

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"It is well to consider a little whether in our zeal to suppress one form of immorality, we may not be forging chains which in time may be fastened upon the neck of some great but unpopular truth."
—LORING MOODY

REFLECTIONS ON THE PRINTING DISPUTE

STRIKES AND SOCIETY

EMPLOYERS have always resisted their workers' demands for wage increases on the grounds that they couldn't afford them without increasing the selling price of their goods or commodities, which the client or the consumer in their turn would be unable to afford or unwilling to pay.

In resisting the workers' demands for shorter working hours without loss of pay, the employers and the mouthpieces of the Press invariably appoint themselves the arbiters of what is best "in the national interest". And the workers, whether they strike to obtain their demands, or are locked-out by the employers (in the cause of "the national interest" of course!) are always condemned to be on the "other side", greedy egotists, who put "the national interest" as well as that of their families and other workers second to their narrow, sectional, material interests.

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WHEN the strike is an unofficial one, it is condemned by the Trades Union Leadership and the employers as the work of "communist agitators" leading a flock of bleating, brainless sheep up the Russian garden path, in the interests of our political enemies and against the "national interest". And the Press does its bit to persuade, or shame, these straying workers into following the crooks of their "elected", "responsible" shepherds and away from the diabolical agents of Moscow.

When the strike, however is official, that same Press seeks to turn the workers against their erstwhile "responsible" leaders by assuring them, as did the *Sunday Times* last week that the leaders were holding back from them the grave consequences of their present action!

Hitherto [the printing workers] have had their way in this [restrictive practices and relatively high wages] because the industry as a whole has been prosperous and costs could be passed on. Now it is threatened by keen foreign competition and by new substitutes for traditional methods: on the Press side, a number of local newspapers are highly vulnerable and may not survive the strike. Even if, after the strike is over, the jobs are more highly paid, there will be fewer of them—a fact which the printing-union leaders do not advertise to their members.

Of course the *Sunday Times* gets everything mixed up in labouring its point. "Keen foreign competition" is one issue; "new substitutes for traditional printing methods" quite another; and the "vulnerability" of local newspapers to increased costs, yet another. The first may be relevant to its argument; the second and third are not, for the one may oust traditional printing methods however efficient the latter may be, and the future of the other is obviously determined by the attitude of advertisers and the competition from the National Press (as it spreads its tentacles into every village and hamlet in the land), much more than by demands for more wages by the printing workers.

The *Sunday Times* may well pose as the champion of the Local Press and more jobs for printing workers, but its objectivity would be more convincing if it were to tell us how many local newspapers have been killed by mass communications or by being bought out by the millionaire press lords with the sole inten-

tion of removing them from circulation ("amalgamation" or suppression—it all boils down to the same thing!).

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WE were saying that the employers invariably use the argument that wage demands or agitation for shorter working hours unless compensated for by increased output by the workers, must invariably lead to disaster through inflation and foreign competition (just as if workers in other countries worked for the "national interest" and not with a wide-open eye glued to the fatness of their weekly pay packet!) Yet it is surely a fact that the countries most prone to strikes and wage demands are the most "prosperous".

In spite of three important stoppages in the printing industry since the end of the last war (the current one being the fourth), book publishers every year proudly announce record turnovers of books, and the commercial printing presses have been consuming more tons of paper in turning out more forms, more football pool coupons, more advertising handouts, than ever before. Perhaps the national newspapers do print fewer copies than they did. Yet they happen to be the employers who pay the highest wages in the printing industry and are not involved in the present dispute!

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FROM the *Sunday Times* ("the strike in the printing industry is a catastrophe") to the *New Statesman* ("it is difficult to estimate the consequences of the present dispute") the stoppage is invariably viewed with gloom. But why? As we were pointing out in these columns last week ("The Political Circus"), just as classes within the nation and "tension" between nations have created lucrative jobs for politicians, bureaucrats and "specialists" by the hundred thousand, so has the development of printing techniques not only made possible the widest diffusion of the printed word—potentially a good thing—but has been used by the most unscrupulous bunch of politicians, business-men and racketeers—aided and abetted (at fat salaries) by an army of copy-writers, "typographers", psychologists, market-researchers and other exploiters of human frailty—to create an industry parasitic on the printing craft.

Printing has "travelled a long way"—and in the wrong direction—since the days of Gutenberg, when it was rightly called "an art", or of Laurenz Coster of Haarlem who, in 1440, cut letters from the bark of trees "and printed them for the amusement of children"!

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Continued on p. 3

Kerala - Not Another Hungary

But the Aftermath of Tibet

THE democratic political groupings in Kerala, the state in the South-western tip of India, has been hoist in much the same way as the political parties of France.

Just as the Gaullists were able to take advantage of the squabbles and dissensions of the French Parliament, so the divisions between the Congress Party, two sorts of Socialists, the Christians (of various kinds) Muslims and Hindus in Kerala opened the door for the Communist Party in the election of two years ago.

The Communist victory was hailed with much relief by Communists all over the world, who at that time were smarting under Hungary and the subsequent mass resignations. That a whole state should, by democratic vote, elect to pass under a Communist government, and that in India, the uncommitted showpiece of non-Communist Asia (for all the blatherings of the Beaverbrook press), was indeed a piece of good luck which they neither expected nor deserved.

Kerala was in fact just about the only Communist state where the government had been elected by the democratic process. And the fact that it was not done with an overall majority but through the divisions of the other parties did not matter. After all the governments of Britain are invariably chosen by a minority—even of the actual electorate, let

alone of the population—so there are plenty of precedents to justify a claim for democracy.

It Didn't Last Long

But alas for self-congratulation. For now the divided anti-Communists have come together in a determined campaign to drive the Communists out, and are mounting popular demonstrations of the kind that the C.P. in France was so proud of being able to organise ten years ago.

Mass processions, mass picketings of government buildings, clashes with the police—with the inevitable production of martyrs which have provided the opportunity for a massive funeral demonstration—these have been the opening rounds over the last fortnight of the campaign which can hardly fail, sooner or later, to topple the Government.

The immediate cause of the crisis has been the Communist Government's Education Act, giving the authorities more say in the running of private schools and threatening the autonomy of the Christian schools and much of the picketing has been carried on outside these schools. Other demonstrators have picketed the courts and revenue offices, shouting 'Communists, resign' and 'The people don't want you'.

That much this campaign is actually a spontaneous demonstration of the will of the people, however, is very doubtful. Cyril Dunn of the *Observer* maintains that the present agitation, 'in its do or die form, had originated in the bishoprics and sacristies of Kerala's ancient and exotic Christian Church.' Seeing this, the Congress Party in Kerala jumped on to the bandwagon—and indeed, into the lead of the campaign.

Embarrassed at Direct Action

This has embarrassed the Congress Party in the rest of India, which is not exactly enthusiastic about the idea of direct action being used against the Kerala Communists, they have no arguments against it being used against themselves. (Compare our own trade union and political leaders).

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Police Methods in South Africa

FOLLOWING the report by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions on the "appalling labour conditions in South Africa" (*FREEDOM*, June 13th), details of police methods for the punishment of African petty offenders has been published here and in the *South African Press*.

A Government circular entitled *Scheme for the employment of petty offenders in non-proscribed areas* states that Africans who are arrested on certain days for petty offences should be handed over to the employment bureau for work on farms which invariably stretches into months and years although the "legal" prison sentence may only amount to seven days.

Many Africans claim that they have been given no choice but have been "collected by farmers in caged trucks". Reports of cruelty which include deliberate crippling of prisoners to prevent them escaping from their places of work have appeared in *South African newspapers*; questions have been asked in Parliament and "reluctantly the Government has agreed to an inquiry".

Are we to assume that the South African Government draws the line between its segregation policy, with all that means in *South Africa*, and deliberate physical cruelty practised by individual employers, or is it that the treatment of employed state prisoners is known to the Government, members of which may now feel that the extent of the present publicity could affect the policy and strength of the Nationalist Government? It is certainly difficult to believe that any Government which

imposes segregation policies on the scale which has been operating in South Africa for years could care about the sufferings of its black prisoners, or consider their welfare except as a shoddy expedient.

Can we hope that the number of issues which have brought South Africa into the headlines will mark the beginnings of black resistance to tyrannical white rule, or will the Government inquiry into treatment of prisoners and the apparent concern on the part of hitherto indifferent people give the impression of justice, thus halting the African in any move towards some form of freedom until once again apathy takes hold of him?

What is certain is that if the South African Government, composed of mad white racists, loosens its grip on the throat of the African it will tighten it somewhere else, enabling the African to breathe but he may still be unable to walk.

The riots in Durban involving 40,000 Africans which broke out at the end of last week appear, on the surface at any rate, to be the result of the Government destruction of 1,760 gallons of illicitly distilled liquor in the African reserves while carrying out the slum clearance scheme.

The *Manchester Guardian*, quoting social anthropologists in touch with conditions in the Cato Manor slum in Durban where the riots occurred, considers "that the root causes were poverty and race tension... surveys have revealed that the African wages are generally below the breadline and that the womenfolk brew and sell liquor illicitly as a means of supplementing

income".

This view will not be new to readers of *FREEDOM* or those with experience of poverty and racial tension which has arisen in parts of Britain as well as in other countries.

The tragedy is that the extreme condition of poverty, cruelty and hate under which the majority of Africans have to live are imposed by the Government supported by a powerful white minority. The handful of white South Africans who disapprove of Government policy are ineffectual and very few are willing to risk the loss of privilege and conflict with the police which useful support for the Africans might entail.

It is significant that a move by a committee of "prominent businessmen" in Johannesburg, backed by the Chamber of Commerce, to raise the wages of African workers "above the breadline" has only now begun after reports of the outbreak of armed robbery affecting white controlled stores in the African territory of Transkei. It seems obvious that the businessmen are motivated by economic interests rather than any sense of justice, but we don't suppose that Africans care too much about motives since the struggle for actual survival takes up so much of their thoughts and energies.

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IT was reported some time ago that South Africa was making a bid for entry into the Atlantic Security Council in competition with Ghana for the seat vacated by Canada. It will be interesting, in view of the present criticism in the British Press

over forced labour in South Africa, to watch the reaction of the Commonwealth countries, and Britain in particular, when the voting takes place.

Conscience at government level is rarely in evidence, but lip service to democracy has to some extent to be maintained in the "free countries" if only for mass consumption, therefore, before Britain can vote onto the Security Council a country which in some respects is worse than the tyrannies behind the Iron Curtain she has to claim that South Africa is not really as bad as the facts make out.

It will be amusing for us to read the half truths and the deliberate twisting of facts by 'our' Government if called on to justify their support of South Africa, but it won't be very funny for the Africans assuming that some of them think about other issues apart from the misery of their daily existence experienced by the majority.

Silone on Dostoevsky

MY first contact with Dostoevsky's novels was rather belated. It came only when I was twenty-two. And what is more, it was in a sense imposed on me by circumstances. The conditions of my undertaking the reading of Dostoevsky were anything but ordinary—so suitable, in fact, for the understanding of this exceptional writer that it may be worth while to give a brief account of them.

To be precise, I happened just then to be living—it proved to be for two months only—in the "Carcel Modelo" [model prison] of Barcelona. The simple explanation is that Spain was at that time ruled by the military directorate presided over by Primo de Rivera, whose police found my presence in the country—obviously unjustifiable on touristic grounds—a matter of excessive concern. A hostile critic might deduce from this that if I was behind in my reading, I nevertheless displayed a certain precocity in the field of "political delinquency."

When I was taken there, early in the year 1923, the Barcelona prison was packed with Catalans, syndicalists, socialists, communists and anarchists. What magnificent men they were! In no other country in the world have I known men as admirable as those Spanish "subversives."

The "Carcel Modelo" was indeed, in certain respects, a truly model prison. Among the anarchists confined there, several had been condemned to death for acts of terrorism. I hope to have the time, some day, to tell the stories of certain of those men. Especially vivid in my memory remains a very young painter, still under age, with whom I had a chance to become friends, thanks to the kindness of the prison doctor, himself incarcerated for "separatist ideas." The administration, on discovering a doctor among the prisoners, had seized the opportunity, for reasons of economy, to dismiss the former incumbent, a physician from the outside.

I should like, before coming to my discovery of Dostoevsky, to say a few more words about that young painter who was condemned to die. He himself

was in a purely Dostoevskian situation.

After his sentence (in Spain execution is by the garrote—that is, strangulation), an eminent Catholic jurist had ventured to state publicly that no Spanish legal code, including the military, sanctioned the death penalty for minors. Had the judges forgotten this? Public opinion was aroused, and as a consequence the execution was postponed. The military men in power were uncertain how to proceed. Were they to lose face because of a legality? In the end it was rumoured that respect for the law had prevailed: they would wait, and execute the guilty man when he was twenty-one. (Notwithstanding that the offence with which he was charged had been committed during his minority.)

The doomed young man had lost nothing of his good humour: he amused himself by drawing caricatures of Spanish generals, invariably flanked by their enormous swords. But it was difficult for the rest of us to share his carefree spirits. And none of us dared complain that time passed slowly.

The accommodating doctor allowed me to spend all my mornings in his infirmary with the young lad, after informing the authorities that both of us were in need of daily medical attention. The doctor was an excellent man. In a sense, he was the model doctor for a model prison. I have never understood why he should have been so considerate of me, a complete stranger.

Besides this relative freedom each morning, he obtained books and magazines that helped us endure the long afternoons and evenings—stretches that were interminable for prisoners returned to the solitude of their cells. And as chance would have it, there were, among the books he had available, various volumes of Dostoevsky, in French translation. Thus I had the immense joy of reading, for the first time, *The Brothers Karamazov* and *The Idiot*. It is beyond my power to say, now, how overwhelm-

ing I found them. No work of literature had ever affected me so much. Soon I lost track of all notion of time and place.

I was no longer in prison. The reading of these books caused the walls of my narrow cell to vanish, and transported me thousands of miles distant, to an atmosphere that filled me with an anguish such as I had never known.

What else could I possibly have talked about with that young man who had been condemned to death, each morning when I rejoined him in the infirmary?

—IGNAZIO SILONE,
(in *Dissent*, New York,
Spring, 1959).

The Self-Regulating Ritters

Continued from p. 3

"The institution of the children's house would give them a social life in many ways comparable to that of the young of the Trobriand Islanders... and indeed it would be the ideal way of emancipating the young from the adverse emotional influence and traditions between parents and children. Such a thing has nothing to do with nursery schools, which are run by adults and allow the children a minimal amount of freedom, insisting on a maximum of manners, and all within adult-specified hours."

The other point is the Radburn housing layout, (named after a place in New Jersey where Clarence Stein and his associates developed it 25 years ago). This consists of neighbourhoods linked by a peripheral road, with a complete separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. Motor traffic enters service areas with garages, private gardens and back access to each house, while pedestrian traffic leads from the fronts of houses to schools, shops, pubs and so on in the centre. At Radburn pedestrian underpasses lead right into the town centre too. In his exhibition Paul Ritter illustrated examples of this kind of layout in this country, from Gordon Stephenson's pioneer scheme at Wrexham to the projects applied to Nottingham by his students at the School of Architecture there. It seemed to me that the most valuable thing about this exhibition was the trouble taken to relate it directly to the visitor's knowledge of his own town, by showing for instance what is wrong with the Corporation's new estate at Clifton, how it could be put right, and how Nottingham has examples in the Arboretum and Robin Hood Chase, of how a system of safe pedestrian routes across the city could be devised.

In his discussion in the book, and more fully, in three articles in *Organismic Functionalism*, (Nov., 57, Jan. and July '58) he makes a case for a creative experiment in housing, like that envisaged after the war by the Family Health Club in

Coventry. Everything we learn of the family and social problems of housing estates points to this need, and as Ritter says, "there is plenty of unhappy evidence that the solution does not lie in vaguely, if enthusiastically, forming communities, or even opening community centres, which belie their name by their very birth".

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PAUL GOODMAN remarked on those irritating lapses in Reich's writings when he says "There ought to be such and such a law". There is only one such lapse into un-functional thinking in the Ritter's book, but it is an extra-ordinary one. Talking of cruelty to children Ritter recommends "That the blackmail laws should be widened to include offences perpetrated by parents against their children, and that there should be a similar widening of the laws governing assault and battery."

The book concludes with a postscript on the work of Reich, similar in substance to that in the memorial volume. Mr. Gollancz wanted them to leave it out, but they stuck to their guns.

Nowadays there is a stream of child-rearing manuals for anxious parents, pouring out of the publishers, and full of safe, platitudinous and sometimes absurd advice. (Mrs. Frankenburg's *Commonsense in the Nursery* solemnly says that "A sensible apportionment for strawberries is to keep strictly to age; a one-year-old child may have one, a two-year-old two, a five-year-old five, and so on"). The Ritters are rather more stimulating and inventive and manage to avoid giving the impression that they are like those pathetic American parents whose single object in life is to bring up their children successfully; in fact their many and various activities are an indication that life is much more exciting for them. They do give the reader the feeling that they have got infinitely more fun out of their family than most people manage to. C.W.

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DEMONOLOGY TODAY

THE last edition of *FREEDOM* contains extracts from the UNESCO survey on Mental Health. Under the sub-heading of *Possessed by Devils* is the following.

"Among primitive peoples, mental disease has generally been looked upon either as a punishment by a good spirit or, more often, as the result of malevolent action by the devil, or even as demoniacal possession. This conception, which still survives among certain African and East Indian peoples, was very prevalent throughout the Middle Ages and even later."

The writer of the above passage does not seem to be aware that such beliefs are held not only by "certain African and East Indian peoples" but by a powerful section of the Established Church of England. They not only hold such views about the reality of demoniacal possession in some cases of mental illness, but are taking active steps to see that their views are going to influence the treatment and disposal of the mentally ill in this country. They maintain, in fact, that certain cases of mental illness are cases in which human beings are inhabited by demons in a literal sense, and that the appropriate treatment is exorcism by a priest.

Such a fantastic belief in the modern world must seem outrageously comic to most ordinary people. Demons with their horns, tails and sulphurous smell seem to belong to the remote past, and the suggestion that they take up their residence in men today seems just silly. The idea of the clergy of the Church of England casting out demons with an archaic mumbo-jumbo of exorcism, seems quite ludicrous. Yet the whole thing is not such a joke, and is really of great interest as one aspect of the Church's struggle against rational thinking.

This revival of demonology is no mere expression of a religious lunatic fringe of crackpots. I have before me the report of the Archbishop's commission on the Church's Minis-

try of Healing 1958*. At the risk of being a little tedious I propose to quote from it at length because I have found a certain amount of incredulity in people who have not actually seen this extraordinary report. I quote from Appendix C.

EXORCISM.

"1. The commission appointed a commission to consider the subject of demonology in relation to healing... It was, therefore, decided to restrict the enquiry rigidly to the practical issue in the terms of reference, and geographically to evidence available in Great Britain.

2. A further complication arise from the general ignorance of the subject which made it difficult for the commission to find competent witnesses. Nevertheless after a number of interviews, the committee felt that it had seen and examined a representative number of those who have a knowledge of this subject.

3. Another difficulty was that of language. The committee, consisting of members some with a theological some with a medical background, soon found that there were two lines of approach to any particular case, the one using theological and the other medical terms. These two approaches made the problem of assessing the evidence all the more difficult.

4. From the evidence available it is clear that some form of exorcism is at present used in this country; very infrequently in the case of persons, but rather less infrequently in the case of places. Had it been possible for evidence to be taken from the mission field this might have shown that the use of exorcism, both of persons and places, was more frequent.

5. It was repeatedly emphasised that the discernment of demons was always a matter of the greatest difficulty and that reliance held, in the last resort, to be placed in the exorcist's spiritual discernment of the presence of a demon. . . .

6. Some members of the committee were not persuaded that demons may cause or complicate any malady, yet on the other hand they recognise that medical knowledge is not, and cannot ever be, comprehensive, and they would not like to assert *a priori* that no case will ever be found of such an unusual character as suggests the need for exorcism. It

*The Church's Ministry of Healing, 1958. The Church Information Board, Church House, Westminster, S.W.1.

is with such reflections in mind, and also on general grounds, that they would welcome a period of extended co-operation between priests and doctors when the case for exorcism and the possibilities of its use could be better examined."

In addition to the bishops and other clergy on the commission, there were also a number of psychiatrists. It seems that, as pointed out in para. 6 above, there was some dissent from the idea of demoniacal possession in mental illness, and it seems likely that the dissent came from the medicos. If this was so, the theologians seem to have won the day, for the Committee was *unanimous* in its recommendations. They recommended that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York should consult with the appropriate medical authorities to set up an advisory panel of priests and doctors. They recommended further that when a priest or doctor suspected that a person was inhabited by a demon, he should refer to the diocesan bishop. The bishop, when satisfied that the case demanded exorcism, should refer it to the above-mentioned theological-medical panel for "diagnosis". The exact nature of the "diagnosis" is not made clear; if the bishop is satisfied that a *prima facie* case for exorcism has been made, what are the panel supposed to diagnose? The exact nature of the demon? Whether it is scaly or hairy? On receiving the report of the panel the bishop would then authorize the exorcism to take place.

It is easy to be facetious about the whole thing. One can well imagine the existing psychiatric case conferences supplemented by a padre. When the psychiatrists and clinical psychologists have argued about whether a patient is suffering from schizophrenia or from brain damage, the padre will speak up and confound them all by announcing that he has found a particularly malevolent demon lodging in the patient. Problems of differential diagnosis will be immense. It may be that demons have a yen for patients with post-encephalitic trouble, but rarely lodge in those

with post-uerperal psychosis. Students studying for their D.P.M. and Dip. Psych. will have the added burden of lectures on demonology.

A point that the committee did not consider was what to do with your demons once you have cast them out. Christ solved the problem by seeing that a horde of demons he cast out of a man of the Gadarenes took up their abode in swine (see Luke viii, 33) but I can well imagine a harassed medical superintendent saying to the padre "I'm damned if I'll let you cast out the demon from Mrs. Smith on Ward 3. She's a pretty harmless little woman, and if the demon leaves her it may lodge in one of those hulking great psychopaths on Ward 4—and then we'll have more trouble on that ward!"

But in all seriousness, what does this farrago of nonsense compiled by the Archbishops' Commission amount to? It is evident that with the growing concern for the mental health of Britain they want to get their oar in somehow. It is a great triumph for the Church to get psychiatrists to agree to join them on a joint panel to diagnose demons in the mentally ill. It is a slap in the face to the rational treatment of the sick when the established Church of this country achieves such power. The mentally ill have been misused and stigmatized for centuries, and now when we are just beginning to understand the nature of mental illness and to treat it rationally with modern techniques with some prospect of success, it is a gross and silly insult to pretend that sick people are the lodging-places of demons.

It is uncomfortable but true that any one of us may at some time in the future, whether by dysfunction of our glands or disease of our brain tissue, succumb to severe mental illness. Instead of rational therapeutic care, it will be a sad day for us if we are simply turned over to the diocesan bishop and his exorcists. If the medical profession have any regard for the opinion of civilized people they will do well to pause before they dabble further in this demonology. G.

STRIKES AND SOCIETY

Continued from p. 1

WHAT is, today, the 'catastrophe' which the *Sunday Times* sees in the printing strike? As "controllers" of a number of provincial newspapers the *S.T.* "might be held to be an interested party". But they assure us that their approach "is from the standpoint not of private but of public interest". And this is "public interest" as they see it.

All government, industry, finance and commerce run on print. So do hospitals, the Health Service, the Post Office, charities, schools and universities, science and medicine, transport, distribution, entertainment. Eventually, if the strike goes on, one activity after another is liable to grind to a stop for want of printed material: instructions, notices, forms, catalogues, packaging, stationery, tickets, time-tables, examination papers, company reports, prospectuses, cheque-books, sports programmes, means of statutory or other essential publication, and all the rest. The provincial Press is vital to the life of the communities it serves, both editorially and in respect of advertisements, which are an indispensable mart for local businesses and private advertisers. (21/6/59).

What an interesting catalogue of, in the main, useless and oppressive uses to which this "art" this "source of amusement for children", is now being put! But should our readers feel that it is just what one would expect from the Conservative *Sunday Times* we will also quote the *New Statesman's* lament (printed in Dusseldorf by "Black Labour").

[The strike] will, of course, do a good deal of damage, both financially and in terms of goodwill, to magazine and book publishers; advertisers, too, will feel its effects, especially if the flow of prepared advertising copy to the daily press gradually dries up. The losses could quickly run into millions of pounds. But we are still so dependent on the printed word that much trade could be affected within a matter of days. Foodstuffs, dry-goods, industrial products of all kinds, are now packaged in elaborately printed cartons: few firms carry stocks to last more than a week or two. Before long, manufacturers will be unable to dispatch their goods abroad or to shops at home. Public notices, official documents and business circulars will not be printed: thousands of public occasions, from the village fete to political meetings, must go without publicity, and there will be no tickets available for cinemas, theatres and dog-tracks. And those who follow the pools on Australian football will be without their coupons. As one adds to the list, it becomes clear that we are facing a dispute which can cause harm and inconvenience far beyond the bounds of the printing industry—and out of all proportion to the issue at stake within it. (20/6/59).

They talk the same language, don't they?—in spite of their different profession of faith. But the answer is simple. Whatever the difference in political and social approach, the continued publication of these two journals is a matter of bread-and-butter for the people—the journalists and writers who regularly fill their columns, or those who are connected with the administrative and financial prosperity of the respective undertakings. We do not deny that in their different ways they give pleasure and perhaps "uplift" to a relatively large number of people. But they live by bread-and-butter (with caviare for some) and not your approval or their ideals.

Hence editorially ("The Forty-Hour Week") though the *New Statesman* considers that

what appears to be mainly an argument about the level of wages in the industry, there is an important issue of principle [which] arises from the demand, by the unions for the 40-hour week.

Yet, as practical men whose salaries are very closely linked to the smooth

working of the printing presses, they are also of the opinion (in their "Comments on the Week's News" in the same issue) that

we are facing a dispute which can cause harm and inconvenience far beyond the bounds of the printing industry—and out of all proportion to the issue at stake within it."

So, to ensure that their financial "inconvenience" is reduced to a minimum they did not put pressure on their regular printers to reach agreement with their workers or else . . . but scouted around among the printers in this country, who are still operating, to help them out while the strike lasts, and having failed, looked to black-leg printers in Germany.

In other words they support a struggle in which a whole industry is involved (since printers in work are contributing a portion of their pay-packets to the strike fund for those who are out of work and drawing £6 a week strike pay, the whole industry is involved), and the successful outcome of which should, on their own admission, benefit all workers in industry, so long as it does not touch their pockets or the journal's bank balance! (Note that last week's *New Statesman* produced "in difficult circumstances" managed nevertheless, to squeeze in no less than 10 pages of advertisements, in-

cluding full-pages from English Electric, Shell, Stewarts & Lloyds, Granada, the *News Chronicle* and Marks & Spencers, in its reduced 28 pages!)

WE will not hazard a guess as to the outcome of the printing workers' strike. *Theoretically*, the strikers should win since the employers have no interest in seeing their plant standing idle knowing that increased costs of production can be automatically transferred to their customers. They, in their turn, cannot afford not to publish their journals, or be without their fancy boxes to camouflage their very ordinary goods (are you a subscriber to *Which?* Last month's report on bath salts will give you an idea of what we mean), or run out of forms, invoices, impressive letter-headings and slick publicity hand-outs, the very life-blood of business.

In practice the outcome depends on the workers being able to prevent their "leaders" negotiating behind the scenes—and behind their backs—through the "good offices" of the Minister of Labour and of being able to hold out long enough to stop up all the loopholes which the *New Statesman* and other interested parties will seek to avoid financial repercussions for themselves as a

result of the strike.

For let there be no misunderstanding about this: a strike which is most likely to achieve success is the one which is the most far-reaching. When the *New Statesman* on the one hand supports the principles involved in the strike but in another column of its journal laments that it "can cause harm and inconvenience far beyond the bounds of the printing industry" (our italics), we say that it is suffering from a very bad dose of double-think!

Surely it is elementary that the only really successful strike is the *General Strike*, for in bringing the economic and social machine to a standstill the workers challenge in the most direct manner, existing authority: the power and the values on which that society is based.

To-day strikes almost invariably fail because the working class has forgotten that the ends of socialism are the abolition of classes not their reconciliation. And in consequence though strikes may be sparked off by "local" issues there is no reason why they should be limited within strictly determined confines. The *New Statesman* and the *Sunday Times* (to quote the respectable "extremes") believe in the right to strike so long as the rules of the game (and their privileged position in society) are observed by the workers.

BUT on what moral grounds can it be claimed that a "game", the rules of which have been made by one side to its advantage, can be played according to the rules? The rules are that the economic cake, though it is made by the workers, is owned by the employers. The legally recognised struggle, or game, between the two sides is as to the division of the cake.

To our minds the basic, the logical struggle between employer and worker is not the division of the cake but the right of ownership. To-day the weakness in the working class is not that all workers are not members of a Trades Union—a feeble excuse for the T.U.C.'s ideological impotence but that they have been persuaded, or bamboozled, into believing that in spite of producing the economic cake it is not theirs to dispose of. And so they each fight for their piece, and because some workers think of themselves as superior to their fellows and entitled to a bigger share of the workers' piece they fight among themselves. . . The more they fight among themselves over their piece of the cake the less will they join forces to secure the whole cake of their labours!

Until they do, strikes are at the mercy of blacklegs and almost without exception, doomed to failure.

PEOPLE AND IDEAS:

THE SELF-REGULATING RITTERS

"In short, freedom is, for each and all things of the universe, to follow their natural tendencies—and to fulfil their own virtues, qualities and capabilities."

—BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI.

THE review in FREEDOM a fortnight ago of Paul Ritter's memorial volume on Wilhelm Reich, with its juxtaposition of appreciation and misgivings, illustrates the difficulty faced by people who would like to form a just appraisal of his work, a difficulty aggravated by his attitude to those who disagreed with him, and by the uncritical acceptance of all his later theories in the field of biophysics by some disciples who had been drawn towards him for quite different reasons—his earlier contributions to psycho-analytical theory.

When, during the war his four early books were at last translated and published in America, they were welcomed by anarchists. "It is not hard to understand" (comments Martin Gardner, who angered Reichians by including Reich in his deflationary book *Fads and Fallacies in the Name of Science*) "why these views have combined so easily with anarchist sentiments in England and the United States." And in one of the earliest appreciations of his work in this country Marie Louise Berneri wrote:

" . . . To the sophisticated, to the lover of psycho-analytic subtleties, his clarity, his common sense, his direct approach may appear too simple. To those who do not seek intellectual exercise, but means of saving mankind from the destruction it seems to be approaching, this book will be an individual source of help and encouragement. To anarchists the fundamental belief in human nature, in complete freedom from the authority of the family, the Church and the State will be familiar, but the scientific arguments put forward to back this belief will form an indispensable addition to their theoretical knowledge."

But anarchist allies were not welcome to Reich. Paul Goodman in his appraisal in *Liberation* (Jan. 58) tells this story. "In 1945 Reich phoned me and asked me to call on him. I was pleased and puzzled . . . But what he wanted was for me to 'stop linking his name with anarchists or libertarians'—he had perhaps read a laudatory notice I had written of him in *Politics*, July 1945. I was astonished at his request; after all, I said, his main points were anarchist points and we needed him, and he never said anything we strongly disagreed with, though he made some careless formulations. He denied my statements—it became clear that he had never read Kropotkin; charmingly his face fell in childlike surprise when I mentioned some pedagogic commonplace from *Fields, Factories and Workshops*—I was immensely impressed by his openness to a simple feeling of surprise. 'Really, Dr. Reich,' I said finally, 'what is it to you if we younger

folk call you an anarchist or not?' He explained, this time to my dismay, that Neill in England would find it doubly hard to keep his upper-class kids in Summerhill, the progressive school, if the movement was tagged as anarchist too. My guess was that the doctor was suffering from the understandable paranoia of the refugee from Hitler."

Nowadays of course, the boot is on the other foot. As anarchist propagandists we often meet people who father on us ideas which they associate with Reich's name, and which have nothing to do with anarchism, to whom we have to confess, like A. S. Neill "I never understood his orgone research; it was outwith my grasp."

I have no idea whether Paul and Jean Ritter, the publishers of *Orgonomic Functionalism*, the bi-monthly magazine inspired by Reich's work would be pleased or annoyed to be regarded as anarchists. They would certainly repudiate my view that the attitudes set out in their book *The Free Family** could have been derived from an anarchist approach as much as from a Reichian one, but I only mention this to emphasise to readers who are fed up with the claims of Reich's disciples that it would be a pity to miss the book on that account.

The Ritters have brought up their five little girls, the eldest of whom is now ten, on the principle of self-regulation, and their book describes their experiences. They are also advocates of the natural childbirth methods of Dr. Grantly Dick-Read, and (Mr. Ritter is an architect and planner) of the 'Radburn' system of housing layout. Dr. Read died this month, and in view of the reception given to Reich's ideas, it is perhaps salutary to quote a few sentences from the obituaries of Grantly Dick-Read:

"Dick-Read's theory of natural childbirth is now accepted and universally taught, but, at the outset, it involved him in much controversy. When he wanted to become a member of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, he was told, although he had been a Harley Street specialist in gynaecology for 10 years, that he would have to sit for an examination with his own students. When he went to South Africa the South African Medical Council refused to register him as a qualified doctor."

"With the introduction of the National Health Service he expected facilities to teach his technique. After much correspondence he was offered an eighteen-bed unit in a war-damaged annexe. Paint was flaking off the woodwork, plaster was crumbling, windows were smashed and instruments were sterilised in a basin on the kitchen stove."

*THE FREE FAMILY by Paul and Jean Ritter, (Gollancz, 18s.).

THE Ritters' book is timely since, as they correctly observe, "there is a strong current of opinion that the idea of freedom came in with Neill and Russell some thirty years ago but has since been 'disproved'." We have certainly met this view, which is also reflected in the recent criticisms of 'child-centred' education. The Ritters cite some modern Freudian writers to illustrate their view that "Psycho-analysis initiated the quest for freedom for the child and then found reasons to turn against it."

On the other hand, a whole school of thought amongst people influenced by Freud and the Freudian 'revisionists' has had an immensely liberating effect—Bakunin, Bettelheim, Ashley Montague in America, and people who have taken to heart the work of John Bowlby in this country, and I think Paul Ritter is nearest to the truth, when he writes:

"It was this, the attempt to use and employ and allow freedom by those who did not have the emotional capacity to allow it, which resulted in children and parents who clearly discredited the idea of freedom for children. For if those who are not emotionally secure try to give their children freedom they will in fact give them licence, and in some cases, to compensate for their own childhood experiences they will thrust it onto their children in a self-conscious and artificial way. In each case the parents are also afraid to insist on their own rights, and are incapable of doing so, and the result is inevitably the spoilt child."

He defines their own attitude by saying that,

"Jean and I deal with the limitations to freedom as we meet them, obviously and sensibly to forestall the debating trick of foisting on us the idea and ideal of 'complete freedom'. This we do not hold at all and the trick merely allows opponents to rationalise, and so reject our attitude out of hand. . . ."

We have said, and maintain, that self-regulation is an attitude: we try to let our children choose and develop according to their own criteria to the greatest extent possible for us, and strive to increase that extent."

The limiting factors, which they discuss are "the truly dangerous", "the anti-social" and "the insurmountable limitations of our culture".

In the first part of the book, Jean Ritter discusses from the point of view of self-regulation, birth, breast-feeding, food, sleep, sex-play, clothes, cleanliness, excreta, and toys. Her experience at the time of the birth of her first child was grim. She had for a long time been attending a hospital Out-Patients' department recommended by Dick-Read, with its exercises and relaxation techniques. When she was admitted to the hospital it slowly dawned on her from the treatment she received that inside the hospital they were not only ignorant of the theory

"but also of the very existence of the exercise classes". Her chapters contain many valuable observations and anecdotes. She is not among those who despise washing machines and hair-driers, and I support her view that a few commonplace bits of office equipment like a stapling machine and a supply of pencil sharpeners are an aid to domestic bliss.

The Ritters say that if they were given to sticking mottoes around the house, theirs would be 'Everybody Is Silly Sometimes', and some of the more endearing anecdotes about their family life are illustrations of this. How much simpler and friendlier relations with children are, when you frankly admit that you are prone to be just as foolish as they. In his chapter on the nature of learning, Paul Ritter declares that:

"Children who have long known that everybody is silly sometimes, that others have reasons for being silly as she has herself, can understand the difficulties of a teacher surprisingly well. The result, we have found, is a degree of co-operation in class which is normally only associated with that bred by great fear of punishment. That this is the outcome of self-regulation never ceases to surprise people."

HIS conclusions to this chapter remind one of Godwin's dictum that "The boy, like the man, studies because he desires it. He proceeds upon a plan of his own invention, or which, by adopting, he has made his own". Ritter's summing up is that "Relevant things are learnt with pleasure; things learned with pleasure are learnt more quickly, more easily remembered when acquired, and better integrated with the rest of knowledge in such a way as to lead to a further desire to learn."

His most valuable chapters are those criticising the tight little self-contained modern family ("The sentimental notion of the holiness and the beauty of this situation is in rasping contrast to roaring reality"), and the one in which he sets out his ideas on housing. A few months ago I went to the ingenious and successful exhibition organised by this enterprising couple at the Co-operative Educational Centre, Nottingham, with the title *Child's Eye View*. The novelty of this exhibition, which earned it much attention, was a series of rooms 2½ times actual size to give a notion of the way real rooms and household objects appear to a two- or three-year-old. There is a fallacy of course, but it brought home the fact that few homes have even a stick of furniture in scale with the child, and it leads on to two important suggestions on the planning and layout of housing estates, one, the idea of neighbourhood 'children's houses' serving 25 to 40 families;

Continued on p. 2

Impressions of a Long Week-End

A Look Back More in Sorrow than in Anger

AS I was waiting for the bus in Cannon Street, Manchester, at 6 a.m., the workman with the *Manchester Guardian* said, "He's late again. They do what they like. What this town needs is an underground railway to give them some competition."

I, fresh from a city that has an underground railway and a poor bus service, marvelled at this demonstration of the Manchester school of *laissez faire* while reflecting that it was an example of the oral tradition of the North as pointed out in Hoggart's "The Uses of Literacy".

In the South of England there seems to be a popular tradition that "wogs begin at Watford" that somewhere in the North there exist colonies of natives who are almost savages with no culture who labour in 'dark satanic mills' and occasionally emigrate to the more civilized South.

In the North it is known that Southerners are soft and daft and the real fountain-head of culture is the North. "What Manchester thinks today, London thinks tomorrow". There is the Halle Orchestra, *The Manchester Guardian* and Jodrell Bank to prove it. The South is a parasite which lives on the labour of the hands and the import of the brains from the North.

When I recently went back to the North for a long week-end I tried to evaluate some of the differences and similarities between North and South. My workman at the 'bus station was the first example.

The protest would have been heard in the South but no solution would be advocated. It was true he had the M.G. but this is another point. What workman (this was possibly a foreman) would carry the *Daily Telegraph* in the South? The general educational level in the North is possibly no higher but there is not the Southern fear of being thought well-educated. There was the woman at the cinema who said to the attendant, "I didn't think you'd let me in since I'd stopped patronizing you." The use of the word "patronizing" was exact and unexpected.

It was said that the sign of the advance of education was that the writing on lavatory walls was getting higher. In the North the graffiti seem more educated. In London Road Station, Manchester for example, one sees "I love corduroys". Who in the South could spell "corduroys" and have an impulse to record it in the 'Protestant Confessional'?

In the local paper it was recorded that the local rowdies (no teddy boys please note) had painted on the road "THE POLICE SUPERINTENDENT IS A GET". I assume this terse epithet is desirable after painting the word 'superintendent' with its pitfalls.

The journey up to Manchester was made a little sad by the ruthless progress of electrification. Crewe Station, which to me on my visits North was the Rubi-

con, has been turned into a fairyland by huge suspended lights over the shunting yards and parallel tracks were being made ready for electric trains. For me Crewe was the apotheosis of the Age of Steam. It was a stable of sooty panting giants looming up from darkness and now they have spoiled it all.

The station for Belle Vue was closed, I gathered it was being rebuilt further up the line but this was definitely the end of an era. Belle Vue has represented to me, as to many children in the North, the Shangri La, the Xanadu of our dreams. One went there on outings, and by train too, since the train was part of it, buses and trams were for every day, trains were special.

Belle Vue has been in a decline for years. The reality was a little disappointing. It is not what it was, but then like so much else, it never was.

The onward march of civilization does not appear to have touched the North to any great degree. I saw not espressos (in any case coffee is not a very favoured drink in the North, they will drink Nescafé or even liquid coffee preparations without turning a hair), the outbreak of the 'contemptuous' or the 'brutal' schools of architecture or shop-fitting would be regarded as 'daft' and as an object for laughter. Consequently one does not see 'Arty' types or 'City' types in the North. They would find the *chi-chi* style 'daft'. This is not to say they are conformists, but they do not respect a non-conformism which is another form of conformism.

It is true that 'clogs and shawls' are 'out' but not entirely for reasons of fashion. The clogs passed their usefulness when Macadam roads came in. I remember as a child being sent by my aunt to play on the 'tarmac road'. Even now there are roads on which clogs would not come amiss. The shawl has been transmuted into the headscarf which

serves the same purpose of being quickly put on, easily cleaned and concealing a multitude of vanities. There is a sinister Lancashire saying: "Clogs to clogs in three generations". There is always the feeling that any prosperity is only temporary and the present recess in cotton has proved it.

The European Volunteer Workers who created a feeling of xenophobia when they came ten years ago appear to have been assimilated into the community with very little friction. Indeed the Ukrainians have a football team in the local league and Ukrainians from all over England are having a conference in Rochdale with Sir Compton Mackenzie in the chair.

One sees now and again in the crowd a face that seems non-Lancashire and a little too Caucasian but they are not obvious and the only prominent sign of their presence is an extension of the delicatessen section at Redman's grocery.

Coloured people are few, except in Manchester, which it will be remembered is a seaport, so their problem does not arise. It may be slight comfort to reflect on the speed in which the E.V.W.'s have been accepted but unfortunately for Notting Hill's hopes, they are not coloured.

Teddy boys seem to be scarce in the North. Manchester seems to have a quota but as a large city it would have the problems that lead to the rise of such a phenomenon.

The *Manchester Guardian* recently reported a gathering of 'beatniks' but this is the hot-house flowering of the University from which such exotics as the *University Libertarian* have sprung.

The unemployment situation in the North has worsened lately. Three hundred people were laid off at Newhey last week. Previously a large number had been sacked at a Littleborough Mill. This is part of a deliberate policy of 'rationalizing' the cotton industry. In the advertising business there is an axiom that if you have a defect in your product

build it up into a virtue. The cotton industry has turned 'unemployment' into 'rationalization'. The workers at Littleborough were re-absorbed into another mill which with new equipment was working double shifts but has not solved the problem of overproduction, although it may have contributed to the lowering of costs and tended to challenge the Japanese competition. In Rochdale there are signs and there have been sandwich-boardmen urging Rochdadians to "Buy Lancashire Cotton Goods". Even the capture of the Rochdale market would not solve the unemployment problem of Newhey!

However, we are not back to the hungry 'thirties—yet. There is a vast deal of slack that can be taken up—in more ways than one. There is a lot of concealed unemployment (women returning to housekeeping for example) and a lot of concealed poverty.

One can observe signs of a creeping slump such as the closure of cafés, cinemas, and empty shops in main streets (the cafés and cinemas may be put down to the spread of television but this, in itself, is not enough). The payment of compensation to mill-owners and to union members will not solve Lancashire's problem of a contracting market.

One of the delights of Lancashire is the incongruous juxtapositions of town and country. If industry and agriculture were in a more healthy state, economically and technically, Kropotkin's idea of a balanced society would be nearer realization in Lancashire than elsewhere.

Where else would a 'bus journey from a large city be interrupted in the suburbs for (a) an Emmett-like train carrying coke from the gas-works to the railway and (b) further down the same road by a herd of cows coming from pasture to milking?

There is this expansion of planes of living in the North which provides the fascination of the landscape. The paintings of L. S. Lowry convey more adequately than anything else can the quality of the Northern landscape. The 'dark satanic mills' are there it is true, but Lowry conveys the impression of the answer to the problem of how to live in a mass society. His figures are all individuals partaking in a landscape but not absorbed in it. The 'character' is respected in the same way that the character of a building is respected. The contours of the landscape make isolation easy, indeed necessary, but whilst everything is part of a whole, it is also itself. The Industrial Revolution was an unfortunate incident that happened, the landscape seems to say, but nature re-asserts itself and the moors come creeping back.

There was a retrospective exhibition of L. S. Lowry's work at Manchester Art Gallery. Lowry is now 71 and one can look back neither in sorrow nor in anger but with Salfordian realism at the road from Wigan Pier to Welfare State. But Hankey Park still stands and the maisonettes on the Mount stare at the Salvation Army hostel and are flanked by the Ashworth Chapel for the Destitute.

Letter on REICH

DEAR SIR,

I would like to make one or two comments on the review of the Wilhelm Reich Memorial Volume, by M.G.W. in your last issue.

The main stress of the reviewer is on the antagonism which Reich aroused in people around him. It is almost as though we get the impression that Reich was really a crank and a paranoiac, but that in spite of these severe handicaps he did some good work as well. It is rather as though, in writing of Galileo, one focussed the main emphasis on his responsibility for the conflict with the Church, which showed what an aggressive person he was, rather than on the importance of his discoveries and the hostility they inevitably provoked.

It seems reasonable that if you persecute a man throughout most of his life, he may grow to feel persecuted. It is too easy to focus attention on the man's character, and apply words like "paranoia". (Reich was examined psychiatrically in gaol, on the Court's orders, and found quite sane). What is more difficult is to get to grips with what it was in Reich's work which was so new, so far-reaching, and so momentous in its implications, that so many powerful organisations and individuals in the world felt they had to fight it, attack it, or just condemn it with faint praise, or mild ridicule.

What your reviewer neglects to point out is the extent to which this particular 'tribute' to Reich attempts to place his work in a historical context, and to understand both the special hostilities it aroused, and the special strains that carrying this work through in the spirit of deep loyalty for the facts, against the intense opposition, entailed for Reich.

The manner of Reich's defence at his trial may seem peculiar to anyone acquainted only with the most superficial aspects of the case. However, the account by Myron Sharaf of the trial was precisely an attempt to go beneath these face-value interpretations, and to explore the deeper implications of Reich's claim that the FDA attack was motivated by the desire to destroy his work, and not by any genuine legal considerations. Many of your readers may not know that the facts of a 'conspiracy' (in the sense of a network of co-operating bodies and individuals with nothing in common except antagonism towards Reich's work) are well substantiated, documented, and open to public inspection.

DAVID BOADELLA.
Nottingham, June 14.

Stop the Rot!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 25

Deficit on Freedom	£500
Contributions received	£457
DEFICIT	£43

June 12th to June 18th

Ilford: C.S. 3/11; London: J.M.R. 6d.;
Enfield: M.H.S.* 2/3; Preston: R.S.M. 3/6;
Belfast: H.C. £2/0/0 Hampton Hill: P.J.H. 1/6;
Birkenhead: J.H.W. 5/-; Enfield: M.H.S.* 2/6;
Wallington: L.G.M. 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 2/6; Los Angeles: "Man Group", per A.R. £3/10/0.
Total ... 6 14 8
Previously acknowledged ... 450 17 10
1959 TOTAL TO DATE ... £457 12 6

GIFT OF BOOKS: London: P.H.

*Indicates regular contributor.

KERALA

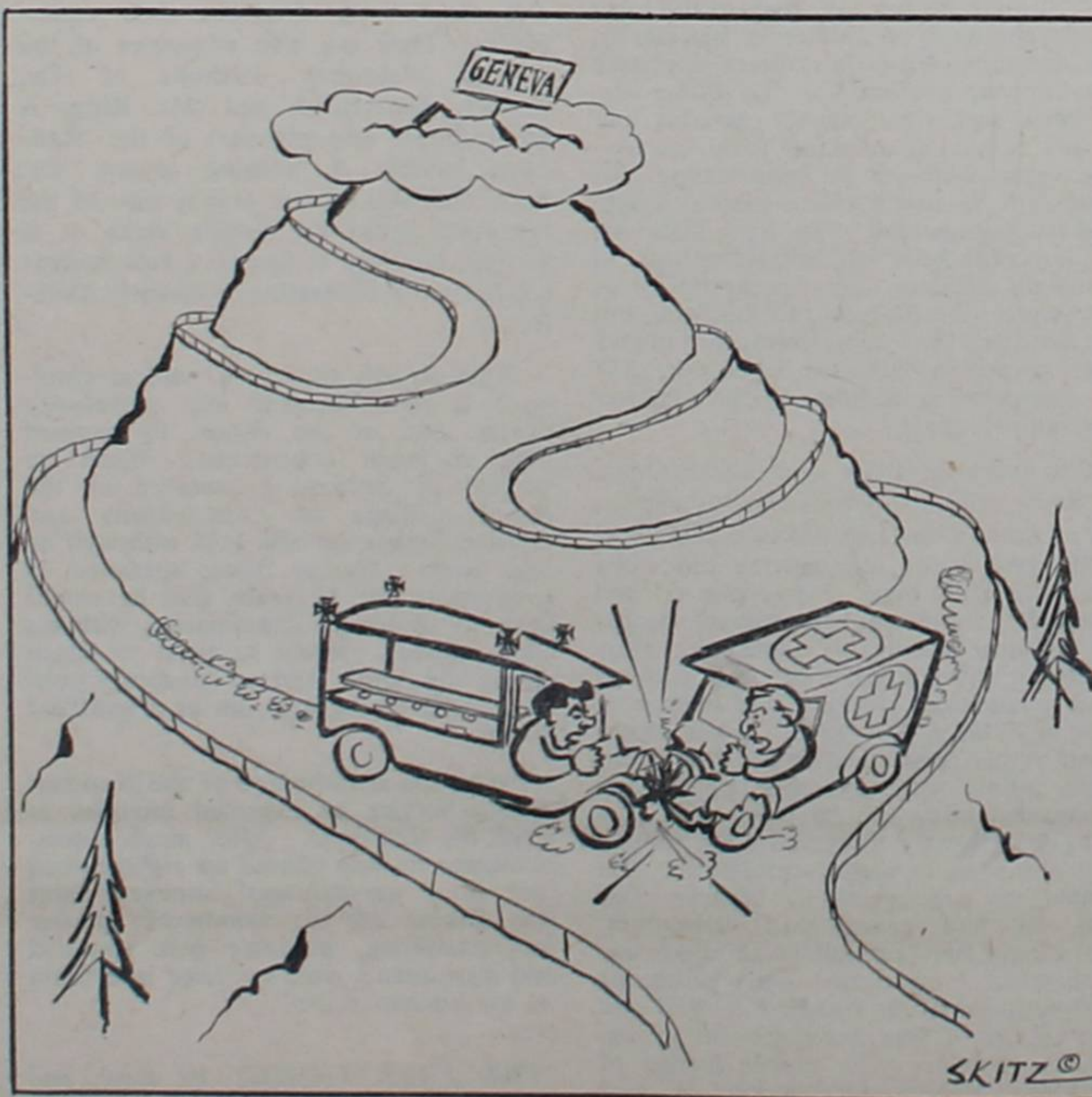
Continued from p. 1

The Congress Party elsewhere, however, does not have to contend with a Communist party in power, whose main moves between now and 1962—the date of the next election—are obviously to make sure of winning that next election, by some means or another.

But even though a sufficient number of Keralans to put the C.P. in power were not upset by Hungary, Indians as a whole have been profoundly affected by *Tibet*. Although the idea of the agitation may have been started by Christian bishops, there is no doubt that they realised their opportunity had come when the Dalai Lama had to flee from the Chinese Communists.

The rapidity with which the campaign in Kerala has caught on can leave no doubt that the Government is an unpopular one, but it would be quite untrue to say that there is much of a social revolutionary nature in the rebelliousness of the people. They are being used by the non-Communist political parties and the religious leaders exactly as in other contexts they are used by the Communists themselves.

Kerala is not another Hungary. But the Communists in power there are paying the price for the actions of their comrades in Tibet.



'Looking for Business?'

The problem of re-housing is different in the North. Flats are not very popular owing to the 'liking to keep oneself to oneself', so a courageous compromise of small mixed estates has been made. I visited one which has bungalows, two-storey maisonettes, and semi-detached, all grouped in a clough (or valley) together with the old row of country cottages. The houses are built on an in-facing principle where the front door abuts on to a winding path through what will be gardens.

The rim of the estate overlooks a lodge (or pond) and from whichever window one chooses once can see distant town, church, mill, quarry, pastureland, all like a Breughel painting (or as in Lowry).

From this estate a lane leads flagged with heavy setts, which must have been laid for carriage-folk, the lane crosses an Emmett-like single-line railway (this is also the Emmett country, there is a Byzantine gas-works at Ashton-under-Lyme) and leads to the gates of Thrum Hall.

So with the joining of past and present we can look back to the cotton millionaires of Lancashire's past and to the experimental present with the lessons in individualism, realism and assimilation that the North can teach. J.R.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Regular Sunday meetings now held at "Marquis of Granby" Public House, Rathbone Street (corner of Percy Street, Rathbone Place and Charlotte Street), 7.30 p.m.

JUNE 28.—Philip Holgate on THE ANARCHIST PRESS

JULY 5.—Tony Weaver on A PHILOSOPHY OF WAR WITHOUT VIOLENCE.

CROYDON LIBERTARIAN GROUP

A Picnic will be held on Sunday, June 28th, at Friday Street, near Dorking, Surrey.

Meet at Dorking North Station (S.R.) at 12 mid-day.

All Comrades Welcome.

CLEVELAND LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE GROUP

Monthly discussion meetings are held on the last Friday of each month at 8 o'clock at 3705 West Park Road, Cleveland (near Lorain-Triskett).

Anyone interested is invited.

THE YOUNGSTOWN LIBERTARIANS

A Picnic, July 4th, at 1 p.m. at Frank Marino's Farm, 3825 Lauterman Road, Youngstown, Ohio.

SUMMERHILL SOCIETY MEETING

At a meeting organised by the Summerhill Society on Friday, 26th June, at 7.45 p.m. at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1., Paul Ritter will be speaking on "The Free Family". A later meeting, on Friday, 10th July (same time, same place), will be addressed by John Aitkenhead, founder and headmaster of Kilquhanity House School.

Admission to these meetings is 2s. at the door.

FREEDOM

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