whether a defendant shall hang or not. Remove the death penalty and legal lynching—for that is what it is—will be impossible.

## The Hola Camp Massacre Government Whitewash a Loyal Servant

THE slimy necessity for an imperial government to stand by and justify the misdeeds of its hirelings in its colonial territories was fully demonstrated in the House of Commons last Tuesday.

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, while admitting that things went tragically wrong at Hola Camp, Kenya, where eleven Mau-Mau detainees were beaten to death, nevertheless refused to accept that Mr. J. B. T. Cowan, Senior Superintendent of Prisons in Kenya, was in any way responsible for the massacre.

For massacre it was. Whether the 'Cowan Plan' for dealing with recalcitrant detainees was followed closely by the African guards or not, the fact remains that it did give *carte blanche* for violence, and when the detainees were marched to the irrigation trench where they were to be forced to work, the guards apparently went berserk, presumably feeling that they did so in accord with their instructions.

### Charnel House

And in the measured words of Sir Frank Soskice—ex-Labour Attorney General, in the House on Tuesday: "In a short time the place was turned into a charnel house" with ten men clubbed to death, another dying, and over twenty more so injured that they had to be rushed to the camp hospital.

The object of the Cowan plan was

to 'control and secure absolute obedience' from 66 detainees in Hola camp described as 'able-bodied men who had refused to work and from whom trouble was considered likely.'

The plan aimed at mixing the 'hard core' of unco-operative detainees with batches of those willing to work and then march them all down to the work site in these batches. But the Cowan Plan states that if the men refused to work 'They would be man-handled . . . and forced to carry out the task.'

In the event, things did not go according to plan—except for the manhandling—and at the inquest on the eleven dead, the Coroner said: 'In my opinion there were defects, ambiguities, and omissions in the Cowan plan; the plan was not executed as it had been intended and there was a grave lack of European supervision of the African warders in the main charged with the execution of the plan.'

Reading between these lines, and knowing the kind of European who is likely to become a prison guard in Kenya, we guess that the truth of the matter is in fact that the white guards simply told the African guards to go ahead, careless of the consequences and confident that they could cover up any undue violence.

### Direct Advocacy

Unluckily for them, the violence went so far that it was impossible to cover it up, and in spite of Mr.

Lennox-Boyd's loyal attempts in the Commons, the stink from Hola is blowing up into a major scandal for the Government.

The Cowan Plan was fairly clearly a direct provocation to violence. The results have shocked public opinion in Britain about as far as public opinion is capable of being shocked. And yet on Saturday, in the Queen's Birthday Honours List, Mr. J. B. T. Cowan, Senior Superintendent of Prisons in Kenya, was awarded the Medal of the British Empire!

Now it's most probably true that this 'honour' has been on the way for months. (Two people awarded the B.E.M. in Saturday's Honours list were found for example to have been dead for six months!). But it is, in any case, a minor medal given for meritorious, but routine services.

The contempt in which the Government holds African—and indeed British—opinion is to be seen in the fact that nobody thought it wise to withdraw this award at this particular juncture.

Whatever embarrassment Mr. Cowan, M.B.E. may have caused the Government, therefore, his award—and, indeed, Lennox-Boyd's 'defence' in the Commons—can only be seen as an endorsement of his policy and practice.

Mr. Cowan's conduct of Kenya's prisons is meritorious. The murder of eleven Africans is routine.



## Comments on the Political Circus

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acquiring status than they have spent on "enjoying" the material luxuries their wealth could provide.

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WE have stressed this question of status because today status and not wealth is the passport to power. (Millionaire Dawson is languishing in jail, labelled a confidence trickster by society, but Mr. Day a household name to millions of viewers on ITV for his comments on the news, has left this ephemeral medium to devote himself to Liberalism and the cleaning-up of party politics. Once a week purple-lipped Mr. Day looking at humanity through his impressive horn-rimmed glasses pontificates from the feature page of the *News Chronicle* on matters of moment, and prepares the way for the day when the British public will be allowed to reshuffle the political pack of Jokers and Knaves disguised as Kings and Queens of Hearts.

These new-look politicians are seeking to rehabilitate politics by the argument that good government (that is the government which will legislate for the well-being of the people) will come about if the people vote for the right men, these being professional men (with status), materially successful but not garish in their way of life; scholarship boys themselves even if they pay to send their children to the "best schools"; republicans and socialists at heart even if they are flattered and accept "honours" offered by the Queen (generally they blame their wives for accepting these honours!).

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POLITICS cannot be rehabilitated because all government, whatever its colour, is the rule of a majority by a minority. It matters little that the government has been elected by a majority if the alternatives offered to the public are between government and government and not between government and no-government. In other words short of revolution there is no alternative to government.

At election time what is offered is a Hobson's choice, a take-it-or-leave-it, but no opportunity within the law of changing IT. And IT being a well-greased machine, whose smooth running is in the bread and butter interests of millions of wage (or salary) earners and rentiers to safeguard from the incursions of new ideas (by legislation directed against sedition, or arbitrary, so-called Defence Regulations), the incursions of well-meaning do-gooders who may (and we stress the *may* because we don't believe them!) imagine that given power they can by-pass the machine, is doomed to failure.

Not only for the reasons we have already given, but because do-goodism by legislation still depends on the *threat*, even if its *use* were found unnecessary, of force for its implementation. And this, in its turn, makes recourse to the instruments of force and coercion already in being indispensable. Government by the people, is self-government, is organisation from below, and has nothing in common with authority, organisation from above, which is government as understood and practised to-day.

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WHEN then, we read in our newspapers that the Labour Party leadership is seriously considering modifying its attitude to what we would call H-bomb diplomacy, we are unconvinced by last week's *New Statesman* leading article which implied that this change of heart is both the result of public opinion as expressed through the CND (Cam-

paign for Nuclear Disarmament) and some sections of the Trades Unions, as well as a political necessity if the Labour movement "is to avoid a split on the eve of an election".

We are unconvinced because we do not believe that elections are won or lost on questions of principles, but by the votes of the "floating minority". Both the Labour and Conservative Managers take for granted that a majority of the votes cast at elections are predetermined, unshaken by persuasive argument or tempting promises. Only the Liberals may succeed in swaying some of the votes of the "solid majority". The preoccupation of the parties is to correctly assess what are the issues which will influence the floating voters to support them, and the apathetic to record a vote. It is clear that the Tories will concentrate on issues which will commend them to working class voters (hence the government's decision this week to increase the amount of *your* money that is spent on assisting the destitute, and recent measures taken to inject some of *your* money into the shrivelled veins of the Lancashire Cotton industry). And Labour will in its turn plug those issues which may spark the imagination of middle class voters. The managers of the "Labour Machine", as the *New Statesman* so irreverently called it last week, will probably concentrate their effort on the substantial non-voting minority (which we suspect includes a large number of supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) rather than attempt to win-over Tory votes. And in this respect the H-Bomb issue will appeal to middle-class voters who find both Tory and Labour policies, and their leaders, equally distasteful, without having any illusions so far as the politically bleary-eyed—self labelled blue-eyed—boys of Liberalism.

De Gaulle's protest which is directed against this country rather than against the United States (and by which he hopes to impress the French with his own nationalist fervour as well as his power over them!) provides the Labour leadership with an excellent excuse for proposing to reverse its H-bomb policy, without losing face. For with France knocking at the door of the hitherto exclusive Nuclear Powers Club the rot has set in. Before long Germany, Italy, the Benelux countries and any third-rate power will be in a position to argue at the conference tables with an H-bomb to reinforce their claims. The only hope for Britain is to lead the *ex-Nuclear* Powers club, thus combining *moral* leadership with an astute summing-up of the inefficacy of the H-bomb as a weapon of diplomacy once it ceases to be the exclusive possession of the Big Three.

For when the button which will seal the fate of humanity is within reach of every minor political upstart the Bigness of the Big powers will have been neutralised and even endangered. Since Britain's policy is to be a Big Power and not that of being eliminated by the H-bombs of a minor power, we shall not be surprised if she takes the step of leading a campaign for Nuclear Disarmament though it will be more difficult for the Tories to do this unilaterally than for Labour if returned to Power. But if either party does it, let no one misunderstand their reasons for taking such a step. It will be to strengthen not to weaken their position in the game of world politics. Even the *Observer*, the self-proclaimed blue-eyed boys of Liberalism, declared last Sunday that

[By giving up her independent deterrent and stopping the manufacture of nuclear weapons which add nothing to the real strength of the West against Russia and which we could never use in any independent operation, Britain] should in fact be much stronger militarily if we could devote the money now spent on manufacturing these weapons and the incredibly expensive missiles and bombers required to carry them, to building up an effective strategic reserve force such as we utterly lack. We should still

## LAND NOTES

# FOOD PRODUCTION & FERTILITY

IN the editorial in *FREEDOM* of the 30th May, "Workers, Wake Up!" it was claimed that "the development of technology and the potentialities of automation make it possible to expand industrial and agricultural production by an almost unlimited amount". While this is to a large extent true of industrial production it is not necessarily true of agriculture. Even in industrial production where the manipulation and production of raw materials is easier the colossal consumption make it imperative that a continual search for new materials is carried out.

While it is undoubtedly true that agricultural production is below its potential the raw material upon which this activity is based has certain well defined limits. The history of mankind has shown that cultivable soil is very expendable even in the most favourable of climates. Food hydroponically cultivated, owing to the infertility of plants so cultivated depends on conventional agriculture for supplies of seed. In the June issue of *Agriculture* the Ministry of Agriculture Journal, J. R. Keyworth, N.D.A., M.R.A.C., County Advisory Officer for Lincolnshire, which contains some of the most fertile soil in the country says, "How long can continuous cash cropping go on? It may well be spoiling our soils. The problem can be tackled in two ways." He suggests that this can be tackled by introducing a three-year grass ley into the rotation restricting the number of root crops over a period, which demand a great deal of soil movement which deplete the organic matter by exposure to oxidation. He goes on to say that the silt soils of Lincolnshire are becoming increasingly difficult to manage as the organic matter is depleted. The writer says "that the problems of the silts may well be a foretaste of what could happen to other soils of the east of England on which cash cropping is practised." Mr. Keyworth goes on to say that "We know that after a hundred years of grass, arable land can maintain its structure for perhaps another hundred years but no one can really say just what propor-

tion of leys is needed in the rotation to maintain our present soil conditions."

Nothing adds to the organic content of the soil as much as grass and to grow the root system necessary to perform this function the grass has to be down at least three years.

"Morally," the article continues, "one should farm for one's sons and grandsons. That approach will always maintain fertility, which cannot be considered in terms of a few years, but only in terms of a quarter of a century or more." Significantly he adds that "As the average size of a holding in Holland (being the name of that part of Lincolnshire) is only 45 acres, this means that the great majority of farms in the country must continue with intensive cash cropping to provide an adequate living, but with the constant worry that perhaps it cannot always be so." To do what is desirable in terms of food production and maintenance of fertility conflicts with the requirement of a crazy economic system. The study of soil is a very indefinite science as the writer points out, moreover the vast differences that occur in a country of this size in soils make and imposed economic pattern create infertility or hardship on those working soils difficult to work.

At one time of course artificials were regarded as an easy way to secure large crops and produce cheap food with the minimum of labour, using by-products of various industrial processes, this completely ignored the complexity of plant nutrition and the necessity of maintaining an adequate organic basis. Various articles appearing from time to time in the agricultural press now tacitly admit the limitations of artificial manuring. One writer says that organic manures and humus is essential to all but the best soils which he says could be cultivated with artificials alone if necessary. Presumably he would leave it for coming generations (if there are any) to reap the benefit of this policy as the occupants of our best land are in Lincolnshire. A healthy agriculture is undoubtedly the

basis of a healthy society and a healthy agriculture is based on the conservation of organic material and moisture.

Providing every bit of manure and plant debris is returned to the soil it is possible to maintain a friable and spongy crust that resists corrosion and controls the moisture content.

In tropical areas this as a great problem as apart from poorest areas where the soil is protected from the sun, any cultivation is likely to result in a rapid oxidation of the organic matter.

In the interesting review in *FREEDOM* of George Woodcock's travels in S. America it is clear that the stability of many ancient cultures depended on quite an efficient agricultural system and many of the poverty-stricken peoples of the world are the residue of cultures where for some reason this system was destroyed. In Israel where tremendous efforts are being made to overcome the water shortage, ingenious systems have been discovered that supplied water in ancient times to support small towns which were able to grow grapes on land that has not been in cultivation for a long time. In Israel any increase in cultivable land has to be won and they appear to be aware that there is some correlation between a successful agriculture and real cultural progress.

Here where we take the high fertility of our land so much for granted it is as well to remember that this fertility was the result of generations of balanced agricultural activity and preserved paradoxically in periods of agricultural depression by the grain by which means the fertility of the Americas was shipped here. If the vast masses of the underfed peoples of the world secure a fair share and the people of this country had to depend on resources here for food one wonders to what level the real standard would fall to while the country continues to discharge its fertility into the sea and incinerate vast quantities of organic matter.

ALAN ALBON.

## BOOK REVIEWS

# A Guide to Logical Thinking

GUIDES TO STRAIGHT THINKING, Stuart Chase. Phoenix House, 1959, 25s.

"KNOWLEDGE is power". But does one's knowledge of logical fallacies confer the power to avoid them? The assumption behind the present work is that a systematic course of lectures on logic will raise the level of layman's thinking from confusion to clarification.

To the extent that it is desirable for college students to have some acquaintance with the subject, this book will serve. But for students of *Homo sapiens* it must remain decidedly unsatisfactory.

The emotions are surely the governing factors in any specifically human situation. Logic, as a technique for conveying ideas, will always remain at their command—to be used or abused for particular ends, but powerless in itself to touch the springs of conduct.

have the same access to American nuclear weapons as France, Italy and Holland have now.

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THE game of power politics may have real prizes for those directly engaged in it or for their influential and powerful backers. But we think there is no evidence to show that the people, who pay the piper, both in socially useless toil and often with their lives, ever call the tunes. If nuclear disarmament occurs it will be for the wrong reasons; if a settlement of the German question takes place it will be at the expense of some people somewhere, pawns on the chess-board of power politics.

Only when the peoples of the world call the political bluff, expose the politicians and their satraps for what they are, and refuse to acquiesce in this stupid but dangerous game, will it be possible to do something about solving the real problems, the first of which is that half the world today is desperately hungry, and needs food not slogans about freedom, bread and not bombs.

MacCarthyism in America was not overcome by analysis of the Senator's illogical investigation techniques. It was overcome by a live sense of injustice and by a hatred of him stronger than his hate of suspected Communists.

It may be respectable to argue correctly according to the schoolbook, but the truth and value of one's viewpoint must be determined in other ways. Being an American and a public man, Chase is, somewhat naturally, not unaware of this! Despite which he persists in his touching faith that the naturalness of straight thinking can be attained—and maintained by all and sundry.

For an example of how Chase, too, is quite as human as any of his readers, see him fall for Fallacy Number Seven—the appeal to Authority over the facts (p. 211).

"Sir George Thomson, physicist and Nobel Prize winner, in the *Foreseeable Future*, 1955, Cambridge University Press, says that maybe only geniuses think freely and naturally . . . (!)"

## Thinking Machines

WHAT IS CYBERNETICS? by Professor G. T. Guilbaud. Heinemann Contemporary Science Series.

THIS is a very pleasantly written and well produced book. The topic with which it deals is, as is continually pointed out, of increasing importance in many branches of science, from industrial production to psychology, and has been applied to studies such as linguistics.

In developing his subject, Professor Guilbaud brings in a very wide range of illustrations which if not of everyday occurrence, are likely to maintain the attention of interested readers. He also devotes some time to deflating the false notions spread by over-enthusiastic cyberneticians, who concentrate on the "thinking machine" aspect.

The question mark in the reviewer's mind concerned the general aspect of the value of popular science manuals, treating subjects of topical importance. If someone is in such a position that cybernetics really is of importance to him, he would probably be capable of tackling

In spite of (and *not* because of!) the Sir, the scientist, the Prize, and the University, this statement looks like being true! Basically, the clear and independent thinker does not need courses in logic. And, we might add, the confused thinkers succeed only in confusing the best teaching efforts of the logicians also.

But do not let these strictures put you off reading this book. At least it may help you to understand your make-up, as also its author's. In fact, in understanding that the author is himself no infallible logician, and can beg questions as well as the next man, the reader will have got maximum benefit from his 215 pages at 25/-.

Faced with today's particular bureaucracies, monopolies and totalitarianisms, it is perhaps only human to imagine that a little clear thinking will lead us out of darkness into light. But such a hope, admirable though it may be, was never a logical one!

LINCOLN A. GRIBBLE.

something on a much higher level; and if not, then it seems of little point to develop the illusion of knowing what the scientific Jones' are up to. It is of far greater importance to develop a critical attitude towards the rôle of science in modern society, and its tendency to concentrate the power of knowledge into the hands of a minority. The first two books in the present series, *The Commonsense of Science* by Bronowski, and *Social Surveys and Social Action* by Abrams, were more relevant to this object. P.H.

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