

Freedom

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Threepence

Only One Thing is 'Sacrosanct' for the Politicians

THE 'POUND STERLING'

STAND before you as a man content. I don't know what the future may hold for me but I thank God that I found the strength to make the decision I did". These are not the last words of some martyr to a cause as he mounts the scaffold or is led, handcuffed, to the ship which is taking him to a hell camp in Tierra del Fuego. They were, in fact, the closing sentences in a speech made last week-end by the former Chancellor of the Exchequer to his Monmouth constituents explaining the reasons for his resignation! Perhaps Mr. Thorneycroft is a martyr to a cause. If so the "cause" is that of Mammon and not of "God" or Man!

Whatever others have said, I have put the pound sterling and the stability of the pound first, not last. I could not change policy upon that matter. . . . Our business depends on demonstrating that we are masters in our own house, that we are in control of our own currency, that we can meet our liabilities, honour our debts, and sustain the value of our money. It is for this reason that I have taken the action that I did. It was hard, but I believe right and I stand before you as a man content.

For Mr. Thorneycroft the continuation of Welfare State "benefits" was arguable. "Is it all sacrosanct?" he asked. For his part, the new Chancellor declared in a speech in Devon that there was no main sector of national expenditure which would be "sacrosanct against cuts".

"When it comes to the social services we have got to cut our coat according to our cloth there too. . . ." Inflation is still the arch enemy. Two aims will remain paramount with me—maintaining the strength of the pound and internal price stability. . . .

And Lord Hailsham who hoped that the resignations would bring to the fore certain questions about the Welfare State—in which case they would be "blessings in disguise" declared, at Wembley:

These are all questions which must be seriously examined and publicly debated. Nothing of this kind is sacrosanct or immune from careful scrutiny. . . .

It is quite clear, we think, that the Welfare State is *not* sacrosanct! What *is*, however, is the *pound sterling*. For its health and welfare no sacrifice is too great, no measures too extravagant.

★

And why not, since every aspect of life is geared to the pound sterling (the Dollar, Mark or by whatever other name this totem goes in different countries)? Yet money is without a doubt the *biggest confidence trick* perpetrated in all history? Far from being the open-sesame to human prosperity and happiness of the fairy-books, it has invariably served the opposite ends: of holding back human progress, economically and socially, even of lowering standards of living, quite apart from dividing human beings and developing anti-social rather than social potentialities in them.

The pound sterling (deflated or inflated) has never been known to grow a blade of grass—let alone a succulent asparagus shoot!—or build a house or run a transport service; it neither discovered penicillin nor cleaned out a sewer; it has never hewn an ounce of coal or landed the smallest of herrings. Yet we

live in a world to-day which firmly believes that man's hands, brains and intelligence have no meaning, no use or power without the authority, the magic password of pound sterling, of finance. (Yes, dear reader, even before we tapped out the full stop after "finance" we heard your voice to our right exclaim, "But don't you tell us every week in FREEDOM that if we don't meet the deficit on the paper you won't be able to carry on publishing it? So, money is necessary, isn't it, comrade?" The answer is obviously yes, or we would not make appeals for it. But if we look just a little further than the tips of our noses and ask a more fundamental question: which could be abolished without affecting the publication of the paper, those who write for, print and distribute it or pound sterling? surely even the most diehard objector must recognise that however powerful pound sterling may be, and however plentiful, he has never succeeded in writing or printing a newspaper. Indeed, he only exists when the "right" men print him; printed by the "wrong" human hands he loses his halo and is denounced as "counterfeit". Such is the ephemeral, *basically* powerless, nature of pound sterling!). The extent to which the myth is accepted as the reality was illustrated in connection with the miners' latest demand for an extra ten shillings a week.

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THE *Manchester Guardian* in an editorial (16/1/58) on the miners' claim refers to the figures for coal production last year and the

press conference called by Mr. W. H. Sales, chairman of the N.E. division of the National Coal Board, to declare that the claim comes "at a time when output in the coalfields is almost static; there can be no argument that it is merited in any sense by increased productivity". The way these professional word-spinners put it (incidentally how much better off mankind would be if their word productivity were to suffer in return for an increased output of independent thinking) one almost loses sight of the fact that, "static" or not, miners in this country are producing over 200,000,000 tons of coal each year; that face workers for the 73 shillings a shift they were being paid produced between 75 and 80 hundredweights of coal, under conditions with which even a Manchester newspaperman could not make comparisons!

Now the *M.G.* makes two points in that opening sentence of its editorial which deserve further examination: (a) the assumption that productivity should invariably increase, (b) that claims for wage increases are not justified except as a result of increased productivity.

All things being equal (and they are not, for, as Mr. Sales points out on another page of the *M.G.*, apparently overlooked by the editorial writer: "Men's efforts were not the sole ingredient of output per man shift. There had been increased geological difficulties last year.")—we were saying, all things being equal we see no reason why human productivity should necessarily increase each year unless one looks on

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The Archbishop is not Amused

THE Archbishop of Canterbury dearly loves an issue over which he can express his moral indignation. The position of the Church is not always clear on dangerous subjects like war and poverty, but on matters of sexual morality, which should be the private business of the individuals involved, the Church is categorical in its condemnation of behaviour which does not line up with "Christian principles".

Thus on hearing the decision made by Lord Wheatley in the Edinburgh Court of Session that artificial insemination did not constitute adultery, the Archbishop belched over a good dinner and brought up a great deal of wind which has failed to blow anyone over, except of course the doddering fraternity of Bishops and Archbishops. A spokesman from the A.B.M.A. has stated indifferently that the views of Dr. Fisher were unlikely to have any effect on medical men.

The *Manchester Guardian* ponders on the point that at first sight the Archbishop's views are in contrast with his attitude on homosexuality, and concludes that perhaps the distinction is that A.I.D. always involves social deceit! With this charitable view we do not agree. We think Dr. Fisher is thoroughly confused on many issues but on these two he is quite clear in his own mind. There are two possibilities which arise from his state-

ments on the Wolfenden Report on homosexuality. One is that he may be already regretting his past rashness in view of the Government's decision not to accept the recommendations of the Wolfenden Committee and the other, which seems more likely, is that practising homosexuals constitute a mere handful and are no real threat to the monogamous family life so dear to Dr. Fisher. In addition there is no question of doubtful paternity, a matter which worries him a lot. It is our view that the involvement of members of the ruling class in the "public scandals" in recent years over homosexual indulgences helped too, and that this too was a factor in the decision made by the Archbishop of Canterbury to recommend adoption of the Wolfenden Committee.

Artificial insemination could affect a much larger percentage of the population. As seen by Dr. Fisher, if legally accepted, it could in time undermine the basis of Christian marriage—a lifelong monogamous union between a man and woman sanctified by the Church. If women are more or less free to have children by this method surely the whole theory of sin and adultery must eventually be questioned?

We do not think that he need be afraid of a mass stampede to the laboratories since we imagine most women prefer the old-fashioned

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"The word 'Rebellion' is only a barbarian name for the exercise of Freedom and 'crushing out rebellion' is crushing out liberty."

—JOSIAH WARREN.

United States

Learning from the 'Red Skins'

THERE is a tendency to think of the American racial problem as strictly between black and white, but the latest news from Maxton, North Carolina puts a different complexion on the matter, for the Redskins made it a trilateral disagreement.

In Robeson County, N.C., the population is made up of 30,000 Indians of the Lumbee tribe, 25,000 Negroes and 40,000 whites—of whom a proportion are members of the infamous Ku-Klux-Klan. A hundred or so of these representatives of white supremacy were holding a meeting in a field under the Klan's Grand Wizard, the Reverend James Cole (God, it seems, is on their side), when 500 Lumbee braves descended upon them brandishing squirrel guns and hunting knives. The K.K.K., noticing that it was outnumbered by its inferiors, retired in some confusion and watched their public address equipment being destroyed and their flag being torn up before the very eyes of the Wizard and the local sheriff.

After an overwhelming victory for the Indians, the sixteen armed state troopers called by the sheriff, arrived—just too late to stop what had already finished. One man was arrested however—for drunkenness. It is rumoured, though unconfirmed,

that the Grand Wizard has been spirited away.

Normally a state of good order is maintained in Robeson County over such issues as integration, by a system of separate schools for Indians, Negroes and Whites; difficulties over housing are avoided by an unwritten law which segregates the three races.

A fortnight ago in Lumberton, N.C., an Indian family moved into a house formerly occupied by whites—and, equally horrifying for the racists an Indian was taken in as a boarder by a white family a short distance away. Next evening white crosses were burning outside both houses. These were intended to suggest that "mongrelisation" (as it is known in the K.K.K. vocabulary), of this kind would not be tolerated by the decent, God-fearing white-supremacists of the Klan. To hammer the point home, the rally was conceived as a means to show that the Klan really meant business.

Needless to say, as was conclusively shown, it was the Indian braves who meant business, and proved it by reigning supreme on this occasion. Regretably this is probably one of the last true Red-skin sagas, and will of course, never be filmed. John Wayne would have enjoyed the part of sheriff—but in his pictures he always wins through.

South Africa

Racialism and the Political Struggle

Racial problems occupy a prominent place in news from South Africa. The leader of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff is to accuse the Nationalist Government in a pre-election session of Parliament, of carrying out policies which have led to a deterioration in race relations and consolidated non-Europeans into an anti-white bloc. Furthermore the Government will be held responsible for its failure to combat the present crime wave in South Africa which has steadily been going from bad to worse.

It is difficult to see how the Nationalists can argue that their policies have not encouraged the Africans to their present attitude, but this is not really the point since they command a sufficient vote in Parliament for a vote of no-confidence to be defeated.

Since an election is shortly to take place it naturally behoves the Nationalists to drag a red-herring across the arena, and this they are doing. The Government press is carrying reports of a plot, conceived by various African organisations, to stir up strikes and general disturbances during the election campaign. The object is said to be to bring the economy of the country to a standstill just before election day. It is hinted that the proceeds from recent bank robberies are to finance the organisation of demonstrations for this purpose.

Whilst legislation is to be discussed recommending the death sentence for armed robbery, it is to be implied that this is the only way to counteract the terrifying situation which, it will be argued is all part and parcel of the anti-white movement inspired by Communist influence and supported by liberal elements and the English press.

All this will help to cover up the problem with which the Nationalists

are faced as a result of Prime Minister Strydom's illness. He is suffering (it is to be hoped—severely) from a heart disease which, some believe, will force him to retire. In any case he will almost certainly remain Premier until after the election in order to smooth things over in general, and in particular to detract attention from Dr. Verwoerd's maniacal policies.

The United Party will do its best to stir up trouble for Strydom, especially on the issues already mentioned. It should not be thought however that they are not almost equally as in favour of segregation as the Nationalists. It is merely that they adopt somewhat subtler and gentler methods of achieving much the same object. Many Africans in fact prefer the Nationalists for this reason—they consider it preferable to have an enemy who is readily recognisable by everyone as such, to an enemy who disguises his equally unpleasant aims under a cloak of hypocrisy and a sprinkling of apparently good intentions.

Nevertheless there may be some surprises in the elections, indicated by the results of a recent series of municipal elections in Witwatersrand. Although riots and crime-waves have in the past proved to be to the advantage of the Nationalists, in these elections, held in the heart of an area much affected by disturbances and robberies, a number of wards reduced the Nationalist vote quite considerably, and some seats even changed to United Party—invariably the main issue was white-black relations.

One issue remains only too clear. The election, as such, will be of no help to the Africans. The only gains they are likely to make will not be made by constitutional means.

THIS book is described as "the story of Peter Whitehead, illegally certified and wrongfully detained for 12 years in mental institutions—". What follows does not surprise me but might well surprise any naive person, if there be any who read FREEDOM, who still believes that no one can be "wrongfully imprisoned" in this "free country".

Peter Whitehead was illegitimate. His mother, after struggling to keep him, a thing not easy to do before the war, was obliged to resign him to a Catholic institution, Nazareth House. Thirteen years later she died, but he never saw her again.

He was not the sort of child who easily fits in and submits. He was miserable in a loveless and strict institutional atmosphere. When he was seven he was taken to a child guidance clinic. He was sulky and uninterested. He did not realise the importance of this interview, but it wrecked his life. He was put down as a backward child, although it has now been conclusively shown that his intelligence is perfectly normal. Indeed, in view of his prolonged struggle for liberty, one would say his character was exceptionally strong, and one cannot associate such a character with a low intelligence. His photograph, which

forms the frontispiece of the book, is that of a man of obviously sensitive type. Sullenness and lack of interest and co-operation are often the defences of the sensitive and intelligent person in an intolerable situation.

Nevertheless this interview damned him. He was sent to a school specially for backward children. He was sent there from Nazareth House without the slightest warning. The authorities took him away one day as casually as if he was a domestic animal not a human being. In such ways one sends a cow to market. Such treatment produces in its victim a deep sense of insecurity. Suddenly the whole world to which he had been used, however unsatisfactory, is done away with, it is as if the bottom had dropped out of it. Throughout this story the authorities appear as heartless as slave-owners.

During his years at various schools and mental deficiency institutions Peter Whitehead was obsessed by a desire to find his mother. On one occasion he sent a letter to Somerset House, but the reply was intercepted. He became troublesome and "difficult" instead of listless as he had formerly been. He felt that he was in a trap from which there was no escape. But such violence as he indulged in was no worse than the rough and tumble most boys seem addicted to.

I have known boys in a middle class and ultra-respectable boarding school to fight with knives, heavy rubber boots (one boy was beaten unconscious before an enthusiastically howling mob), legs broken from chairs, shovels and lumps of coal. I too have used such things to defend myself. If this is a sign of mental defect then most boys should be certified, not to mention parachutists, commandos, secret agents and all combatant troops.

Peter Whitehead piled up for himself a bad record, but was too unhappy to care. Besides, all these things take on a sinister significance when they are done by a child labelled "backward". In the end he was certified as mentally defective and sent to Rampton, the so-called "Broadmoor of the North".

There was a muddle over the certification. Not only was it done in a most lighthearted manner, without any effort to go into the merits of the case, the certification was technically illegal, a

thing which saved Whitehead in the end. This was because the wrong forms were filled up. This did not however prevent him being taken to Rampton in handcuffs. What about the others whose certification was legal, however unjust?

"Rampton is the rag-bag of our mental deficiency system. It is the ultimate destination of the rebels, the awkward ones who don't and won't fit in elsewhere." Some of the inmates are highly intelligent, though it is supposed to be a place for mentally defective persons. An inmate is mentioned who has a degree. On the other hand some are psychopaths. But if, judging from this book, Whitehead is a psychopath so is the present writer.

There is a considerable difference between being a mental defective and being insane. "Insanity is an illness, mental deficiency a lack of development". One can be highly intelligent and insane, but hardly highly intelligent and suffering from "a lack of development". So says common sense, not so the Board of Control. "Although the 1927 Act contains an exact definition of mental deficiency, the Board of Control in 1954 issued a statement to the effect that low intelligence was not a necessary concomitant of mental deficiency." If this is so the expression is almost meaningless. Some of the confusion may have arisen with regard to those people who used to be called "moral imbeciles", although doctors fight shy of this expression now, those people who seem to have intelligence but no sense of right and wrong. The effort is made to include these under the heading "mental defective", but it is not really the same thing.

It is better to be "insane" than "mentally defective". If an insane person can remain at liberty for a fairly short time, I think it is fourteen days, he is automatically decertified. But a mental defective has to remain at liberty for three years I believe. It is also recognised that a person may suffer from temporary insanity, while a mental defective is never really expected to catch up.

Escape is not impossible, but without papers, and with no relatives able to give effective help, the man finds that society

is in fact one vast prison. Many patients go to Eire, their Eldorado, to the Irish they are as sane as anyone, but there is widespread unemployment there and it is difficult to get a job. Peter Whitehead escaped there twice, but the result was the same on both occasions. He was forced back by hunger.

The system at Rampton is extremely ingenious. There are three sections which might be considered as three concentric rings. The inner one is composed of buildings used for punishing those who escape or misbehave. The second ring is the part to which patients are first sent. Patients' visitors do not generally see it, they get no further than the beautifully furnished visitors' waiting room. The conditions are hard. Thirdly there are the "villas". Patients graduate to them after having been in the middle ring for a certain time. They are comfortable, closer to the outside world but the windows are cunningly strengthened in an unobtrusive way with iron bars. When the patient first enters from the middle circle he is pleased by the new comforts. But for a mild piece of rowdiness he can be sent back to the punishment block in a matter of minutes. So his feeling is one of permanent insecurity.

Although there are dances, the sexes are otherwise strictly segregated in order to prevent breeding. With regard to genuine defectives this problem could be avoided by sterilisation, but probably is the universal sex-hate of our society rather than fear of idiot children that at the bottom of this regulation. To close an embrace at a dance may result in a patient being sent straight back to the punishment block.

Some of Whitehead's escape stories are as dramatic as prisoner of war escapes, or the escape of Kropotkin from the Peter and Paul fortress. Eventually thanks to the efforts of an uncle, who turned up from the East, where he had been on naval service, and the National Council for Civil Liberties, he gained his freedom legally. But again one thinks "What of the others?"

Again and again in writing this review I am struck by my inability in this small compass to do justice to all the extraordinary and interesting things in this book. It is an exciting and at the same time a ghastly story. The books and

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SENTENCED WITHOUT CAUSE

BOOK REVIEWS

The Tragedy of Einstein

IN matters outside his own work Einstein was mediocre and afraid. In this respect he was not exceptional, but as most others. The tragedy of Einstein is perfectly understandable and need cause neither acrimony nor particular pity. It invites comment and will repay study as a classic example of a star among men who alternately attracted and repelled us, positively and negatively, he alternated in two orbits, to gratify and vex the pacifist and non-pacifist worlds in turn.

There seems no doubt that Albert Einstein was a great scientist and a good, kindly man. He was essentially simple. It was not the complexity but the sim-

plicity of his thought which made it a challenge to the laws Newton laid down in the field of physics. The tragedy is that in his concern for humanity, Einstein deserted his simple concept of scientific enquiry and became obsessed with results. The impact of his ideas and fears was ultimately catastrophic.

Einstein was no universal genius. He was born in a German Jewish family which had no luck in business. Left in Germany while his father sought elusive prosperity in Switzerland and Italy, the youthful Einstein promptly ran away from school, whose drill and discipline he detested. At the age of eighteen he failed some examinations at Zürich: but later he scraped through a degree course, and to that extent falsified the prophecy of his old professor of Latin that: "Einstein will never come to any good."

Einstein took a job in the Swiss Patent Office. In his spare time he brought to a study of physics that searching simplicity which resulted in his famous theories of relativity. The resulting prestige of this radical, free-thinking scientist made him an object of respect apparently so deserved that his pronouncement on any subject was accepted by many people as infallible, and they were consequently attracted to this eminent thinker's pacifism when, with some seventy other prominent people, he subscribed to the Anti-Conscription Manifesto of 1926.

Recollecting also Einstein's refusal to countenance the war of 1914, in bravely resisting the then German government's pressure on intellectuals to support its imperial ambition, it is little wonder that Continental pacifists responded eagerly to his heroic injunction (in a letter to the War Resisters' International Conference at Lyons, in 1931) that they should propagate war resistance fearlessly and induce the people to take the task of disarmament in their own hands—or that these worshippers, dazzled by the radiance of this star among men, unhesitatingly placed Einstein on a pedestal to which this modest man never aspired.

When, only two years later, Hitler came to power (and the older Einstein responded to the threat to his race as naturally and promptly as the younger, Einstein had reacted to a detested drill and discipline by running away from school, and escaped to Holland and Belgium, and later to America), Einstein wrote to Belgian conscientious objectors: "Under present circumstances I should not refuse military service if I were a Belgian, but serve with a clear conscience in the knowledge that I was helping to save Europe."

Anticipating criticism of this apparent volte-face, Einstein added: "This does not mean that I am dissociating myself from my previous point of view. I desire nothing more than to be back in the times when the refusal of military service was a practical weapon in the fight for human progress."

In his appropriately entitled pamphlet, *Einstein and His Relative Pacifism*, Hem Day (the celebrated editor of *Pensé Et Action*, and member of the War Resisters' International council), echoes the

plaints of bitterly angry pacifists bewildered by a seeming betrayal. Those who suffered most were the pitifully unthinking who had followed a lead blindly—the idolaters unaware that hero-worship is both unworthy and dangerous: that to rely upon others, in place of oneself, is neither right, fair nor effective.

We have no reason to believe that Albert Einstein ever deliberately deceived anyone. Except by the wider definition common on the Continent, he was never a pacifist. He disapproved of war, but despite a widespread impression otherwise, he never renounced war absolutely. A fair appraisal would be to credit Einstein with a consistency derived from an intellectual apprehension of the relativity of all things which involved a denial of any proper relevance in the religious observance of standards. He was the complete free-thinker.

When this idol displayed his feet of clay he had no doubts of himself. He did not groan "Oh my poor feet" and wince at the pinch of the military jackboot. He strode determinedly into the field of quantum theory which opened the way to nuclear fission and the atomic bomb. When the pilot of the aircraft which dropped the first atomic bomb, Robert Lewis, heard of the dreadful results, he could find no peace of mind anywhere, and he entered a monastery. Not so, Albert Einstein. He expressed profound regret, but never penitence.

At the instance of Fermi, Wigner and Szilard, three European refugee physicists, Einstein was persuaded that his reputation enabled him best to convince President Roosevelt, on 2nd August, 1939, that recent work on atomic physics in Germany indicated the probability that an atomic bomb could be constructed and suggested that in the interests of civilisation America had better get ahead. Einstein offered practical suggestions to that end.

They were accepted, for, this time, the idolaters included a president to follow a finger pointing straight to Hiroshima and Nagasaki—and beyond.

The irony of man's climb from brute-dom to being the master of total annihilation was never clearer than in kindly-natured Albert Einstein's outraging both his worlds with his cosmos-shattering tilting of evil against evil. Verily, the way to hell is paved with good intentions. One hears in all this the faint sigh of his old professor of Latin that: "Einstein will never come to any good."

The tragedy of Einstein was not his alone. The greater pity is that in any sphere there are leaders and followers, instead of people who gather together in common conference: that men look up instead of around and within: and that they fail to question all authority and every assumption (including their own) with the simple directness of Einstein before a fearful concern for humanity, in the face of Nazism, caused him to run away, as in boyhood, not only from something dreaded and detested, but, more tragically, from his better self, so to speak.

SAM WALSH.

On Women's Emancipation

GO SPIN YOU JADE—A Study
in the Emancipation of Women
by D. L. Hobman. Watts,
15s.

THE emancipation of women is still a matter for debate although it is generally assumed that the vote put woman on an equal footing with men. If we say that the power to vote is a doubtful form of emancipation it is not intended as a slight on the efforts of the militant suffragettes movement whose members, at the end of the nineteenth century, were determined to prove that women were as capable as men in the field of politics and in those professions which were barred to them because of their sex. Time has proved that their claims were not unfounded.

Within the limits of their demands, therefore, women have been successful, but the female franchise has not changed the basis of our society one iota, indeed, it can be argued that with women now firmly behind (or beside) their men the power structure of modern society is more firmly established.

Without wishing to enter too deeply into the controversial issue as to whether women are 'by nature' more conservative than men, it is a fact that revolutionary movements throw up far less women than men and women generally are more concerned with security than persistent demands for real freedom. This may be due to anxiety over their offspring, and of course there are exceptions to this general rule. If however, it is the basic maternal instincts which make women more cautious than men one would expect the pacifist movements to be full of them since war deprives them of their sons and threatens their security.

In the first world war the majority of suffragettes agreed to draw a halt to their activities and threw themselves into the war effort with gusto.

In her book D. L. Hobman writes that this fact did much to bring about a

change in public opinion in the matter of the vote. In response to a Government amnesty to any suffragettes in prison all the women's organisations agreed to suspend their political activities... and Mrs. Pankhurst devoted herself to speaking at recruiting meetings. The call to patriotism it seems proved stronger than the immediate aims of the movement. The 1914-18 war had the same effect on the socialist movement but for different reasons.

Mrs. Hobman's studies in the emancipation of women are primarily of individual women throughout the centuries who succeeded in getting out from under the weight of male domination. Up to the nineteenth century all of these women were either from the middle or upper classes with leisure and money. When they considered it at all some were opposed to the idea of social equality, as were some of the leaders in the suffragette movement. Others included in their struggle better conditions for working class women and other issues beyond the narrow aims of votes for women.

When we consider for example, that before the Married Women's Property Act in 1882 a man who had left his wife might come back and legally claim any money which she had earned it is obvious that women have more rights to-day than in the past. Women have political freedom, that is, they are free to participate in the political life in most countries.* They are capable of earning for themselves which gives them a greater degree of economic freedom. Wife beating is no longer considered by law to be a man's undoubted right (which may deprive some women of much pleasure). In some countries in the East women have thrown aside the veil and are refusing to share hubby with other wives.

It is questionable, however, whether the majority of women desire further emancipation, but neither do the majority of men. M.

*In that economically forward looking country—Switzerland—women do not have the vote.

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The Pound Sterling*

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Man beings as machines that can be continuously perfected by the addition of say extra arms, eyes behind the head, and duplicate biceps. Productivity can only be increased by an increase of mechanisation and the better use of manpower (Mr. Sales mentioned at the Press conference that the slight increase in output per man shift for employed meant that "there has been a better deployment of manpower"), and to our minds, this will be best deployed when workers control the industries they work in.

The second point made by the M.G. shows a curious but prevalent attitude among those whose uniform is the black coat and whose tools are a ball-point, typewriter or adding machine, towards those who have the misfortune of being the producers of the goods and social services basic to everyday life. It is that men with skills, vital to actual production, reach a point, economically speaking, beyond which there is no advancement, unless, and this is where the system is hopelessly crazy, unless they cease being producers and get jobs supervising producers! That is the rationale of a society which gives economic plums and status to the non-producers and penalises the producers? To say that a mine-manager is a better administrator than a face-worker, or that a stockbroker understands the markets better than an expert tool-maker, does not get us very far, since the face-worker is probably a much better miner than the manager and the tool-maker is certainly a better tool-maker than the stockbroker!

But whereas the M.G. *et alia* would justify the paradox perhaps on the grounds of supply and demand, or that brains are rarer than brawn, when it comes to the point they know on which side their bread is buttered. When workers stay at home its editorial columns bristle and the appeals and admonitions read like a pompous father's sermon. We have never, however, seen a M.G. editorial on absentee stockbrokers and business executives; on V.I.P.s wasting their afternoons at public functions or wintering in the Bahamas. We have never read that these people receive more money than is good for them. But for Yorkshire miners it's quite another matter.

There is evidence, indeed, that a point has been reached at which output is likely to decline if wages are raised. Since the end of 1951... the gap between the money to be made at the coal face and productivity has widened steadily. Men have been using extra money to buy leisure. Absenteeism from all causes in the Yorkshire coalfields last year averaged just over 20 per cent.—that is, the equivalent of one whole working day in every five.

Men can be blamed for jeopardising the work of a team by taking private days off without notice, but men cannot be blamed for choosing to use their earnings to buy leisure as such. Yet the coal country needs cannot be raised in what amounts to a four-day week. The truth is that the wages for four days' work at the coal face are higher than the industry can afford. Wages for other work in coalmines are possibly too low, but as long as positions on piece-rates at the face are jealously guarded, and sometimes regarded almost as hereditary properties, the situation cannot be corrected. A start has at least been made in reforming the industry's wages structure, but far more drastic reforms are needed before a healthy relationship between earnings and output is achieved.

(Reprinted from "Community Development Bulletin")

LAST autumn I joined a group of five volunteers working on the building of a new *siedlung* (Housing Estate) on the outskirts of Worms, Western Germany.

What was the reason for this community development scheme and of what value was this small contribution of voluntary labour?

These families were all victims of bombing during the war and had been temporarily housed in squalid wooden shacks hastily thrown together on a piece of land adjoining the railway line. Shortage of space, growing families, lack of decent sanitation, the concentration of industrial dirt in the atmosphere and even just the fact that the place was

While on the one hand the M.G. tells us that "men cannot be blamed for choosing to use their earnings to buy leisure as such" it makes it quite clear that it doesn't think miners should be in the financial position to do so and they would not be if there existed a "healthy relationship between earnings and output"!

BECAUSE miners and the overwhelming majority of workers live and die without much more than a day to day material stake in society the vicissitudes of pound sterling are of relatively slight interest to them. As the currency loses purchasing power so their wage demands increase, and so long as their wages increase in proportion why should they worry about inflation and spirals? Inflation is not a British complaint. Every country in the world is suffering from it to a greater or lesser degree.

When we are officially informed that world trade in 1956 was nearly double what it was in 1938*; when we are told by the American National Planning Association that America "could increase its defense spending by 25 per cent. in the next two years without raising taxes or unbalancing the budget" while at the same time we read that unemployment figures in that country are now between 3,500,000 and 4,000,000; and when Eisenhower is his farm Message to Congress recommends spending \$450 millions in subsidies to farmers who do not cultivate their land, then we feel there is nothing wrong with those who earn their livings by their labour power except that they do not see that what is wrong with it is money are the almighty dollar, the pound sterling and the rest.

Inflation, we are told, is too much money chasing too few goods. If so then why cut down production, or give farmers money in return for no goods? If the workers have too much money why the hire purchase system which permits them to acquire the goods for which they haven't the ready cash? We are sure some bright economist has the answer but not to the fact that the world "crisis" the inflation is not of production but of the financial, the profit, system.

Did you read in your papers last week that Woolworth's made a net profit of over £24,000,000 last year? What have they to show for it? In return for that money our much-abused face-workers would have produced nearly 7 million tons of coal. With that coal more real wealth can be produced in the form of manufactured goods. With Woolworth's £24,000,000 profits apart from burning it, to what real use can it be put?

*United Nations Year Book of International Trade Statistics for 1956.

temporary, all contributed to the people's ill health and the degeneration of the area into a slum. After a long war in which many fathers had been away from home for as much as ten years in the physically and mentally numbing conditions of army and prison camp, these people had become apathetic, hoping for the municipal housing scheme that never came.

They were, however, stirred up out of this state, like many other groups all over the country, through the efforts of imaginative leaders amongst their number who realised that if they pooled their labour there would be sufficient latent skill and energy in the group to enable them to construct new homes, given the necessary capital backing to buy materials. This was, in fact, forthcoming, in the form of very generous loans channelled to them from central and local government so that all the theoretical ingredients for a successful community development scheme were there.

Method of Work

IN practice, a head of each participating family (higher income and few children were not necessarily a bar to membership) committed himself to 3,000 long hours of site work in his free time. When enough support was gathered, a site was bought, plans drawn up and work begun.

Technical direction on the site was very ably carried out by a foreman possessed of a quick practical mind and great clowning abilities (essential for the smooth combination of so many markedly individual personalities) assisted by five permanent workers who ensured continuous progress and a high enough standard of work. People altered their jobs to make possible site work during daylight, for instance the tiler, who was an upholsterer by trade, took to road sweeping in the mornings so as to have the afternoons free.

Of necessity progress was slow due to the very high material standards expected in North Europe and the hand-craft building techniques that are nor-

Sentenced Without Cause

Continued from p. 2

films that are produced to "thrill" people seem trivial and sordid by comparison. I suppose most people, who have no relatives or friends in these places, have no idea what it is like to waste one's life shut up, however comfortably, forever. In some ways it is worse than a prison, because at least the prisoner knows his sentence will end sometime. Some of these unfortunates are released when they are too old to beget their kind. Some it would be cruelty to release. They have been there so long that they would hate to have to fend for themselves in the outer world. They spend their whole lives in Rampton. Very few are released at an early stage, about three a year. There have been cases of dangerous people being released and committing crimes. These are rare, but of course are remembered for a long time. I suspect that doctors would in any case rather risk keeping someone shut up who might be healthy than run the risk of releasing a genuine maniac. It is a hard saying, but most people fear freedom more than death or torture, and they fear to give it as much as to take it. Furthermore a doctor's career could be ruined by releasing the wrong person, if something serious happened. Authoritarian society is pitiless to those who err from too much leniency, but not to those who err in the other way. Perhaps a free society would be faced here with a grim choice, to risk leaving dangerous people at liberty so that not one normal man should be shut up.

A final thought. Whitehead found during his escapes that the whole of society was one vast prison. It was swarming with police. It was difficult, though not impossible, to get jobs. To escape from one's place of imprisonment is one thing, but how can one escape from authoritarian society? The whole world is one great prison camp. Our liberty is only on sufferance. The iron bars are across the windows, even if they are made to look like part of the framework. The only escape seems to be into the next world.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Achievements and Limitations of

A Communal House-Building Scheme

mally available. (Here these were highly developed in the form of a number of related factory-made concrete blocks.) This factor exposed the most serious single problem that beset this sort of work, the growth of a creeping insidious staleness and impatience at the rate of progress that could easily turn to disillusion and abandonment of the whole project. Fifteen hours hard, often uncomfortable labour on top of a normal factory job, for three of four years on end, is a discipline very difficult to accept.

Outside Stimulus

TO combat just this, teams of International Voluntary workers, mostly students, came in their holidays to give the spirit of the community life. The value of this work was not so much the output achieved, but the spirit in which it was done, the provision of an outside interest that helped to unite the community (and enable the women to take part in the scheme, through extending social hospitality) and the provision of light relief on the site through different conversation, jokes and so on.

When we left in December 30 houses and a public house had been completed, the first trees of an ambitious landscape scheme had been planted and it was evident that the *siedlers* had evolved a good working spirit of common interest and help. It was, therefore, possible to reflect on the long-term value of this project and consider what depth of community had been built.

Has this community, formed expressly to solve a common physical need, developed roots which will outlast the project and provide a foundation for the growth of a pattern of rich social life which is as essential to a family's health as a satisfactory physical home?

The answer is probably "No", not because of any fault on the part of the *siedlers*, but because the traditional pattern of semi-detached houses with large gardens, which they have reproduced, does not encourage the growth of spontaneous social contacts during daily life, out of which the more formal pattern of adult activities grows.

When building operations stop the children will lose their adventure playground, rich in simple aids to imaginative and creative play, and will lose their contact with male adult work. Where will they go? As in so many urban and suburban housing schemes no real pro-

vision is made for the basic play needs of children over five years old.

Where can the teenagers meet for their social experiments, especially in cold weather?

Where, indeed, can one hold a political meeting with any certainty of attracting an audience of more than two or three?

When in a year or two Worms expands round this *siedlung*, where can you go for a pleasurable walk? There is not even any conscious provision of a tree-lined walk to the shops, and once this physical separation from the rest of Worms disappears, what will there be left to act as a cohesive influence in the community?

For adults their gardens will absorb so much energy, and the physical distance between their homes and any communal social activities in town, except the local *siedlerheim* which already exerts a hypnotic effect due to its television and close proximity, will be so great that the basic need for human intercourse, the exchange of ideas and the use of cultural and even some physical faculties will be stifled by inertia. This will inevitably have a long-term stultifying effect and one can be sure that people who have insufficient opportunity for social life will seek to satisfy their needs in other ways.

In teenagers this may take the form of delinquency, exaggerated forms of dress and social behaviour and so forth; in adults it may produce an excessive thirst for material advance and the acquisition of socially valuable things such as jewellery, television, cars, clothes, at the expense of the development of qualities of human personality. Politically, it may be disastrous, since lack of interest and participation in local political matters may lead to tyranny at the national level.

All these features are part of what may now be recognised as the traditional twentieth-century European town development rather than the particular fault of this otherwise well-conceived community development scheme.

Is it not time that we who are interested in long-term community development thought out afresh the solution of people's physical needs in towns in such a way that the opportunity for a wider social life is created and the cultural health of our town based on civilisation revitalised?

ANDREW RUTTER.

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The South African Treason Trial

THE SOUTH AFRICAN TREASON TRIAL by Lionel Forman & E. S. ('Solly') Sachs. (Calder, 18s.).

The South African Treason Trial is, I think, the most revealing book yet to appear on the 'problem' of South Africa. Not that it is the most informative; the endless procession of surveys and attacks and defences written by indigenous critics and ingenious visitors, by hacks and propagandists, have, often, been fuller and more factual. Yet this book succeeds in capturing that especially South African flavour which is somehow absent from the others. Partly this is in the writing, partly in the events described, and often it is unconscious, for Sachs and Forman are part and parcel of the South African scene and involved in its contradictions.

What is this essentially South African flavour? It is (and I write as a South African) a mixture of intensity and frivolity, sincerity and innocence, cynicism and sophistication, absurdity and deadly earnestness, bitterness and tolerance, hatred and violence, tragedy and farce. Where else but in South Africa is the police apparatus so bunglingly inept as to secrete its spies in cupboards in order to overhear discussions between defence counsel and prisoner? (Not even a concealed microphone, just a burly lout with a notebook). Where else are 150 people arrested for treason and then forced to sit through a 12-month preparatory examination during which the Prosecution leads with evidence compounded of public speeches (inaccurately reported by illiterate constables), pamphlets by Mao-tse-tung, cafeteria notices and published documents, while the accused sleep, doodle, laugh and write books about the proceedings? (In 'real' police states they have speedier methods). Where else do Communists (who officially don't exist, of course) and avowed anti-Communists find themselves in the same dock facing a capital charge while 'outside' their equally differing friends sit together on defence committees and launch relief funds? And where else does a fascist government give up its attempts to ban a pro-Soviet paper because it cannot find a formula to cover the paper appearing under a different name?

I could go on. But I won't. You will find that this fascinating book abounds with examples of the contradictions and anomalies which combine to make South Africa a bewildering country. You will find, at the first level, that the South African situation is tragic. That violence and race-hatred and bitterness are the stuff of everyday life. That no opponent of the colour bar is really free and that no man of colour is a full citizen but, rather, a degraded object of distaste and fear, that civil liberties and sanity have been sacrificed at the altar of a heathen creed called Apartheid and in its name a tyranny is being built.

At the next level you will find that the tyranny is an absurd affair reminiscent of the Keystone Cops; the Nationalists and Communists (I have seen them) will meet and argue and drink together and then go off and plot each other's overthrow or suppression. At this point you begin to doubt the seriousness of it all.

But you would be wrong. At the

deepest level you realize that, despite the contradictions and absurdities, the issue before South Africa really is crucial and her situation desperate; that the ideologies clashing in the Treason Trial really do matter and concern you, that people are baton-charged, bullied and deprived of their rights and (even if some of them supported worse bullying in Hungary) this kind of thing has no place in civilized life; that the cause for which, however confusedly, the liberals, Stalinists, democrats and Non-White national movements stand is the cause of decency.

This comes through especially in Lionel Forman's semi-autobiographical account of the arrests and events in Court (and outside the Court, in the streets) and in some of the documents quoted by 'Solly' Sachs in his section (letters from Eric Louw, the Minister for External Affairs, Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., Canon Collins *et al* on the question of interference in South African affairs). Especially useful is Gerald Gardiner's summary of the definitions of "Communism" and "Communist" in the South African anti-Communist legislation, which reveals how vicious and confused the Union government is, and illustrates

how political categories and terms have taken on a peculiarly South African character, and why you find in the treason dock so many varied beliefs. (A further illustration: "liberal" in South Africa means to the Afrikaner Nationalist a betrayer of the white race who would grant the blacks equality and submerge white civilization; to the African nationalist it means a white who wishes to preserve white domination by posing as an ally of black liberation and confusing and misleading the masses; to the self-styled liberals it means a socialist or pro-capitalist democrat, or any believer in equality, or in progress towards equality, a member of the Liberal Party or a left-wing member of the United Party).

Before concluding this notice I must add that although some sixty treason suspects have been discharged, over ninety still face trial and their defence and the support of their dependants is still a pressing matter. I do urge all who have their cause at heart to buy this book (proceeds of which are going to the Defence Fund) or to donate to the Christian Action Treason Trial Defence Fund, 2 Amen Court, London, E.C.4.

O.C.

Bourgeois Proletarian Intellectuals—7 None of That Filth!

THE professed anti-intellectualism of the proletarian intellectual is something which he shares with a class he also professes to hate: the bourgeoisie.

One has only to think of the various derogatory terms coined to describe an intellectual—egg-head, long-haired, etc.—to see how much the bourgeois dislikes the man who thinks. The bourgeoisie hate and fear the intellectual because he is inclined to question the standards of society. Not always of course, but even when the intellectual broadly accepts the social pattern, he is an uncomfortable fellow to have around because he is inclined to notice the hypocrisy, the shallowness, of the good solid citizen.

The bourgeois fears ideas—any ideas except those of immediate cash value. The ideas of the 'Left' he naturally dislikes since they tend to attack the sacred cow of property, but even such writers as Graham Greene and T. S. Eliot are regarded with mixed feelings because, although a grudging admiration of their intellectual ability has to be yielded, the disgust with existing society implicit in their writings, albeit from a Christian, Catholic point of view, disturbs bourgeois complacency.

Divorced from Reality

In the cartoons of the bourgeois press, the Left-wing agitator is frequently depicted as a long-haired intellectual divorced from the real life of the good, honest worker—which is also how our dogmatic proletarian intellectual likes to have him depicted.

To-day, of course, the egg-head scientist is coming into favour. The public reaction against scientists a few years back, as a result of fear of the atom bomb, is being swamped under the greater fear of the Russians and the recognised need for technicians to compete with the Russians in the production of bigger and better bombs and faster means of delivering them. Instead of being a rather fearsome figure in his jungle of frightening apparatus, the scientist is being built up as the only possible saviour of our society. In America, even Stephenson is coming back into popularity!

But the scientist is, after all, a very practical kind of intellectual. He deals with matter, with physical things and not with uncomfortable ideas and ideologies. The political and artistic intellectual will remain an object of suspicion if only because they tend to be somewhat bohemian and immoral sexually.

Deep-rooted Morality

It is on this latter issue that we see bourgeois morality so deep-rooted among the proletarian intellectuals. Their contempt for the dilettantism of those who consider sexual freedom as important as economic freedom to the happiness of the individual is founded on the same bourgeois code of morality as the Archbishop of Canterbury's recent attack on artificial insemination. It may not have the same class basis, the same property interests behind it, but in fact it arrives at the same moralistic basis precisely because of the same pre-occupation with class and property relationships. The Archbishop is prepared to subjugate the hap-

piness of individuals to the preservation of his moral and property codes; so does our proletarian intellectual put personal happiness in second place, and mounts no struggle against the bondage of conventional morality, dismissing it as of no importance, along with education and art.

In general, of course, the working class show a great deal of interest in sex, both in discussion and in practice—before marriage at all events. But the stern revolutionaries who have the true interests of the workers at heart out-bourgeois the bourgeoisie in their rejection of this waste of energy, which could be so much better spent in the struggle on the factory floor.

The unhappy fact is that the bourgeois proletarian intellectual seeks to fight capitalism on the economic plane only. He thinks only in terms of the class-struggle and not in terms of the human struggle. He therefore sees very much less than half of the problem and ignores a tremendous amount of the implications of the Marxist theory on which his ideas are superficially based—for instance that if the economic system influences all the institutions of the social pattern, then a fight against the economic system involves a fight against all its influences in society.

On All Levels

Our bourgeois proletarian intellectual will admit the property relationship behind monogamous marriage, but will maintain that the only true revolutionary struggle is that against property and not that against property and monogamous marriage.

Here we see the difference between his attitude and that of the genuine libertarian revolutionary, who will not restrict his revolution to one aspect only, but will fight authority on all levels and in all fields of activity, being prepared to make use of every development in our knowledge to further his understanding of social problems.

A tremendous weakness of the working class movement in general has been its inability to assimilate the knowledge placed at its disposal by the social scientists or to make use of it. It is not that there has been no movement of thought at all, but that it has been in the wrong direction. The labour movement has adjusted its sights all right—it has lowered them. It has changed its way of thinking—from the radical to the reactionary. And it seems to me to be fruitless to put the blame for this upon leaders who betray the rank-and-file. Why are the rank-and-file so easily betrayable?

Your B.P.I. will here declare that the rank-and-file are so easily betrayable because they don't understand the economic contradictions in capitalism or the class basis of society. In doing so he will betray the fact that his thinking has

MALATESTA CLUB WINS DEBATING CONTEST

The Malatesta Club Debating Society has won the East London Debating Contest for the second year.

The Archbishop is not Amused

Continued from p. 1

method of procreation. We think too that his indignation is partly simulated because it is expected that a pillar of the Church will attack unorthodoxy. But we do not doubt that he also feels strongly about it since rationality on these matters cannot be expected from an Archbishop.

What we object to, among other things, is the statement that A.I.D. could not be treated as a private matter only and that it should be made a criminal offence. Failing that, the law should require every case to be registered. What is being attacked again as we see it is the freedom of choice in a matter which is intensely personal.

It is argued in this instance that the effects of A.I.D. is socially undesirable because it deceives the children and society at large, and the sexual act loses its personal character and becomes a mere transaction. The institution of marriage, we are told, was meant, among other things, to give children the security of knowing who their parents were and to give to society the same security.

The revolting hypocrisy of these justifications for attempting to impose a neurotic sexual censor and stabilising an authoritarian society are typical of the morally delinquent leader. In this case it happens to be a Church leader, an old man befuddled by impotence and distorted notions of human needs.

We do not expect him to know of the misery experienced by a bankrupt marriage when sexual intercourse becomes part of a "mere transaction" which the church condones condemning people to stupid unhappiness because monogamous marriage must be upheld. We do not expect him to understand the feelings of children who know their parents only too well and may wish that they did not have to enjoy the benefits of a family only held together by the "needs of society". We do not expect him to cry out in anger against a system which deprived millions of children in Europe and Asia of parents who did not live long enough to give their offspring a chance to love or hate them. We do not expect him to give anything to society which is remotely beneficial. All we ask, until senility finally delivers him to his heavenly father, is for him to keep quiet on matters which he is ill equipped to discuss.

Our own view is that the choice of having children and by which method must be decided by the people involved.

If the moral codes laid down by the Church did not discourage

people from behaviour other than within the accepted way we think that the problem of the woman who wants children, but for whatever reason cannot have them by her husband, could be solved by finding another father for her child without necessarily forming another permanent relationship. If the moralistic barriers were out of the way and the desire for children strong then it would only be a question of the people involved making adjustments according to their temperaments.

It is obviously desirable to have children by the man or woman who loves and wants to live with, and this does not exclude the possibility of having a satisfactory life with children by adoption, by artificial insemination or by a temporary partner.

We are not all males on the streets of FREEDOM but speak with our voice when it comes to choosing our methods of procreation. At the risk of speeding the Archbishop on that happy end awaiting all those who are without sin we state with blushing that we actually employ the method.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Every Sunday at 7.30 at THE MALATESTA CLUB, 32 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

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JAN. 26.—Arthur Ulöth on THE YEAR 2084.
FEB. 2.—S. E. Parker on WHY I AM AN ANARCHIST
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