

The Rail Strike WILL THEY SETTLE?

AS we go to press preparations for a national rail strike continue. The NUR has arranged a loan of £1 million from the Co-operative Wholesale Society's Bank (which has hastened to say that it is a strictly business deal implying no ideological sympathies), while the Government is preparing the police and the military to play their accustomed role.

From all that has been said, it appears that the London Underground workers (whose partial token strike was so effective last week) will, for once, be involved in the stoppage with their fellow-unionists, and it is even thought that the busmen may come out as well. If this is so then London will be well and truly brought to a standstill, as far as public passenger transport is concerned. Private cars will come out in such numbers as to jam the roads, hampering the army vehicles which will try to cope with essential supplies no longer coming by rail. Chaos is expected and taxi-drivers should do well just by sitting in their cabs in traffic-jams.

Both sides of the dispute would, of course, be pleased to find a face-saving solution to avoid the head-on clash. To their credit, the NUR leaders have dug in their toes and have—so far—refused to budge. But then so has Sir Brian Robertson.

What has happened, however, is that the Guillebaud Committee (of enquiry into the wages structure of the railway) has announced that its report is going to be ready by the beginning of March instead of sometime in April as expected. In view of the urgency of the situation, it was announced, Mr. Guillebaud and his buddies are going to drop everything else and devote themselves wholly to this work.

Now isn't this interesting? Half a million transport workers can go on for nearly two years on some of the lowest wages in industry, and Mr. Guillebaud doesn't think it's urgent. But as soon as those workers threaten to stop work it is discovered the report can be completed sooner.

It is assumed—but only assumed—that the Guillebaud report will

show that some wage increases should be given to the railmen. This latest development therefore presents the NUR leaders with a dilemma: should they launch their costly action on February 15 when an increase might be granted a fortnight later anyway.

These are the factors which weigh with union leaders. They don't see a strike, as we do, as an educational experience for the workers, to demonstrate their strength and organising ability. It is simply a game of bargaining with the boss, and bluff is better than any educational experience for the rank and file.

FACTS Railway Wages

SOME of the low rates of pay accepted in the railway industry were exemplified last weekend by Mr. H. Roberts, of the NUR Manchester District Council. Twelve thousand signalmen in the country were receiving less than £9 a week, he said, and few of the lower rated men had the chance of overtime or Sunday work. The highest paid signalmen, and there were only 175 of them, received £11 3s. 6d. a week.

The G.P.O. station postmen in London received £10 13s. with an allowance of 12s. for lack of amenities on a railway station, £3 4s. 6d. a week more than the railway parcel porter, doing the same duties, received. In the carriage and wagon department, where the staff were responsible for the safety of passengers and vehicles and maintenance and running repairs, the highest rate was £8 15s. 6d. for an electric-train examiner.

In the goods department, which dealt with all railway freight traffic, the highest conciliation rate was £8 18s. 6d. for a foreman. On the permanent way, the highest rated man was a relaying ganger with £9 6s. 6d. a week. A lengthman, responsible for keeping the track in safe condition, received £7 19s. 6d. after two years' satisfactory service.

Mr. Roberts added that of the country's 5,000 stationmasters, 500 were paid £533 a year and 2,400 received from £565 rising to a maximum of £602. Locomotive drivers earned £10 4s. rising to a maximum of £11 9s. The wages of 20,000 guards ranged from £8 8s. 6d. to £9 5s., and 2,500 ticket-collectors earned £8 12s. 6d. a week.

CHILD-KILLING PARENTS

AT the annual conference of the Surrey Group of Young Conservatives at Eastbourne last Saturday, the young Tories were engaging in one of their favourite pastimes—howling for blood. Perhaps we exaggerate slightly, but it is a comment on the Conservative mentality that at every conference somebody puts forward a resolution asking for more corporal and capital punishment.

But the Surrey Conservatives were in for a shock. Miss Pat Hornsby-Smith, Joint Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance, gave them a few statistics which, to our knowledge, had not been made readily available before. She was speaking of child murder, and she demonstrated that children are 'more likely to be murdered by their parents than by lunatics or thugs at large.'

It was, said Miss Hornsby-Smith,

a 'horrifying fact' that most of the children aged between one year and fourteen who were murdered, died at their parents' hands.

She gave some figures. She said that in the year before the 1957 Homicide Act, of 47 children murdered, 41 were killed by parents. In 1957-8, of 49 murdered, 39 were killed by parents (27 of whom committed suicide). In 1958-9, of 33 murdered, 25 were killed by parents (twenty of whom committed suicide).

After Miss Hornsby-Smith spoke the resolution was defeated by a substantial majority. At least one Tory Conference had shown itself amenable to reason, and we hope that more of those who pin their faith on the birch and the rope will realise that crimes of violence, and particularly murder, are by no means the simple acts they might appear to be. Nor do they have simple solutions.

As we write, there are still five days to go before the dead-line. This is ample for a compromise settlement to be reached and the strike averted, with the union leaders accepting a small increase rather than face the implications of a nation-wide stoppage, which inevitably gives initiative to the rank-and-file.

And the TU leaders are always more afraid of this than they are of the employers.

WHAT A "CALCULATED RISK"!

DENVER, COLORADO, FEB. 5.

Nerve gas stored in metal casks the size of dustbins and said to be enough "to kill every man, woman and child in the world" is stored above ground at an arsenal eight miles from Denver. Disclosing this in an interview today, the arsenal commander, Colonel G. Allen, conceded that there was "a certain calculated risk" in this, but his establishment, he said, had long ago planned how to cope with any emergency at the arsenal.—Associated Press.

That Capetown Speech BLACK MAC!

MACMILLAN'S Capetown speech was such a superb piece of hypocrisy that no wonder it left his white audience of S. African politicians speechless! Mr. Macmillan must have spent much time preparing that speech for he was attempting the impossible task of stating that British policy in Africa now is to support the nationalistic aspirations of Black Africa—and what could be more convincing to African ears that that this statement should be made in the stronghold of apartheid to an audience of the white *herrenvolk*—and at the same time trying to assure his white "friends" that even if he could not "honestly" support their racial policies there were many matters of common interest which joined our two nations.

Differences on one subject, important though it is, need not and should not impair our capacity to co-operate with one another in furthering the many practical interests which we share in common.

The "many practical interests" were clear to everyone present. Mr. Macmillan reminded his audience that in 1956 nearly two thirds of overseas investment in South Africa was British.

But that is not all. We have developed trade between us to our common advantage, and our economies are now largely interdependent.

Britain has always been your best customer and, as your new industries develop, we believe we can be your best partners, too.

It seems clear to us that conciliatory as was his speech the real audience Mr. Macmillan had in mind was Black Africa, and to convince her more than 200 million people that the old colonialism was at an end he was demonstrating that the British government was even prepared to sacrifice her very profitable connection with S. Africa.

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TWO significant passages from Mr. Macmillan's speech explain Britain's new African policy.

Readership Survey: Third Interim Report Who Are Our Readers?

THE total number of replies to our questionnaire received by Saturday, 6th February was 351. Of these 16 were from Canada or the U.S.A.

In classifying the occupations of respondents, it was difficult to know, on the information given, how to group them. The headings adopted below are helpful, but rather arbitrary.

1. 'Not Gainfully Employed': 49
23 students, 7 housewives, 1 invalid, 13 retired, 2 non-employed, 3 unemployed.
2. Education: 42
42 teachers or lecturers (including art teachers, music teachers, professors).
3. Health and Welfare: 15
2 physicians, psychiatrist, psychologist, medical technician, hospital almoner, hospital porter, staff nurse, nurse, mental nurse, physiotherapist, pharmaceutical chemist.
2 social workers, child welfare worker, youth officer (LEA).
4. Science and Research: 19
3 industrial chemists, 2 research chemists, 2 chemical engineers, research student, research biochemist, research biologist, biophysicist, geophysicist, laboratory technician, 4 research workers, veterinary researcher, market researcher.

5. Manufacturing and Electrical Industry: 31

2 sheet metal workers, 2 maintenance engineers, universal miller, drill press operator, press operator, press toolmaker, fitter-welder, engineering machinist, centre lathe turner, development engineer, mechanical engineer, lathe-setter, fitting and turning capsule maker, engineering draughtsman, 'factory manager', 'factory worker', progress-chaser, personnel officer, 'technical assistant'.
2 electronic development engineers, electrical engineer, electrical apprentice, electrician's mate, electrician, electric gear tester, transformer winder, press house electrician, electric furnace operator.

6. Building Industry: 33

16 architects or assistants, 5 building labourers, 2 carpenters, joiner, slater, mason, plumber, domestic engineer, surveyor, roadman, civil engineering draughtsman, structural steel draughtsman, bricklayer.

7. The Printed Word: 35

9 journalists, 4 writers, 5 librarians or assistants, 5 booksellers, 3 in publishing, 3 printers, 2 typographers, silk screen printer, print operative, newspaper copy-taker, newspaper-seller.

8. Arts, Entertainment and Crafts: 24

5 commercial artists or technical illustrators, 4 artists, 2 photographers, interior decorator.
2 actors, film worker, TV director.
2 musicians, musicologist, musical instrument expert.
Potter, hairdresser, leather-worker, shoe-maker and upholsterer.

9. Food Production: 18

4 farmers, 3 gardeners, 2 farm workers, 2 smallholders, 2 fruit-growers, poultry-farmer, poultryman, company director (poultry farm), estate manager, horticultural worker.

10. Food Processing and Distribution: 9

2 master bakers, milk salesman, 9 roundsman, macaroni maker, grocery branch manager, caterer, hotel worker, cocktail barman.

11. Other Distributive Trades: 21

5 salesmen, 2 shop managers, 2 shop assistants, sales engineer, advertising manager, manufacturer's agent, technical representative.
5 warehousemen, store-keeper, 2 street traders.

12. Administrative, clerical and Commercial: 26

14 clerks, 2 secretaries, 2 accountants, civil servant, actuary, insurance broker, Unit Trust dealer, manager (book-keeper), company director, Trade Union organiser, Trade Union business agent.

13. Transport and Communications: 16

2 sailors, ship's rigger, docker, airline tariff officer, airline clerk, loco fireman, lorry driver, van driver, motor engineer, motor mechanic, garage worker.
2 postmen, post office worker, GPO engineer.

14. Miscellaneous: 8

Jack-of-all-Trades, Unitarian Minister, 'Do-it-yourself enthusiast', caretaker, 'self-employed', 'unskilled', money-raiser for charity, 'looked after village sewage works for the last 25 years'.

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THIS is a gratifyingly wide occupational distribution. Two things have to be remembered, firstly that it covers only a small minority of our readers—those who have answered the questionnaire, and secondly that the text-books warn us that "better-educated people are much more likely to respond than others" and that mail questionnaires "tend to result in an upwards-biased social class composition".

Continued on p. 3



'Doctor Verwoerd, I presume?'

Mc CARTHY & Mc CARTHYISM

APPARENTLY James Fenimore Cooper said that "the true theatre of a demagogue is a democracy". On reflection this seems pretty obvious (indeed, Aristotle said the same thing a couple of thousand years ago), but it is a fact that there have been an awful lot of demagogues in America, the most democratic country and the biggest democracy in the world. The odd thing is that there has been no successful *national* demagogue like Hitler or Mussolini there; perhaps America is altogether too big. Huey Long was shot just before his power began to spread outside Louisiana, and Father Coughlin was silenced, by his superiors at about the same stage. The nearest America has got to a genuine national demagogue is Senator Joe McCarthy.

Richard Rovere is a fine journalist (best known in England for his column in the *Spectator*) and his book* is full of good stuff, as the recent *Observer* extracts have shown, but it isn't by any means the definitive study. The style, manner and arrangement of the book are all essentially journalistic. To call the first two chapters "What he was and what he did" and the last one "Those days seen from these days" is really not good enough for a serious book. The real trouble is not just that there is too little authentic information and straight narrative and too much trivial detail and superficial speculation, but that the author seems to have been thinking in terms of newspaper or magazine articles and not in terms of a book of more than 200 pages. But if you can ignore the irritation caused by such a muddled way of telling the story you will find it interesting and well worth reading.

The bare facts are simple enough. Joseph Raymond McCarthy was born in

**Senator Joe McCarthy* by Richard Rovere (Methuen) 18s.

Wisconsin on 14th November, 1908 (not 1909, as he claimed); his family were poor Catholic farmers. After working in a store, he graduated from Little Wolf High School, doing four years' work in one; he studied engineering, then law. For some years he lived in small Wisconsin towns, an unsuccessful lawyer but a successful gambler. He ran for District Attorney as a Democrat, then in 1939 for Circuit Judge as a Republican ("It was an advantage," he said later, "to be a Republican with a Democratic name"). He won the election after a dirty campaign—his slogan was "Justice is Truth in Action".

His judgeship was interrupted by his war service as a Marine (June 1942 to December 1944), about which he told so many lies that nothing is known for sure. In 1945 he was re-elected as Circuit Judge, then in 1946 he ran as a Republican for the Senate—this time with the slogan "Congress Needs a Tail Gunner" (he had not been a tail gunner). His Republican rival was Robert La Follette, Jr., who had been in the Senate for twenty years and whose father had been there for twenty years before that. McCarthy narrowly won the Republican primary (apparently because the Communists in Wisconsin turned against La Follette—"Communists have the same right to vote as anyone else, don't they?" commented McCarthy), and comfortably won the election. La Follette shot himself in 1953.

McCarthy "soon fell in with the seediest lot in Washington—men with their sights fixed not on power . . . but on the fast buck". He made several thousand bucks as fast as only Senators can. He also developed the technique Rovere calls "the Multiple Untruth"; it is described in an extraordinary passage on pp. 91-96, when in 1949 McCarthy tried to fool him with one irrelevant document after another (this was a case in which it seems that McCarthy himself had been fooled by a Communist agent!) But McCarthy hadn't made much of a name for himself except as a crook until he gave a speech to some Republican women at Wheeling, W. Virginia, on 9th February, 1950, in which he declared that he knew the names of 205 Communists in the State Department. Within a few days he was famous (to his surprise—he had even forgotten to keep a copy of the speech, and was never quite sure what he had said), and in March the cartoonist Herblock coined the word "McCarthyism". The witch-hunt was on.

For two-and-a-half years he scoured Truman's Administration without mercy. The number of Communists in the State Department varied—205, 57, 81, 10, 116, 1 (Owen Lattimore), 121, 106—but the Democratic leaders trembled nevertheless. Of Truman he said: "The son of a bitch ought to be impeached"; of Marshall: "A man steeped in falsehood . . . always and invariably following the world policy of the Kremlin"; Acheson has never recovered from his attacks.

The Republican leaders ignored him until they realised how useful he was in discrediting the Democrats. When they came to power in 1952 (McCarthy was re-elected with a reduced majority), he became chairman of the unimportant Committee on Government Operations; "We've got McCarthy where he can't do any harm," said Taft. But McCarthy made the Committee important and scoured Eisenhower's Administration nearly as harshly as Truman's. The Republican leaders kept quiet and tried to satisfy him by sacking thousands of "security risks" and "loyalty risks" and giving his protégés jobs.

He fell, strangely enough, because he wouldn't let his colleagues down. He made Roy Cohn Chief Counsel to his Committee, and Cohn brought in David Schine as "Chief Consultant" (a bogus title). When the Army tried to draft Schine in 1953, Cohn put pressure on the military authorities either to exempt him or to give him a soft or important job. The Army's resistance to this pressure led eventually to the Army-McCarthy hearings of summer 1954 (very badly described by Rovere); these hearings were televised and were seen by up to twenty million people at a time—hence the parrot by the television set in the *New Yorker* cartoon that shrieks "Point of order! Point of order!" McCarthy's behaviour led to the formation of the Watkins Committee to investigate him, and on 2nd December, 1954, he was condemned by the Senate. Their vote was 67-22; earlier in 1954 there was a time when only Senator Fulbright dared vote against him. After that McCarthy was finished as a force, though he still made a great deal of money and drank a great deal of whisky. He died on 2nd May, 1957.

How did it happen? What made him tick? He himself once said that McCarthyism was "Americanism with its sleeves rolled"; but Rovere says he was "a species of nihilist; he was an essentially destructive force, a revolutionist without any revolutionary vision, a rebel without a cause". As for his ostensible cause of anti-communism, that was manufactured a month before the Wheeling speech at a dinner with three Catholics who were trying to encourage him to be more serious. No one expected it to pay off so dramatically, even though this was the time between the conviction of Alger Hiss and the outbreak of the Korean War.

The worst mistake one can make about him is to imagine he was sincere. Someone who knew him and liked him (while loathing his public behaviour) said when he died: "He was a stinker. He was never 'sincere'—Christ, what a laugh! He never thought of believing in what he was doing. There wasn't much good you could say of him, except that he was generous to his friends and a few of us couldn't help liking him" (he was also kind to his family and completely loyal to his cronies). Not even his Catholic-

ism was genuine; when he was a Circuit Judge "he became noted for five-minute divorce judgments" and "earned a reputation as a kind of mobile Reno".

No, in himself he was just an ordinary crooked politician who happened to seize the right issue at the right time and knew all the tricks of television and press publicity. Although he attracted all sorts of cranks and fanatics, he wasn't either—"There has never been the slightest reason to suppose that he took seriously or that he believed any of the nonsense he spread" (this is why the Canadian radio play, *The Investigator*, though entertaining, is misleading). Nor was he capable of feeling real hate or bearing a grudge—or of understanding other people who were; Rovere relates an almost Feifferesque exchange when McCarthy upbraided a man he had ruined for not visiting him—"How come we never see you? What the hell are you trying to do—avoid us?" He couldn't see why his victims should resent him—"What did I do?" he used to ask.

Nor was he a potential dictator. "He revealed no lust or greed for power . . . What he lusted for was glory"—and money. He hounded imaginary Communists but didn't care much about real ones (he hardly knew—or cared—what Communism was); he treated the Korean War as an attempt by Truman to sidestep the struggle against Communists in the USA. He never pursued any particular line if the headlines diminished. "Beyond mischief he never achieved anything." Nor did he really encourage conformism and orthodoxy; he was himself a most unorthodox person—"closer to the hipster than the Organisation Man". He wasn't insane or immoral; he was cynical and amoral, a very different thing.

Alone he wasn't in the least dangerous, and when people learnt not to fear him in 1954 he faded out. The danger wasn't McCarthy, but McCarthyism; not the man, but the people behind him—the real anti-communists, the Georgetown intellectuals, the FBI, the timid administrators and officials who tried to imitate him, the Republicans who thought they could make use of him and the Republicans and Democrats who held their tongues for the sake of their skins, the other Washington crooks, the Texas millionaires, the Catholic and Republican women, the 50% of the American public that "approved" of him in 1954 (when only 29% "disapproved")—all those who used his handwagon to advance their own interests or ambitions or to work off their hates or frustrations, so that *The Crucible* seemed to be a fair picture of God's Own Country.

McCarthy has gone, but McCarthyism is still there. Rovere praises the press that reported him and the politicians who tolerated him for more than four years, and seems to agree with Norman Thomas that "decent democracy is victor". How complacent can you get? What about the thousands of people who lost their jobs or their peace of mind because so-called responsible men let McCarthy get away with his nonsense or even fell in with it? What about that famous tour made by Cohn and Schine in 1953? We have our MIS and some minor censorship and persecution, but what about Oppenheimer and Lattimore and Hiss and all the rest? Which was worse—McCarthy who said in 1950 that he knew of 205 Communists in the State Department, or Eisenhower who boasted in 1954 that he had sacked ten times as many federal employees for security reasons in a year? Who are more to blame the self-centred demagogues, or the self-satisfied democrats?

N.W.

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The University Libertarian

"THE University Libertarian", which grew out of the anarchist movement in the universities, depended for the first four years of its existence almost entirely on the time, energy and money of its founder, Victor Mayes (of Manchester). He got help from many people in the form of donations and co-operation, but the first nine issues of the magazine were really Vic's own work (I hope he will send an account of it to FREEDOM soon). After getting out last year's Spring issue (UL.9—not many copies left), he decided that he couldn't go on with it any longer. For a time it looked as if UL would come to an end—an honourable end, but a sad one. At the last moment, however, it was saved by my grandfather, Karl Walter.

As readers of UL.7 will remember, Karl was a friend and colleague of Tom Keell and Peter Kropotkin in the old days before the 1914 split (which was described in UL.8). Although he is now nearing his eightieth birthday he still keeps up with events, staying with his son Grey Walter (the neurologist) in Bristol, or watching from the distance of his refuge on the Italian Riviera. He is by no means rich, but he has managed to put up some money to keep UL going; and in the circumstances I have had the pleasure of doing most of the work to bring out the tenth issue. We are sorry that there was no Autumn issue last year, but UL.10 is now on sale and in future we hope to keep to the schedule of three issues a year. Copies of the new issue (and of most back numbers) can be obtained from the

Freedom Bookshop (1s.) or from 3 Henrietta Street (1/2d. post free, 7s. subscription).

As is explained in UL.10, no change of policy is involved by the change of editors. Our field is defined by the subtitle: "An independent termly magazine for university and other anarchists, rationalists, humanists, radicals and libertarians in general". We are not committed to any particular school of thought—not even to revisionist anarchism (by the way, I hope Mr. Westall will allow us to use the word 'anarchist'). But we need your help.

The magazine is sold at something below cost price, and we need more readers and more donations if we are to pay our way. The present band of guaranteed donors has given UL invaluable help (will you join them?); its faithful readers have made the whole venture worth while. But if UL is to survive without being dependent on subsidies from the hard-won and hardly-spared savings of a few devoted sponsors, it needs more constant and widespread support. May I ask readers of FREEDOM to help? Send a donation if you can afford it, but above all buy UL and introduce it to your friends and colleagues (don't let them look at it for nothing—tell them they must buy it themselves because you don't trust them to give it back) and to your local library.

And please write and tell us what you think about it—or even send us an article (we pay!). Anything non-conformist, unorthodox, angry or illegal considered. N.W.

Africa South of the Sahara

COMMON SENSE ABOUT AFRICA, by Anthony Sampson.
(Gollancz, 6s. paper or 12s. 6d. cloth).

THE very word Africa spells news nowadays and it is likely to make news for some time to come. Such papers as the *Observer* and the *Guardian* are continually publishing good informative articles on African affairs and the Africa Bureau, The Movement for Colonial Freedom and the Committee of African Organisations are all helping to educate the people of this country—and they do it fairly and well to a large degree—into a realization of the complexity and importance of Africa. When I returned from Rhodesia recently after two years absence I was struck by the move in opinions towards liberalism generally and about Africa in particular. Though one can pick holes in what is said by liberals about Ghana the general approach to the need to think of Africans as human beings is all to the good.

This book, the third in the common sense series, by the former editor of *Drum*, is a continuance of this educative process and it serves not only as an excellent introduction to Africa but is also good reading for anyone who knows something about Africa already. It is a fair book and reflects the feelings of nearly all young people on African problems, and as it is the younger generation who will witness the rise of Africa to world importance this is just as well.

As Anthony Sampson says in his introduction: "This book is about 'Africa South of the Sahara' or 'Black Africa' as it is sometimes called". He admits that to compress such a wide subject into so short a space is bound to lead to oversimplification but it should encourage the reader to look further into any countries' problems that especially interest him.

As Dr. William Du Bois, the negro intellectual said in 1914: "Most men in the world today are coloured. A belief in humanity means a belief in coloured men. The future world will be what coloured men make it." We are now in fact on the very verge of coloured men in China, India and Africa making our future world. I personally look forward to this because I like coloured people more than white and because Lao-Tse, Gandhi, and Louis Armstrong have guided my life (as well as anarchists). Anyway, I am with Norman Mailer in encouraging white people to become White Negroes.

I will not bother to write about every matter covered by Sampson's book, he talks sensibly about sex and land, the two basic difficulties. It is only as an anarchist views various problems that I will bother to comment. As far as this goes I want to discuss African power and culture. The anarchist attitude to all power is too well known to need

repeating and nearly every week FREEDOM talks of the moves towards dictatorship in Ghana. This misses Africans altogether because they must first experience the disillusionment in Government before our appeal will be heard. We can only hope that some Africans see Freedom and will remember what we say when Africa is independent and unfree. We must wait the day when not only the opposition but the whole of Ghana is calling Nkrumah 'Napoleon the Pig', for then Africans will know about power from their own experience, for now no European can tell an African anything without being suspected of something, which is hardly surprising.

A chapter entitled "Blackness" I found enthralling for the seeds of anarchism are present in some African thinking even today. These lines of the African poet Senghor are all I believe:

"New York, I say to you: New York
let black blood
flow into your blood
That it may rub the rust from your
steel joints, like
an oil of life . . ."

or as Amié Césaire, a West Indian writer of the négritude school says:

"Eia for those who never invented anything
Eia for those who never conquered anything
But in awe give themselves to the
essence of things."

I must quote a fairly long section of the book now, for it says everything that must be said. "They (the négritude intellectuals) believe that Africa has a powerful cultural character of its own, formed by the common past of slavery and suffering, and by the communal and selfless tradition of the tribe. 'Culture in our civilization', said Alioune Diop, the Editor of *Présence Africaine*, at the Paris Cultural Conference in 1956, 'is accessible to all men of goodwill, and is not reserved, as a separate activity or luxurious ornament, for a few privileged people.' At the same Congress, Senghor outlined the characteristics of Negro culture. The Negro, he said, is a person with open senses with no obstacles between subject and object: he feels, where the white man sees. 'White reason is analytical, by practice: black reason is intuitive, by participation.' 'The more they are inspired by African culture', Senghor says of African writers, 'the more they will raise themselves to international rank: the more they turn their back on Mother Africa, the more they will degenerate and weaken.'"

Who can blame me for wanting to be a White Negro. What has our culture got to offer in comparison with this?

R. J. WESTALL.

BLACK MAC!

Continued from p. 1

so compelling, that the balance will come down in favour of freedom and order and justice?

To put the British governments' African policy in proper perspective it is necessary to quote one further gem from Mr. Macmillan's speech.

It is the basic principle for our modern Commonwealth that we respect each other's sovereignty in matter of internal policy. At the same time, we must recognise that in this shrinking world in which we live to-day, the internal policies of each nation may have effects outside it. We may sometimes be tempted to say to each other, "Mind your own business." But in these days I would myself expand the old saying so that it runs: "Mind your own business but mind how it affects my business too." (Our italics).

Britain's economic and political interests, and not high moral attitudes about racial equality are at the root of the government's *volte face* in Africa. Maybe the *News Chronicle* is right in referring to Macmillan's speech as "an historic declaration" in that it is a radical departure from Britain's colonial policy in the past. But to suggest as did Macmillan that in fact this has all along been the objective,

it has been our aim in countries for which we have borne responsibility not only to raise the material standards of living but to create a society which respects the rights of individuals—a society in which men are given the opportunity to grow to their full stature, and that must in our view include the opportunity to have an increasing share in political power and responsibility; a society in which individual merit and individual merit alone is the criterion for man's advancement, whether political or economic.

this is sheer nonsense and hypocrisy. In an excellent article on *The Revolution in Africa* (*Liberation*, Jan. 1960) Sidney Lens rightly points out that "it is folly to say that the European powers were preparing the Africans for self-rule. For the very essence of colonialism was precisely the opposite—to prevent self-rule."

The aim of European rule was to prevent the African from developing, educating himself, finding better employment, establishing his own business, participating in politics. His role was that of drawer of water and hewer of wood, and he was expected to stay in that role—in perpetuity.

★

AS we have written on other occasions if the attitude of governments to colonial peoples is now modified it is because militant nationalism has made them see the red light, and not because in their opinion the peoples of Africa are any more "qualified" or "ready" or "entitled" to independence now than they were in the past. Only a few years ago the government proscribed the 100,000 strong Kenya African Union as a "cover" for Mau Mau terrorists. To-day the government is holding talks in London on a constitution for Kenya which will give "full responsible government" to those very people! What responsibilities of government have they experienced in these years to suddenly become fitted to rule themselves? For more than 50 years the Belgian Congo has been ruled from Brussels, yet only 18 months after the serious disturbances there they are being given complete independence, and it will now be the 100,000 whites who will be without votes unless they become citizens of the Congo!

★

THE indecent haste with which governments change sides must

Continued from p. 1

A glance at the list shows that two occupations seem heavily "over-represented": teachers and architects. (Might it be that both groups are extraordinarily docile when it comes to filling in forms?) In the case of teachers this is a common thing: they came out first in the survey conducted last year by our American contemporary *Liberation*, and they were the biggest single occupational group among Aldermaston marchers last year. In the case of architects, a very much smaller group in the population as a whole, it is more surprising. Why not more surveyors or civil engineers? Modern architecture in its pioneering days was considered vaguely 'left': both Hitler and Sir Reginald Blomfield used to call it "bolshhevik", but those days are past. Perhaps both these groups might be worth a closer study.

One occupation not represented at all among the respondents is mining. This led us to take a closer look at the former occupations of respondents, four of whom include mining. Their sequence of jobs were:

- "Miner, steel erector, clerk, labourer, press operator."
- "Coal-mining, office work, teacher."
- "Coal-mining, youth work, insurance broker."
- "Coal-miner 3 years, teacher."

All four happen to be 33 years old. We assume that they were all 'Bevin Boys'.

RELIGION

OF the first 351 respondents, 299 indicated no religion or described themselves as agnostics, atheists, humanist, etc., and 133 indicated that they had not had any religion in the past. Many others, in mentioning a former religion indicated that they were baptised into it, or brought up in it as children or mention some early age at which they abandoned it, or say that they never believed it anyway.

Orthodox Religions	Present	Past
Roman Catholic	3	35
Anglo-Catholic	2	2
Anglican (Church of England)	7	90
Church of Ireland	-	1
Church of Scotland	-	1
'Christian'	4	18
'Protestant'	1	8
Jewish	1	14
Non-Conformist Churches		
Presbyterian	2	7

THE Aldermaston March, that annual Easter outing for the Left-wing conscience, is to be held again this year. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament anticipates that there will be more marchers than in either of the previous years, and believes that up to 50,000 people can be persuaded to turn up at the final meeting in Trafalgar Square, on Easter Monday.

The craze for long-distance marching which began last Autumn and ended with the Army being hopelessly outclassed by a 56-year-old vegetarian woman doctor, will have taken the glamour away from the Aldermaston pilgrims, so that attention may be focussed on the motives of the marchers rather than on their blistered feet.

Once again the question arises of the most appropriate form for the participation of the anarchists in this Sporting Event of the Year. The position adopted by this newspaper hardly needs to be restated. We feel much closer to the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War (which initiated the first Aldermaston March) than to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, with its essentially political and constitutional

not be overlooked however pleased we may feel at the thought of African independence. Not only as a clear indication of the basic dishonesty of governments, but because it is clear that Africa, even before she breathes the fresh air of independence, is being involved in the struggle of power politics and choked in the international financial jungle.

And the purpose of Mr. Macmillan's tour was to ensure that Britain, by posing as the champion of Black Africa, would enjoy the lion's share of what's going.

Who Are Our Readers?

Congregationalist	-	6
Baptist	-	6
Methodist	-	16
'Non-conformist'	1	3
Sects		
Christian Science	-	2
Theosophist	-	1
'Occult Sciences'	1	-
Jehovah's Witnesses	-	1
Brethren, Evangelical, 'a sect'	-	3
'Rational' Religions		
Quakers (Society of Friends)	9	2
Unitarian	4	-
Christian agnostic	1	-
Christian humanist	1	-
'Links with Quakers & Unitarians'	1	-
'Freethinking Deist, vaguely Quaker'	1	-
'Universalist Quaker'	1	-
Universalist	1	-
'Religion itself'	-	-
Deist	2	-
Tolstoyan	-	1
Pantheist	4	-
Buddhist	1	1
Taoist	2	-
No Religion		
Atheist, Agnostic		
Humanist, 'None', etc.	299	133

★

THE trend shown by these answers is obvious. Most respondents who were brought up in a religion have abandoned it. The only religions which show a net gain are non-dogmatic personal beliefs which, except for the Quakers and Unitarians, have no organised or institutional character and would probably not be regarded by most people as religions at all.

Only 8 readers offered comments or criticisms on the subject of religion (apart from those who thought that FREEDOM had helped them to lose theirs). Two readers are ministers of religion (a retired Anglican clergyman and a Unitarian minister) but neither comments on religion. A Roman Catholic reader writes that the paper is "too dogmatic on certain points, like religion, birth control, etc. As anarchists you should recognise other points of view." What surprises us about the rest of the remarks is the religious categories from which they come.

An Anglican who has been "born into

a cult I prefer to forget", says that FREEDOM is "Old-fashioned in one particular only—a touching and steadfast devotion to the phase of late-Victorian 'atheism' which I am proud to have shared and gently abandoned," but he goes on: "The paper has given and continues to give me a serene and potent antidote to all the life-hating and life-denying dogmas and persons within and without the English Church."

A reader who has no religion now or in the past, writes: "You mix up religion with Christianity, and Christianity with 'the Church'. Not everybody thinks of God as a bearded man!" But a Quaker-attending former Anglican says: "FREEDOM has helped me to throw off the shams in religion, politics and sex."

The remaining four criticisms all come from the category which we designated as 'rational' religions. A "universalist Quaker", formerly C. of E. says we should

"Give support and publicity to broad-minded religious, esoteric, psychic,

Eastern and new science movements. Your basic attitude is a critical one, rationalist and 19th century. It is not giving a lead."

A "freethinking Deist, vaguely Quaker", who was C. of E. as an infant, says "Don't fight so shy of religion" and a "liberal-unitarian non-conformist" wants

"A more tolerant and reasonable approach to comparative religion and prophets such as Tolstoy and Gandhi—combined with 'broadsides' against superstition, clerisy, bigotry, and persecution by the Church."

and a Quaker, formerly of no religion says that he

"Would like to see FREEDOM drop its obvious anti-religious bias, which offends those like myself whose anarchism is the fruit of religious belief. It is necessary to differentiate between religion and the mistakes and failings of Christians and organised religion."

(Previous reports on the readership survey appeared in our issues of January 16th and January 30th).

The Censors at Bristol

(From a Correspondent)

LAST month a magazine called *Anacrap* appeared at Bristol University, price 6d. Its twenty duplicated foolscap pages contained an anonymous Editorial ("the editor opens his big mouth"), an article on the Beat Generation ("Man, like I dug splitting"), a defence of Colin Wilson ("Don't knock the Colin"), a short story ostensibly by a lesbian student ("Erotically Outside"), a couple of jokes and thirteen poems, mostly erotic ("Thy beauty shall no more be found") or satirical ("That Jehovah is anti-semitic" or "That even if the lech stinks it very much has the edge on pain"). The overall flavour was nihilist and bisexual.

The magazine was seized by students' Union officials, who said it was "disgusting, pornographic and blasphemous". As the twenty-year-old editor remarked, "That's their interpretation." Evidently it is also that of the University authorities. After the editor had seen the Registrar (H. C. Butterfield), the Vice-Chancellor (Sir Philip Morris) told him on January 30th, "You have a choice between absolute conformism and absolute

rebellion," and then added, "But if you rebel you will be thrown out." As the editor commented, "Man, a choice! Whichever way you look at it, the bastards and the morons are in command and we're permanently beaten."

To a *Bristol Evening World* reporter he said: "There's a big complacency in society which I don't feel. It's complacent to deny that people like me exist. I just had to say I'm alive. I'm not an angry young man. If that means anything at all it means a social reformer. I'm not interested in society; only in the opposition I get from it." That opposition means that he may not publish, edit or print any similar literature if he wants to keep his place at the University and his scholarship grant. Who can blame him for obeying? He needn't feel ashamed. The people who should feel ashamed are the rulers of an institution presumably dedicated to freedom of investigation, thought and expression who deny the elementary right of the undergraduate to produce offensive magazines. And the people who should feel even more ashamed are the editor's fellow-undergraduates who began the hunt.

Anarchist and the Aldermaston March—A Suggestion

EASTER PARADE (WITH SOUP)



approach. But we recognise that most participants are not concerned with organisational and programmatic niceties (indeed their political naiveté seems to us alarming), but are concerned with making a public testimony of protest, a protest with which we identify ourselves.

It seemed to us last year that the anarchists were right to march as individuals rather than as a body (—what a nuisance some of the socialist splinter groups made of themselves!), while the fact that a handful of sellers disposed of 500 copies of FREEDOM between Aldermaston and Trafalgar Square is evidence that participation was worth while from the point of view of anarchist propaganda. (And the Readership Survey shows that a few of these chance readers actually stuck).

PEA-SOUP PICNIC

Looking for a way in which we can contribute to this year's march in a way which is both helpful and anarchistic, without implying support for the CND leadership, has led me to the notion, which readers may, as Feiffer puts it, care to kick around for a week or two, and lick into shape, of an anarchist soup kitchen, dispensing FREEDOM and free soup at the stopping-places on the way. Soup, because tea or coffee made in bulk is always disappointing, and free because

it's so much simpler that way. If recipients want to give money they can buy FREEDOM instead.

Now if this kind of thing is done at all, it needs to be done efficiently, and planned weeks in advance. The requirements are:

1. To borrow or hire a suitable vehicle. A proper van with a low floor and side service hatches is probably too much to hope for: this means that in addition to a van or covered lorry, folding tables for serving are required. To its sides should be attached placards on hardboard with the legend FREEDOM/FREE SOUP or some suitable slogan (a competent sign-writing job, no last-minute scrawl).

2. To borrow or hire suitable equipment. I imagine this to be large boiling pans, operated by or adaptable for, Calor gas. Also ladles. Marchers are asked by the campaign, and by common-sense, to bring mugs with them on the march, and this solves the problem of utensils, unless some reader is a manufacturer of waxed paper cups (which, if we really meant business, could be printed with a suitable message).

3. As to soup, the idea is attractive, of using one of those recipes for Economic Nourishing Soups for the Poor which are a feature of Victorian cook-books. They might turn out to be a lot

tastier than modern soups for the rich. But it would probably be much more practical to buy in bulk at catering prices a dry soupmix. Check sources of water on route, and provide suitable utensils for collecting it.

4. The number of times *en route* would be determined by the amount of cash collected for purchase of the soup. Probably the teatime stop on the Friday, and lunch time Saturday and Sunday, (Sunday evening and Monday will be in London or suburbs).

5. We can think of any number of additional embellishments. The experience of the Malatesta Club shows that with a bit of persuasion a jazz band could be gathered together and brought along in the lorry, while such songs as *H-Bomb Blues* and *Hallo, Out There* would be a change from the Campaign's revival anthems.

6. Smiling girls with white overalls.

7. About £100 to pay for the picnic.

ANY OFFERS?

Well there it is folks! The Readership Survey reveals one lorry-driver, one caterer, and one charity fund-raiser. Are there any more forthcoming? Has anyone the requisite equipment, talent, money, etc.? Is the idea screwy? Has anyone any better ideas?

TRISTRAM SHANDY.

EYEWITNESS

The Building Trade

FERDYNAND ZWEIG in his book *The British Worker* says "every industry breeds its own types of men", and nowhere is this more evident than in the building industry. The building worker regards all other workers as "women" with the exception of the miner, "You'd have to be a man to work in the mine". If the 'law' had cause to visit the site where he works he'll call out that they've already got a tea-boy, or "see the 'general' for your broom". When the employer visits the site he'll ask him where his shovel is, during the dinner 'hour' he'll sit outside on the pavement and jeer at the passers-by. If any were to retort back he'd leap to his feet ready for a fight.

Probably the most cosmopolitan of all industries, containing Irish, English, Jamaican, Africa, and Polish workers there nevertheless exists no colour-bar or racial prejudice. The greatest racial antagonism seems to exist amongst the Jamaicans and the Africans, the Jamaicans are usually carpenters, the Africans labourers.

The conditions the building worker works in are still probably the worst of any industry. He may be called upon to work deep in the ground covered in mud, standing in water with 'skips' seemingly hurtling down from the sky to be filled up. Or he may have to creep along a scaffold covered in ice 200 feet up. Accidents are frequent, the ambulance is called to most big sites at least once a week, and every big site costs a life. The very big sites like Shell Mex more than one. Then there is the uncertainty of your job, the employer can give you 2 hours' notice, he usually gives you 2 minutes, and calls it "industrial misconduct". Industrial misconduct seems to cover everything from being late to hitting the foreman with 'the big hammer'. Every time the job's finished you're sacked. I met many men who deliberately do bad work hoping to create more work later on. The man who works hard is disliked and ostracised by the others, usually somewhere on the lavatory wall is written as a reminder to the "worker":

Them that work hard and give of their best,

Still walks 'down the road' with all of the rest.

The building worker is at heart a syndicalist, he wants to know why the officials haven't or don't work on a site, why the building unions don't amalgamate, and why the unions don't support him when he's on strike, and some of the most bitter strikes in the history of the British worker have taken place in the Building Industry, both the Houses of Parliament and Nelson's Column were built by scab labour and in more recent times at the Shell Mex site, when 1,000 men were outside the gate for 7 months, while the union said "there is no dispute". Incidentally, when the police tried to harass the pickets they were driven right out of the road, where they

immediately arrested a 'gentleman' who was just arriving who was charged with assaulting the police and sent to prison. At that time Shell Mex had 'uncommitted' stewards led by O'Hay, perhaps the biggest 'name' in building politics. O'Hay, while a political reformist, realises the need for a more revolutionary form of organisation. At first wanting an amalgamation of all building unions, O'Hay realised that this was impossible 'at this moment' as craft unions like the plasterers would never amalgamate with labourers even if their own secretary were to become secretary of the amalgamation.

He presses for a 'Labourers' Union'. At present three unions jockey each other for the labourers, the T. & G.W., the M.W. and the A.U.B.T.W. O'Hay is a member of the T. & G.W. as is John Dawson, another 'name' who wants a labourers' union. Dawson also was a steward on the Shell Mex site, now he's at Token's, Southwark Bridge Road, (the second biggest site in Europe). At Token's, the Fed. Steward is 'Paddy' (not to be confused with 'Gerry') Healey. 'Paddy' Healey is the best of the C.P. stewards. He is a very good speaker, and in spite of his party affiliations is well liked by all building workers. Healey follows the official party line against a new union, holding that the faults in the unions are the result of the apathy of the men on the job, and that "we should work from inside to change them". Healey is a member of the A.U.B.T.W. The 'party' meets at the *Daily Worker* to discuss their tactics. As the Trotskyists meet. The Trotskyists are known among building workers as 'the animals' (I've never found out why). They are led by Brian Behan, though he's being challenged by Peter Hendricks, a man who speaks on every possible occasion and works unceasingly though lacking in personality and without delivery in his speech, he is unlikely to amount to anything much. Another name 'animal' is Byrne who usually works as a first-aid man, although well known amongst buildings workers, he too is unlikely to gain their confidence, as most labourers identify the first-aid man with the management.

The 'animals' have a paper circulating in the building industry, the *Builders' Voice* (edited by Behan), as well as their S.L.L. official organ the *Newsletter*, which usually sells about 15 on a site of about 300 men. The *Builders' Voice* sells to nearly every labourer. The *Daily Worker* would sell about 50. I could sell about 7 FREEDOMS. Another paper, the *Building Standard* has been recently launched by the A.U.B.T.W., so far only one issue has been published. On the Stewards Committee of 11, 5 would probably be Trotskyists, 3 Communists, 3 Labour Party and one other. (I've never met a member of the S.P.G.B. on a building site).

A few weeks ago a shop steward's movement of London sites started with

regular meetings. This movement may well shake up the unions in 1960, they've already had one shock recently, when the union officials met the employers for another 4d. an hour increase in the rate. In 1959, 8 men stood outside the building in New Cavendish Street. This year it was over 1,000, the 4d. was refused. Soon the unions will ask for the 40-hour week. When the officials asked for the 4d., the Stewards pledged their support "for any action they might see fit to take". It's more than possible that if the 40 hours is refused, action will be taken whatever the 'officials' see fit. J.U.

In Brief

POOR GANDHI!

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 7.
Mr. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, said here today the Government was preparing a scheme to train girls in auxiliary units of the Territorial Army for all types of work except the use of arms.

The raising of girls' auxiliary units and the expansion of the national cadets corps should, he said, not be interpreted as "any kind of militarism" or as involving any change in national policy. If independent countries did not take care of themselves, they would be a source of danger to international peace.

Mr. Menon said the importance of the national cadet corps was all the greater at a time when the country was passing through "changed conditions on its Himalayan borders". He wanted an expansion of the Territorial Army beyond its limit of 60,000 and called upon the people to join it.—*Reuter*.

ACCIDENTS KILLED 91,500 AMERICANS

CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 5.
The National Safety Council announced today that 91,500 persons were killed in the United States last year by accidents, an increase of about a thousand over 1958. Of these, 37,800 were killed in traffic accidents, 900 fewer than in 1957 and 2,000 fewer than in 1956. The council estimated that 9,300,000 men, women, and children had been injured during the year.

About 26,500 persons died in home accidents, 13,800 were killed at work, and 16,500 died in public accidents, excluding traffic. The number of accidental deaths per 100,000 population declined to a record low level of 51.9.

Falls resulted in the death of 18,300 persons. Deaths from burns totalled 7,400, from drowning 6,500, and from firearms 2,280.—*Reuter*.

OUR HITLER YOUTH

Sir,—You report an incident to a 14-year-old Sea Cadet carrying a bayonet in the course of his "duties". If we allow boys of 14 to grow accustomed to handling these horrible weapons, should we be surprised that carrying a flick-knife is, to some types of youths, a sign of emancipation?
letter in *Guardian* 9/2/60.

EXPENSIVE— & INEFFICIENT

The United States Bomarc anti-aircraft missile, which will have cost \$2,500 millions (£930 millions) by July, has only destroyed one supersonic target in ten test firings. This was disclosed during hearings by the House of Representatives Defence Appropriations Sub-committee. B.U.P. from Washington 8/2/60.

In the Red Already!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 5

Deficit on Freedom	£100
Contributions received	£90
DEFICIT	£10
January 29 to February 4	
Copenhagen: Anon. £1/12/4; Bridgnorth: H.D. 1/-; Baltimore: M.M. 7/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; London: Anon.* 2/-; London: Anon.* 1/-; Hyde Park: Sym-pathiser 6d.; Bournemouth: D.M. 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 2/6; Santa Monica: N.P. £3/10/0; Los Angeles: R.B.G. 14/-; Hindhead: F.N.F. 5/-; London: M.S. 10/6.	
Total	7 18 10
Previously acknowledged	82 2 5
1960 TOTAL TO DATE	90 1 3

GIFT OF BOOKS: London: A.S. Alfriston: A.U.
*Indicates regular contributor.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

PROTESTING AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR

DEAR FRIENDS,

There is nothing 'illogical' (see Richard Fichter's letter 6/2/60) for those of us who have already protested against Britain's possession of the H-Bomb in also opposing France's Sahara Bomb Test. In fact the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has as its aim the abolition of nuclear weapons in all countries.

Certainly the ultimate aim should be to get rid of war itself but again it is not unreasonable to focus our protest against the most horrible weapon ever used, now being prepared in increasing numbers by the governments of the Great Powers. Military chiefs talk and plan nuclear war. Fortunately germ warfare is not at the stage when the pressing of a button lets loose unlimited destruction and like gas is probably so unpredictable that it could not be used.

I am not keen on marches to capitals as they only end in big meetings and seem to be based on the idea of making an appeal to the government. It would be preferable to demonstrate at the rocket bases and aerodromes with an appeal to the workers and local inhabitants showing what hell is being cooked up in their quiet and peaceful countryside. But if we do march on London let us make it a big one and how about Mr. Fichter organising a march to Paris?

Yours fraternally,
Sussex, Feb. 7. FRANCIS TONKS.

DANILO DOLCI'S VISIT

DANILO DOLCI is visiting this country and is speaking at a series of meetings in London (Feb. 25), Oxford (Feb. 26), Cambridge (Feb. 28), Nottingham (Feb. 29), Edinburgh (Mar. 1), Newcastle (Mar. 2), Leeds (Mar. 3), Birmingham (Mar. 3 and 4), Manchester (Mar. 4), and Liverpool (Mar. 5).

The London meeting is at Friends House, Euston Road, at 7.30 p.m. For details of the provincial meetings send a stamped addressed envelope to the Dolci Committee, 29 Great James Street, W.C.1.

ALEXANDER SCHWAB

ON Wednesday, December 2, 1959, Comrade Alexander Schwab, died in Los Angeles, Calif., at the age of 61, following a heart attack.

He was one of the few Russian-speaking anarchists who had escaped the clutches of the infamous Palmer raids in 1918, directed chiefly against the then very active anarchist Union of Russian workers. Along with other Russian-speaking comrades he helped in the founding of the International Group in San Francisco wherein were gathered Chinese, Italian and Jewish-speaking comrades, subsequently launching the monthly publication of "MAN!"

Although very seldom participating in the heated discussions that arise from time to time, he nevertheless had an independent opinion (as I often learned personally from him) closely in harmony with our ideal.

Another striking characteristic in Comrade Schwab was his ever readiness to encourage new projects as well as lend support to them.

Peaceful by nature was Comrade Schwab and then, occasionally, happenings arose that would easily anger anyone else, he would make a joking comment and let it go at that.

The hospitality of his house to every one of our comrades was always made that much more pleasant by his life companion—Blanche—who showed every consideration of friendship—although she did not embrace our ideal. He also left two sons, who were equally as friendly.

The passing of Comrade Schwab is a great loss to both the Russian-speaking movement in the United States, as well as to the "MAN!" Group, in which he had participated until his death.

The "MAN!" Group of Los Angeles has within the last score of years also sustained the loss of equally devoted comrades: De Filippo, Friedman, both Planas's, Archie and Weiss.

MARCUS GRAHAM.

PLAYING POLITICS

DEAR EDITORS,

N.W. is in no position to refute S.E.P. and P.S. since he has no experience in a political party. I hate to see anybody suffer but N.W. should join the Labour Party (sign pledge to abide by majority decisions) and work within its constitution for a couple of years. It's the surest way of finding out that YE OLDE ANARCHISTE SAYINGES are not necessarily mere mystique.

N.W. says, with respect to direct action in hospitals and hairdressing salons, that "... no change—except the fundamental one of 'genuine loving-kindness and imagination'—will come except through bureaucratic or parliamentary action..." Exactly. Thus N.W. destroys the whole of his argument in a dozen words.

Slough, Jan. 31. ERNIE CROSSWELL.

F.P. SAVED BY PARLIAMENT?

To The Editors of FREEDOM.

I don't want to answer Jeremy Westall's letter at length, partly because I am sure everyone is as bored as I am by all this fuss about Parliament, and partly because, in view of J.W.'s opinion that Parliament is simply a delinquent asylum and an insult to him and his fellow men, there is really no basis for any rational discussion at all.

I do want, however, to point out that although he thinks readers of FREEDOM ought to know "just how far" I am from anarchism he does not in fact make any attempt either to define anarchism or to measure the distance I am from it. It would be interesting to know on what authority he makes such an assertion, since we have only spoken together for four hours one evening last month—mostly about an article of his that I want to publish in the *University Libertarian*.

By the way, Jeremy, I am well aware that some white Rhodesians would love to shoot the African leaders if they thought they could get away with it; and vice versa, no doubt. The point is—why don't they? Is it really just from fear of a mass uprising? That doesn't seem to have deterred the Hungarian authorities much, although there actually was an uprising in Hungary as recently as 1956. And does the British Government really want to silence the Freedom Press? Is there any evidence for this? Again—why don't they? Is it, perhaps, because of Parliament? Or from fear of a mass uprising? N.W.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT
MEETINGS are now held at CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS "The Marquis of Granby" Public House, London, W.C.2. (corner Charing Cross Road and Shaftesbury Avenue) at 7.30 p.m.
ALL WELCOME

FEB. 14.—Arlo Tatum on WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL AND ANARCHISM

FEB. 21.—Max Patrick on APPOINTMENTS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

FEB. 28.—A. Rajk on THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (Up to Kronstadt)

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Vol. 4, 1954, *Living on a Volcano*
Vol. 5, 1955, *The Immoral Moralists*
Vol. 6, 1956, *Oil and Troubled Waters*

Vol. 7, 1957, *Year One—Sputnik Era*

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