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# Freedom

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## DO YOU SUPPORT A POLICY OF HEAD-HUNTING

In their crusade against what they call "Reds", "bandits" or "terrorists", the Malayan Government has taken steps which puts them, to our mind, at a lower level than the head-hunting Dyaks of North Borneo.

In the first place, anyone found guilty of supplying or receiving food for the guerrillas may be sentenced to death.

Secondly, in an attempted coup by leading members of the Malayan Communist Party, a new scale of rewards for civilians who bring them in—dead or alive—has been announced. Alive, the secretary-general of the Central Executive Committee of the party is worth \$80,000 (Malayan) (£9,150) to his captor. Dead, he is worth only \$60,000. Politbureau members, alive, are worth \$65,000.

Finally, a guerrilla who surrenders is encouraged to bring along a Communist Party member with him for which he will be given half the reward on his head.

It is pointed out that police and troops are not eligible for these rewards.

Are we really to believe that the Malaysians will be convinced of the superiority of the "democratic way" of life by such measures? And are we aware

of the fact that these orders are made in our name—and that by remaining silent we condone such action? (Remember at Nuremberg it was decreed by the democracies that the German people, by their silence must accept their share of responsibility for the concentration camps.)

Or have we, like the Communists and the "democrats" who see the communists lurking in every corner, accepted the idea that the ends justify the means?

That is a dangerous road for, as we are always pointing out, inevitably the means become the ends.

### "SPEAKING AS A CHRISTIAN SOLDIER"

THAT self-styled "Christian Soldier", Field-Marshal Montgomery, speaking as the new President of the Royal Society of St. George at the Society's annual banquet last Monday, compared Communism with the dragon and Britain, of course, in the rôle of St. George.

To be carefully noted is the following passage from his speech:

By standing firm against Hitler and refusing to give in, Britain and her Empire had saved civilisation, said Lord Montgomery. He continued: "And now it seems that we are faced with another dragon. This time it looks as if its objective is even wider—not only to dominate large parts of the world territorially, but actually to destroy European civilisation

altogether, and to establish the tyrannical and godless rule of communism over the whole of the Eastern hemisphere and as much as possible of the Western.

"Communism is anti-Christian, retrograde, and immoral. As a Christian soldier I declare myself an enemy of communism and everything it stands for."

It would appear that Hitler is now viewed by the Field-Marshal as an Imperialist pure and simple, and that Russia is a greater menace because in addition she aims at destroying European civilisation altogether, implying that Hitler did not. What a change in tune from 1939-1945 when we were crusading for spiritual values and all that kind of thing, what?

V.

## FOREIGN COMMENTARY ELECTION SEASON

LAST month and the current month provide us with a crop of elections, mainly in Europe, the results of which have very little real social importance, but which nevertheless capture the headlines of the world press.

Italy's municipal elections at the end of May, covering one part of the country to be followed this week by similar elections in the other half, may be useful pointers for the politicians, showing if anything, a trend towards the Right. We say this in spite of the increase in the Communist vote by about 7%. The usual trend is for disgruntled electors to show their disapproval not with the opposition (which after all has been expressing much of their frustration with government policy) but with the party in power. And therefore the losses suffered by the Christian Democrats cannot be looked upon as a serious move away from the de Gasperi policy. And, what is more, not all the votes lost by de Gasperi have gone to the Communists. They have actually been absorbed by the neo-Fascist M.S.I., whose policy is to the right even of de Gasperi. (In Milan, Italy's largest industrial city, the M.S.I. have increased their vote from 15,000 in 1948 to 50,454 in 1951.)

But to add to the already complicated business of assessing public opinion from election results, the issues in the Italian elections have been whittled down to one issue: "Communist" or "anti-Communist", which, of course, makes a farce out of municipal elections in which local issues should, we gather, be the deciding factors for the electorate. Thus, on the one hand, there is the Communist bloc, composed of the Communists, led by Togliatti (who helped to complicate matters when he declared: "I have never been anti-clerical") allied with the fellow travelling Nenni Socialists. On the other hand, the anti-Communist bloc, a most unholy alliance, led by the De Gasperi Christian Democrats, with splinter Socialist parties (Saragat, Romita) Republicans, Liberals, United Social Democrats and presumably, the 337,000 votes for the neo-Fascists. This alliance

has succeeded in ousting the Communists from a very large number of little towns and village communes (they have lost 439 of the 641 previously held by them) and in 27 provincial capitals have held 15 but have lost ten—in spite of the increased Communist vote.

The best commentary, to our minds, of the value of elections is provided by the results in Forlì which was Mussolini's birthplace and a former Fascist stronghold. After the liberation it went over to the Communists and at last month's elections was won for the Government coalition by three thousand votes!

As we write, elections are taking place for the Sicilian regional Parliament—now five years old. The burning topics in this election are described by a correspondent as the trial now going on in Viterbo of Giuliano's one-time bond, with its alleged revelations about connivance between the Italian Government and Giuliano; the attempt of the Monarchists and of the M.S.I. (neo-Fascists) to capture a lot of votes; the violent Communist campaign against the use of the Sicilian port of Augusta by Atlantic Pact Powers.

The results for 3,000 of the 3,800 voting districts showed that the neo-Fascist M.S.I. have more than trebled their 1948 vote, though included in their 232,000 votes there are many votes which last time went to the now defunct "Common Man" Party—also Fascist. The Communist bloc had secured 559,000 votes compared with the Christian Democrat-Fascist-Monarchist bloc's 967,000.

### IRISH ELECTIONS

One of the conclusions drawn from the results of the recently held Irish elections is that it is possible that the Government coalition may be rendered unstable by the balance of (voting) power being in the hands of a group of Independents and already there is talk of another general election in the autumn.

We are not sure whether we are to assume that the politicians have such contempt for the electorate that they hope to make them switch their votes in a matter of a few months, or whether one may expect the introduction of two blocs (Costello, de Valera) and (as in the British elections) witness the elimination of the "Independent" Members of Parliament.

However, whatever happens, one thing is certain (as was pointed out last week in *Freedom*): it's the Bishops who rule Ireland.

### MORE TO COME

And to look forward to are the elections in France with more or less the same actors, and the procedure slightly changed. Alone in opposing the whole farce are the French Anarchist Federation, who have used the back page of their weekly *Le Libérateur* this week as a poster giving brief histories of the various contending parties and putting forward a practical plan of action that can be taken by the workers on the economic and political fronts.

And in Burma next week the first general election of the Burmese Republic will be held in what the *Manchester Guardian's* Rangoon correspondent describes as a "fantastic setting" because according to the Burmese Government's own figures, at least three millions of the population are living under "rebel" jurisdiction. "It is unsafe to travel beyond a five-mile radius from the bigger towns and the Government still has virtually only control of the main townships and lines of communication."

The opposition parties are protesting against the holding of the elections on the ground that the Government-armed Home Guard and anti-rebel guerrillas will be used as instruments of intimidation. And the ruling party, the A.F.F.E.L. (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League—a suspiciously authoritarian-sounding title these days!) also objects on the ground that some of the opposition parties are in league with the insurgents who will terrorise certain villages where the Government's jurisdiction is not very secure! The result is that the Elections Supervision Commission has ruled out thirty-six "doubtful" constituencies, and going ahead with the other seventy-six.

And, lurking in the background, are the big powers—East and West.

LIBERTARIAN.

### INDUSTRIAL NOTES

The strike of dockers in Manchester which has dragged on for more than six weeks has now been provisionally ended, the men having returned to work but at the same time giving twentyone days notice that they will resume their strike if their grievances are not settled.

The strike began with suspension of two dockers after a dispute regarding the working of overtime. In Manchester, as in many other ports, it has been the practice to work overtime on a ship only when notice has been given from the beginning of the work on her that a quick turn-round is required. The men have

## The Manchester Dock Strike

always agreed to work overtime on the last day, if the ship has to catch a tide, to get away immediately.

The Manchester Ship Canal recently proposed that this custom, which has been in operation in the Salford Docks for years, should be thrown over, and the men be prepared to work overtime whenever needed. The dockers' T.U. Branch rejected this proposal unanimously, but, behind their backs, the Joint Negotiating Committee agreed to the Company's proposal. This was not very surprising, since the Joint Committee was found to consist of seven bosses' representatives as against four workers' representatives—namely, two T. & G.U. officials and two dockers. Cynics may say at once that this made nine bosses' representatives against the two dockers!

To begin with, then, the Strike Committee maintain that the Joint Negotiating Committee is so unbalanced as to be unacceptable and unconstitutional.

### The Suspensions

On Monday, April 23rd, an attempt was made to put the new arrangement into force. The foreman told two men working on the *Princess Maria Pia* that they had to work overtime on her that night, although overtime had not previously been worked on that ship. The men refused to work after 5 o'clock and were promptly suspended by the Port Manager for three days. On the Wednesday, following a mass meeting of the workers, a deputation went to the management, who refused to lift the suspension, so the dockers, at another mass meeting, put a ban on all overtime and night work as a protest. But when those who had operated the

ban on Wednesday night, reported as usual for day work on Thursday, they were refused their books. Declaring this to be a lock-out, all the dockers came out, bringing the entire dock to a standstill.

The Ship Canal Company tried to get their foremen and staff to make up gangs to handle the "black" ships, and when they refused, stood them off.

Two days after the dispute began, the Union Area Secretary cancelled the regular weekly meetings of the Union branch—obviously because a majority of its members are in support of the strike and not of the Union's support of the unfairly balanced Joint Negotiating Committee or its decision.

### Many Mediators

There have been, of course, many bright ideas put forward for ending the deadlock. A number of local clergy, headed by a Canon Delaney, have tried to secure the mediation of the Minister of Labour; the Minister himself, however, seems content to carry on where George ("Red Plot") Isaacs left off, and merely to talk about the "evilly disposed" men in industry who encourage strikes.

Mrs. Bessie Braddock, Liverpool M.P., has taken umbrage because, following a question at a Labour Party conference, she sent a letter to the Treasurer of the Port Workers' Committee putting forward her views on what should be done—and the ungrateful wretches have ignored it.

## Direction May Return

WHEN he was Minister of Labour, Aneurin Bevan said he would not introduce direction of labour in peacetime. Now he is out of the way, that can be forgotten, and his successor will undoubtedly be more careful in what he says on the matter.

For the Minister of Supply, Mr. G. R. Strauss, told a Press conference recently:

"We want to avoid controls on workers but if the demand for labour in a vital industry is such that it cannot

be otherwise met, direction of labour may have to return.

"There is no need for direction at present, and if the Government decides it is necessary it will only return by consent of Parliament."

Lancashire cotton mills, he said, might have to turn over some of their labour to the aircraft industry.

Direction will only return by consent of Parliament. Very democratic! But the most democratic processes can be used to bring in the most undemocratic measures—if the situation demands it.

### HAULAGE MEN WIN THEIR POINT

THE lorry drivers who called a strike to protest against the extension of State "snooper" patrols can chalk up a victory.

13,000 drivers at 241 depots all over the country compelled the Road Haulage Executive to withdraw their proposal to establish more road patrols with semi-police power (see *Freedom*, last week).

The unions originally stated that full consultation had taken place before the measures were agreed to, but a two-hours' meeting with the Minister of Labour drew the following official statement:

"The trade union asked that, before the proposed new arrangements were introduced, it should be given an opportunity of further discussion with the Executive and further consultation with the union members."

It is clear, in view of the workers' determined resistance that, whatever discussion there was before the strike, was with the executive, not the union members. They are, of course, only the people who pay the dues.

The matter is not yet finally settled. The new patrols have been held up pending talks, but the original five patrols continue, and at some depots the men were not willing to go back until they have been withdrawn, too.

Undoubtedly, the Executive will make another attempt to establish the snoopers. But the drivers have the answer to that.

### COSTS OF "PRODUCTION"

FIGURES recently published on press advertising, not including posters, advertising by mail, etc., show that during 1950 £35,704,403 was spent by trade, and £1,209,496 by the government. *Oxydol* spent £299,368, *Riso* £227,994. The battle between *Wisk* and *Dreft* cost £415,000 and that between *Toni* and *Pin-up* home perms cost nearly a quarter of a million. *Mars* spent £193,132, *Ovaltine* £173,419, *Horlicks* £165,393. *C.* and *A. Modes* in the hard-up clothing trade spent £203,723.

Art and the Evolution of Man

Revolution & Anti-Militarism

THE most truthful history of mankind is the history of its art, for it is by art alone that the living moment is crystallised and transmitted through time...

art is an expression of the means by which human consciousness was strengthened and will continue to develop. His argument is based on the assumption that the prehistoric mind evolved as the minds of children are observed to grow to-day.

(it is by no accident that such rituals frequently refer to hunting, as many of the paintings do), and within the general pattern, he may have an intimate awareness of variations, as between past and present, in his posture and feeling; also of difference between his interpretation of a stylised movement and that of other dancers.

WHEN the modern proletariat, the slaving beast of burden, the draught-and-toil-and-war animal, throw its rider, raise its head, no more suffer to be ruled and compelled—when will it really become man?

the creation of a new inner and external order.

That is the great question of the revolution. For revolution is not only negative—destructive: but positive—renewal. Revolution in society—even Marx has acknowledged this—is preceded by revolution in the minds of men.

For that very reason Socialism can only be without government. Wherever there is government no companionship is possible. New forms of oppression and exploitation will always arise.

I do not accuse. I am making a statement. I want to do much more than make a statement; I want to awaken in the proletariat a new self-respect, a new power to act.

The old discipline is external, the new discipline must be internal, self-discipline, a free formation of order for common purposes, wherein everyone works according to his aptitude and strength.

The power of the ruling class over the proletariat is not external, but internal. It is founded on "respect", "belief", "subordination", "humility".

The international proletariat must understand this. Nationally and internationally a broad and deep and ceaseless propaganda is wanted to open its eyes.

The people are infused with a spirit of blind servility. This may be ascribed to many causes: the Church, the factory, the barracks, the school, the office, the prison, the press, the cinema, the party.

The struggle for anti-militarism and liberty must be conducted as energetically as possible. Not only theoretical anti-militarism is wanted for the refusal of military service...

In our day there have been numerous explanations of the impulse to create art. According to one of these the artist is like a child, who unable to invest his energy more profitably, makes a play or pretence of doing something useful.

The ritual theory, which accounts for art as a representation in symbolic form of events or objects strongly desired but not easily attainable, applies some aspects of play theory to the facts of anthropology.

But once the objective image had been made then it served as an enlargement of experience—not only in the sense that the experience could be repeated again and again, until a distance was bred by familiarity, but also in the sense that two or more experiences could be combined simultaneously, and unconsciously—

In one passage Read goes so far as to equate ritual and art but here he is using the word art in a wider sense, as he does when he goes on to relate his ideas to Gestalt psychology. His argument is weakened by looseness and inconsistency in the definition of key terms; it is not well planned; occasionally his lucidity deserts him, as when he discusses Bergson.

This does not only imply "occupation of land and factories". It means occupying land and factories and controlling production. Socialism is primarily a problem of free co-operation and reasonable control of the productive process.

\*ART AND THE EVOLUTION OF MAN, by Herbert Read. (Freedom Press, 4/-)

LOUIS ADEANE.

Herbert Read's approach to the problem in his new essay\* could lead to a revision of some of these ideas. For him,

THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE

The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece, Where burning Sappho loved and sang, Where grew the arts of war and peace, Where Delos rose and Phoebus sprang, Eternal Summer gilds them yet, But all, except their sun is set.

THE magnificent achievements of the Greeks during their Golden Age, even though judged solely by the relics in stone, in clay and in writing which remain to cast a sunset glow through the murk of this industrial democracy, are so outstanding as to indicate a level of freedom, humanity and confidence in themselves on the part of the exequants which no other civilisation has attained.

man or woman, were not considered to be paramount over those of the larger group in which he lived; to the Greeks, living in a largely self-contained city-state of perhaps 100,000 souls, the interdependence of human beings was a lesson learnt in daily life, not one taught in school; if the crops failed, they went hungry; if there was a depression in shipbuilding the whole people felt it, not merely read of it in their daily paper; if the gods were kind, and the crops abundant, the entire community rejoiced in the wine and grain.

ruled, themselves. The member of a Greek city-state was both governor and governed. When he voted taxes, he had to pay them. When he voted wars, he had to fight them. When, as occurred during the Athenian Empire's war with Sparta, an unwilling ally revolted, it was the citizens of Attica (the city-state of which Athens was the town) meeting in open assembly, who decided to crush the revolt, who did crush it (the Spartans, having promised aid, reneged) who decided to kill there erstwhile ally's men and to sell their women and children into slavery, and who sent some of their number to carry out the task.

those momentous and complex affairs which to-day are left to the wisdom and judgment of our rulers (thus conveniently freeing the ordinary citizen from any feeling of responsibility for the decisions made) would be as unthinkable in a modern industrial democracy as it would have been in the Persian Empire of Cyrus. It was only possible by reason of the size of the city-state, which might contain 5,000 free men able to bear arms. (The word translated as city-state is polis: as there is no equivalent object in English history, our language lacks a word for the idea, which is, in effect, a combination of a community, a nation, a people, a super family. The English associations of the word, politics and police, both degrade and distort its true meaning.)

They would have despised as absurd the idea of individual men striving one against the other to seize for themselves the means of livelihood, which in their view were the heritage of all, and would have had no sympathy with the assertion that the good of the nation as a whole was in some way to be achieved by making each man his neighbour's enemy and competitor.

Such a state of affairs, in which the ordinary citizen was called on to decide

SOCIETY & THE STATE

IN Bertrand Russell's book on Power, which appeared late in 1938—the author calls it a "new social analysis"—power is defined as "the fundamental concept in social science, in the same sense in which energy is the fundamental concept in physics". This bold concept on the part of a distinguished logician, which reminds us of Nietzsche's doctrine that he attacked so vigorously, is a typical example of the confusion between the social principle and the political principle even in our time, one hundred years after the rise of scientific sociology. It has long been recognised that all social structures have a certain measure of power, authority and dominion, without which they could not exist; in none of the non-political structures, however, is this the essential element. But it is inherent in all social structures that men either find themselves already linked with one another in an association based on a common need or a common interest, or that they band themselves together for such a purpose, whether in an existing or a newly-formed society. The primary element must not be superseded by the secondary element—association by subordination, fellowship by domination or, schematically speaking, the horizontal structure by the vertical. The American scientist, Maciver, has rightly said that "to identify the social with the political is to be guilty of the grossest of all confusions, which completely bars any understanding of either society or the State."

The size of the polis, a fact which the author regards as basic in providing the conditions for the flowering of Greek genius, is one for which, he says, no explanation can be given, except that this was the way in which the Greeks liked to live. The geography of the area (a map of which would improve the book) which assisted local self-sufficiency by providing harbours, hills and plains within a few miles of each other, and the haphazard nature of the southward migration of the Dorians, which created numerous small local settlements in the centuries before the Classical period, seem to have been influential in deciding the nature and size of the polis.

BART DE LIET.

Professor Kitto, in his stimulating survey\* of the growth of Greece from mythical times through the Classical period, and her decay, up to the time of Alexander "the Great" of Macedonia, refers only in passing to the plastic arts, and treats literature as a source-book of facts and inferences about the life and thought of individual Greeks. This leads him to challenge some of the accepted views, for example, that the Greek citizen lived in idleness on the labour of slaves; the typical Athenian, he says, was a small-scale farmer, who might have one slave, whose productivity certainly would not allow his owner to live on the surplus value of his labour. He also disposes of the idea that Athenian women were little better than slaves with a vivid sequence of remarks and comments from the pages of Homer, Xenophon, Euripides, Theophrastus, Aristophanes, Aeschylus and Socrates; for example, in the Odyssey (VI, 183): "For there is nothing better or more potent than this: when a man and a woman, sharing the same ideas of life, keep house together. It is a thing which causes pain to their enemies and pleasure to their friends. But only they themselves know what it really means."

But the Greeks would equally have been hostile to the anti-heap school of thought, to which the individual is an infinitely unimportant unit in a State too large for him to feel any personal interest in, and too large to deal with the individual except within the mechanical framework of a set of unalterable laws administered from above.

Professor Kitto, whose own attitude to the conditions of life in the modern mass-state is thoroughly hostile, says: "Plataea, Sicyon, Aegina and the rest (of the city-states) were petty compared with modern states. The earth itself is petty compared with Jupiter—but then, the atmosphere of Jupiter is mainly ammonia, and that makes a difference. We do not like breathing ammonia—and the Greeks would not much have liked breathing the atmosphere of the vast modern state. They knew of one such, the Persian Empire—and thought it very suitable, for barbarians."

Barbarians, barbaroi, did not mean primitive savages; it covered every non-Hellenic people, amongst whom, as the Greeks well knew, were stable, prosperous civilisations, while they themselves were often at war, and had a standard of living which to-day would be called Spartan. The contempt implicit in the distinction was moral, not material. "The barbarians are slaves: we Hellenes are free men." They were ruled by others; the Greeks ruled, sometimes mis-

From a specifically libertarian viewpoint it may be said that the growth of the polis system was an accidental, unconscious process, and as such carried in itself the seeds of its subsequent decay. The Greeks employed money systems, acknowledged private property, owned slaves and worshipped various tribal and national deities, whose priests seem to have acquired considerable "political" influence. The Greek's praise of their own "freedom" compared with the condition of other lesser breeds, is reminiscent of the "whatever is, is good" attitude, not unknown to-day. In short, they created the most humanly satisfying social structure known to history by chance; it flourished for a few generations and then decayed. Why?

"Progress" killed the polis, says Professor Kitto. Attica, from being self-sufficient became a grain-importing polis, necessitating a permanent command of

—MARTIN BUBER in World Review, May, 1951.

(Continued on page 4)

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

- The House & the Fort Charles Humano 9/6 "Bears an unmistakable distinction."—LIONEL HALE in the Observer. The World Scene from the Libertarian Point of View 2/6 The 21 contributors to this American compilation include: P. Maximilien, H. Rucker, F. Planché, H. Koehlin, H. Frank, A. Meltzer, J. G. Prades, G. Woodcock, D. Wiesner, M. P. Acharya, G. Leval, A. Soauchy, T. Yamaga and B. Yelensky. Art & the Evolution of Man Herbert Read 4/- A new Freedom Press publication. "A wealth of argument carrying a great deal of aesthetic distinction is presented with as much clarity as concision."—Times Literary Supplement. Britain Discovers Herself Denis Val Baker 9/6 The essence of what the author calls the Regional Renaissance is "independence, a self-determination, personal responsibility, and action." Down and Out in Paris and London George Orwell 8/6 "We have the sense of having passed through an inferno."—Observer. Odd Man Out F. L. Green 1/6 The novel upon which a famous film was based.

Obtainable from 27 red lion st. london. W.C.1

\* The Greeks. Penguin Books, 1951 (1/6)

## HAS SOCIETY THE RIGHT...?

THE mine disaster at Easington Colliery has drawn attention once again to the dangers to which coal miners are exposed. And once again the dreadfulness of underground death, the risks undergone by the rescuers (two of whom died also at Easington), the gradual extinction of hope in those waiting at the pit head; all these stimulate public imagination in a specially vivid way.

In such circumstances it is right that some public expression should be given to the natural sympathy of all for the bereaved. We have no doubt at all that such messages are entirely sincere, for it is natural to man, even in our kind of society, to feel the sorrows of others once imagination is engaged.

It is right, too, that distress funds should be opened, and that various schemes for alleviating the effects of bereavement should be initiated. Even though one cannot be aware of the pitiful inadequacy of such aid, yet it must be extended and to the full power of the community.

But what strikes us as absolutely improper is the disregard for the wider issues. Mine disasters are not mere happenings of unforeseeable rarity. They are a constant feature in the statistics of industrial deaths. We do not propose to make use of statistics; for the fact of recurrent deaths in whatever number in any industry should be enough to pose the question: "What right has society to demand that some of its members submit to such hazards?" If coal-mining were a pleasant life-enhancing activity, men might well accept its dangers voluntarily, as workers in certain hazardous branches of scientific research do. But more disasters also serve to illuminate the dreadful nature of coal-mining as an occupation. Even if it were safe, the question of society's right to extract such toil would still arise.

No doubt coal is tremendously important to our social economy: but it is not irreplaceable. There has been almost no attempt to develop hydro-electric power as an alternative. No doubt immense interests are vested in coal, especially since it is an exportable commodity.

We do not find questions of expense, however, an adequate reason for knowingly risking other men's lives. In a rational society, free men and women would not be able to use the threat of economic want to drive their fellows in the coal areas down the shafts. Would they then dare to ask others to do this work—"for the sake of society"? We do not doubt that miners would be found to volunteer for such work if they felt that the welfare of society depended on them. But what should we think of those who asked them to do it, without straining every effort to develop other means?

What then are we to think of a society, horror stricken at every disaster in the mines, prodigal of expressions of sympathy—which yet continues to force men by the threat of poverty, and even by the threat of conscription into the coalmines. Such a society—our society—fills us with contempt.

An anarchist society would not permit the means for such coercion to exist. But it would also allow its members the relief of accepting a way of life which did not demand stultifying or hazardous work from others, either at home or in other countries

# BANISHMENT WITHOUT TRIAL

### Mr. Gordon Walker's "Restatement of Liberty"

MR. P. C. Gordon Walker, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, is the author of a long book on "the theory and practice of democratic socialism," which has just been published under the title *Restatement of Liberty*. His book contains these words: "The new State will also directly augment authority and social pressure by new powers of punishment and compulsion. So far from withering away, as in theory both the individualist and the total State should, the new State, if it is to bring into being and serve the better society, must create new offences and punish them. . . . For a higher morality implies a wider concept of sin, immorality and crime."

So it is not altogether surprising that Mr. Gordon Walker considers that Tshekedi Khama should be banished from his home, having committed no offence, and having appeared before no court of law, for the crime of being Seretse Khama's uncle.

Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland are "High Commission Territories" in South Africa, administered by the Commonwealth Relations Office in London. An annexure to the Constitution of the Union of South Africa contains a vague promise about their possible incorporation into the Union, and in 1949 Dr. Malan announced his intention of doing so. The two larger of these territories as a former High Commissioner then pointed out, "came of their own free will under the British Crown, and were promised in all things the protection of the Great White Queen." They may not constitutionally be handed over "without the consent of the Natives". Basutoland and Swaziland, which are surrounded by S. African territory, have a combined area of 18,400 square miles and a total population of 752,000. Bechuanaland is very much bigger but much more sparsely populated (275,000 square miles, 300,000 people). It is bounded on the south by the Union, and on the west by South-West Africa, which was a mandate of the League of Nations (German territory before the first world war) and has been incorporated without any "legal sanction" by the South

African Government with the results described by the Rev. Michael Scott (see *Freedom*, 10/12/49). On the other side of Bechuanaland are Northern and Southern Rhodesia, where the S. Rhodesian Government proposes to set up a new Dominion on the South African pattern (see *Freedom*, 31/3/51).

#### A Man of Energy and Courage

Tshekedi Khama is the youngest son of "The Great Khama" and for many years Regent of the Protectorate during the childhood of his nephew, Seretse. While we, as professed opponents of all authority hold no special brief for him, it would be dishonest not to recognise that he is a man of great energy and responsibility, who has done much for the 100,000 people of the Bamangwato tribe in many ways. He has experimented in rearing breeds of cattle suitable for the arid climate, has attempted to settle the tribal feuds and has never feared to oppose the British administration in the interests of his people. An account of his career is given in a "profile" in *The Observer* (3/6/51) which mentions his "erection of communal granaries to protect the tribe from crop failures, and from the traders who sold back to the Africans their own grain at high prices when these failures occurred". In 1930 he opposed the British South Africa Company's decision to exploit the country's mineral wealth through a mining concession granted by his father. Tshekedi knew, says the *Observer*, "what

Khama did not know, the effect of modern exploitation of African land and labour on the Rand, and decided to contest the issue. . . . We will develop our mineral wealth when the people of Bechuanaland are themselves sufficiently developed," he remarked."

"Perhaps the greatest contribution to progress that Tshekedi has already made is in the field of education. The British administration provides the Natives with only elementary education. Tshekedi decided that a secondary school must be established. It took him ten years to persuade the tribe to accept the extra taxation." During this period Tshekedi was bringing up his nephew and was "preparing himself for the new fields of activity that would open to him when he laid down his chieftainship. At this time he became friends with the Rev. Michael Scott, and among other things planned one day to start a new system of agricultural education, based on the lines of Gandhi's ashrams."

When Seretse became engaged to Miss Ruth Williams, Tshekedi opposed the marriage and a tribal meeting upheld him, but when Seretse explained to a further meeting his own attitude the decision was changed. Tshekedi, unwisely, asked the British to appoint a commission to inquire into the legality of the position, explaining at the same time that he was not questioning his nephew's rights. But the British who, as the *Observer* says, "by this time must have heard the angry protests at the mixed marriage which came both from the Union of South Africa and from Southern Rhodesia," held instead a commission into Seretse's fitness to be chief.

Tshekedi, who realised that, in order to conceal the racial aspect of the case, he was going to be made falsely to appear as Seretse's rival, voluntarily went into exile in a neighbouring territory. Then Mr. Gordon-Walker asked Seretse to make his famous visit to London, and, once he was out of the country, promptly announced that both uncle and nephew were to be banished from their land.

Now, after a year Tshekedi has come to London to ask to be allowed to return as a private person to look after his cattle herds, emphasising that he is both loyal and friendly to his nephew and has not now, nor had in the past, any claim to be chief. The Minister says that "many people" in Bechuanaland oppose his return and Tshekedi answers that his own supporters were told by the British officials not to attend the mass meeting at Serowe, that the opposition was based on a "carefully fostered" idea that he was his nephew's rival, and that there is written evidence that those present at the meeting were instructed in what they should say, by British officials.

It is impossible not to conclude that the Ministry of Commonwealth Relations is following a policy in these territories of appeasing Dr. Malan's government at all costs, in order not to lose South African military and naval support in a future war. An earlier article in the *Observer* (27/5/51) says:

"It is inconceivable that these two men, both of them able and honest (the elder one with an outstanding record of enlightened and progressive public service), should have been removed by administrative order from any other British territory. The fact is that there is to-day no British territory as arbitrarily mis-governed as Bechuanaland."

"This sordid story, and the awkward apologies that it obliges our Government to offer from time to time, are by-products of the policy that has been followed by the Ministry of Commonwealth Relations in Southern Africa. The banished individuals are innocent victims of Mr. Gordon-Walker's pursuit of a course that has been neither wise nor honourable."

There is no doubt either that Dr. Malan is preparing to seize the three protectorates and it is not encouraging to learn that the High Commissioner for the Protectorates is the same man as the High Commissioner of South Africa, or that the chief official for the Bamangwato tribe is a South African.

In rejecting Tshekedi's plea to be allowed to go home, it has been suggested that, as *Time and Tide* says, "the official intention is, in the absence of these stormy petrels, to teach democracy to the Bamangwato and others, with district officers as mentors," and "to turn chiefs from active (and sometimes despotic) rulers into figureheads."

The same paper says that: "The weak spots in Mr. Gordon-Walker's case are, in the first place, that his policy is imposed on the Bamangwato from above, not the outcome of a movement from within; in the second place that no one can be sure where it is leading. It also inflicts injustice on two men who are more than individuals in the eyes of many; they are symbols of national unity and pride. It is one thing to send your own chief into exile and quite another to have it done for you by a paternal but alien authority."

The argument about "introducing democracy" seems to us merely a hypocritical rationalisation of the policy of appeasing Dr. Malan's racial imperialism. Mr. Gordon-Walker, who is not a "left-wing" socialist, cannot really consider that the members of the new government in the Gold Coast are any more "democratic" than Tshekedi Khama, even though Tshekedi is a member of a hereditary privileged and land-owning family.

Tshekedi, who is more interested in the educational and agricultural welfare of his tribe than in the contortions of power politics, must be bewildered by the latest *restatement of Liberty*.

C.W.

## NO SLAVERY IN THE COMMONWEALTH

AT Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia, a farmer and his son were found guilty of keeping an African chained-up on the farm at night and keeping him under surveillance by day for about three weeks. In defence they said that they engaged the boy on a 12 months' contract and chained him after he had made attempts to run away after three months' service.

At Spring (Transvaal) Criminal Sessions, a farmer was committed for trial "on one count of contravening the jute control regulations by dressing Native labourers in jute bags, 54 counts of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, one count of man-stealing and 55 counts of assault."

"Native witnesses said it was an everyday occurrence for the labourers to be struck with whips and sticks on their way to the lands from the compound where they were locked up at night. The indunas who were in charge of the labourers hit them to make them run to work."

Nimrod Ntuli said that on the lands the indunas would walk up and down the rows of labourers, hitting them with whips as they passed and shouting "Shova" ("Be quick about it"). "Not a day went past that it was not whipped, and the sound of whips cracking would never stop. We worked very hard on that farm, but we were beaten."

## The Communist Purges

IN the European Communist States, purges are in full swing once again. In Czechoslovakia, for example the former Foreign Minister, Clementis, who was arrested on February 27th, is now reported to have made a suitable confession. Two former high-up members of the Slovak local government, Gustave Tusak and Laco Novomesky, have also confessed that they conspired with Clementis and Otto Sling and Maria Svermova. The offences are of an espionage nature" according to Rudolf Slansky, the Secretary-General of the Czech Communist Party. But they also include making "very dangerous plans to destroy the Communist Party and the people's democratic régime", and agreement to sabotage the application of the laws. Slansky himself is said to have been implicated by the confessions, and is reported to be "ill", his place being taken by Geminder, the deputy secretary.

Together with the preparation of a propaganda trial of Clementis and his associates, the party itself is being purged in "Slovak mercy", 175,000 members being reported dismissed in the last six months. There is an active drive to create a sense of insecurity and guilt. Thus it is said that the state has been "far too lenient towards wavering party members who joined for opportunistic reasons. It must now investigate failings within the State apparatus, finding out who was at fault, what kind of person he was and what was his past, and whether there was sabotage."

In agriculture there has been failure to carry through collectivization, failure to understand the Marx-Leninist position in the villages, admission of Kulaks to the collectives. Kulaks not only have to be expelled, other peasants have to be shown that the Kulak is their enemy. (Instead, that is, of the State with its forced requisitioning, taxation, and army conscription.) Since the term "Kulak" is a very elastic one, such threats and underhandings can only produce a state of anxiety in the individual peasant lest it be applied to him. It fans dissension between economic groups in the ranks of the peasantry, encouraging the worse off to attribute their troubles to those who are slightly better off. And it makes everyone afraid of everyone else.

#### Hungary

"Kulaks" are also giving trouble in Hungary. The reorganisation of rural economy caused by the collectivizations and the peasants' resistance to it requires "explanation". It is reported that "failure of the spring sowing is now officially admitted and scarcely a day passes without the announcement of death sentences carried out for agricultural sabotage and the hiding of firearms. Zoltan Vas, Hungary's chief economic planner, in a speech to Parliament, made an attack on the "Kulaks" and said that there had been "very extensive" illegal slaughter of Kulak-owned livestock. The

country's cattle population was on the decline. Thus the Hungarian peasants are reacting in just the same way as their Russian counterparts of twenty years ago, when the introduction of the first Five-Year Plan resulted in a covert slaughter which more than halved the Soviet Union's cattle, horses and pigs.

There is the same fear promoting attack on party members, and the Minister of People's Culture recently denounced a "great many people who think they are in possession of the philosopher's stone because they have a Party membership card in their pocket."

And, of course, there are arrests of high-ranking members of the government, some of them said to be close associates

of Rakosi. They include: Gyula Kallay, the Foreign Minister; Sandor Zold, Minister of the Interior; Ferenc Donath, secretary and political adviser to Rakosi; Geza Losonczi, former under-secretary in the Ministry of Adult Education; and Janos Kadar, Minister of the Interior until June 1950. Also arrested are the editor of a prominent newspaper, *Seabadsag*, and a deputy manager of the Budapest radio.

#### Rumania and Albania

A similar purge has taken place in Rumania involving four leading Cabinet Ministers who include George Vasilicki, a powerful member of the Rumanian Politburo, and Lieutenant-General Petru Borilla, the best-known Rumanian Communist General.

Albania appears to be in a state of siege and very little detailed information appears to trickle out. Such reports as there are, however, tell of a drastic purge of the party and administration.

#### China

Somewhat different is the case of China. But the difference is only one of time, for China is now going through a stage which the European Communist states went through some years ago shortly after the establishment of Communist power.

At first, the Communists diminish the opposition of other parties by offering coalition government, democratic front, or whatever they care to term it. Leading members of other parties are given office. Meanwhile public attention is turned to the liquidation of "reactionaries", that is, those who have opposed the establishment of the Communist régime. Mass trials have been organised, often in public, with public denunciation of the victims, and summary, immediate, public execution as their climax.

As discontent rises, however, it becomes the turn of the non-Communist collaborators in the government. This occurred several years ago in Europe with social democrats, peasant party leaders and the like, who were foolish enough and vain enough to trust Communist promises and blandishments, but who soon became scapegoats. Such a method allows of the total liquidation of political opponents, more thorough even than the dictatorial methods of Mussolini and Hitler, and to some extent preventing the development of movements in exile.

Before long, "self-questioning" will begin in China, and then it will be party heads that will fall.

In an article next week an attempt will be made to analyse the underlying pattern of these purges.

ANARCHIST.

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Addressing 4,000 Scottish Unionists in Glasgow on May 18th, Mr. Winston Churchill is reported in the Glasgow Daily Record, as follows:— "The highest hope for mankind lies

CONFORMITY OF THOUGHT

The article by your American correspondent D.T.W., illuminates in a remarkable way the mechanism of conformity of thought, and its consequent war-acceptance. In doing so, it raises interesting problems of individual conduct. American students fear that the free expression of opinion will cause Federal agents to place their names on a list and so hamper their chances of a job. And this is all the more cogent in a society where the universities often exist mainly as perals of entry into professional jobs. It is apparent therefore that it is their own careerism which blackmails them into conformity, so that "each individual attempts to secure his welfare within the status quo".

It is common for practical people to look askance at individuals who disregard their careers and do not allow concern for their own material success to stand in the way of expressing their convictions. Even D.T.W.—though I know he does not mean it that way—speaks of the individual seeking his welfare with the status quo.

The point I want to make is that such "practical materialism" doesn't in fact secure an individual's welfare. It does not, in actuality, make for happiness to conceal or modify one's views in order to secure a particular job. Jobs which demand subservience of opinion are not conducive to happiness. Nor does the cautious modification of opinion to suit the prevailing mood make for success in the important relationships of life—those of friendship and sexual love. In these matters honesty is not only the best, it is the only successful policy.

Our society exalts pecuniary honesty, but it denigrates the more fundamental honesty which is personal integrity. Consequently, the young do not always realise that in a pursuit of "self-interest", their "material welfare", their "position in society", and all the other catch phrases of so-called common sense, they are throwing away their interior welfare, their integrity, their happiness itself. London, June 4.

AIMS AND ORGANISATION

[An answer to Miss Ursula Ridley (see "Freedom", May 25)]

The form of organisation we create must be determined by what we wish to achieve. If you want political power over the lives of others, to impose your opinions on them, you had best join the political party you agree with most. But assuming you are sufficiently disillusioned already with that method, what else can you do? I assume you want a "Welfare Society" without the centralised war-economy of the "Welfare State". That means substituting mutual-aid for state-aid. What you can do, here and now, is to practise mutual-aid in your own family if any, among your friends if they are willing, perhaps amongst your neighbours, and last but not least, amongst any willing members of the Anarchist movement, the Community movement, or the P.P.U. You must create the type of organisation you want to support in the present set-up. If you don't want a system of mutual aid and damage you must create a system of help and now, of communal self-dependence as the only real alternative. It is no use railing against the State, or confining yourself to wracking the economic system on which depends your daily bread, and pronouncing a marvellous millennium after the "revolution". Criticism and construction must go together as parts of one whole. And you must be content to start in small and petty ways at the bottom, not spread disillusion by grandiose "scarcities of power" or "social General Strikes" that only give us a new class of power-holders. Show that there is an alternative, and that it can work, here and now, in our present daily life, and you will be laying a foundation for the future better than by any other means I know of. JAMES R. HOWES.

Stockport, May 29.

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in alliance between the British Commonwealth and the U.S.A. This association would form a mass so vast and powerful that none would dare molest it. With this central force we should have power to sustain and build a united Europe, with our true and valued friends in France, the Low Countries—aye, and the Germans, because you cannot carry on these hates for ever—lifted for ever above the worn-out quarrels which have laid it in ruins, and nearly laid us in ruins, too." Nine years ago, the issue of Lord Beaverbrook's Scottish Daily Express for January 1st, 1942, carried this front-page caption:— "WISHING ALL GERMANS A SAVAGE NEW YEAR."

Think! Ten million men died in World War I. 1939 to 1944 ran a good second. The annihilation and devastation awaiting us in World War III, if and when it opens up from that now in progress in Korea, anybody's calculation. Mr. Churchill is right when he says we cannot carry on these hates for ever. We anarchists said so when it was dangerous to say such a sensible thing. We say it again, and apply it to cover the people of the entire globe. Beaverbrook's journal was wrong, wickedly wrong, when it wished all Germans a Savage New Year. In the same month and year as the Daily Express broadcast the foregoing inhuman wish, C. H. Norman, in the Railway Review said this:—

"Men of violence have the advantage over men of peace by appealing to fear, that transformer of mankind into the universal idiot, who so easily becomes their tool."

It behoves all of us who are not complete idiots to ponder these words NOW—likening thought to action—saying definitely—"To hell with war"—and acting accordingly. TO-MORROW may be too late. H. T. DERRITT.

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(Continued from page 2)

the sea, through the Delian Confederacy (based on Delos) which rapidly became the Athenian Empire: the Athenians got a higher standard of living, more prosperity for the commercial and industrial classes, the bankers and merchants: but the price they paid was to become the centre of an empire: an imperial power whose growth (by acquiring "allies" for strategic defence reasons) through threats of war and blockade "so terrified the Spartans," writes Thucydides, "as to force them into war." A war in which both sides degenerated morally and materially, becoming an easy prey to Persia.

Greek civilisation perished because through the power-mechanisms notably the money-system, which remained in society, the sectional interests of the small groups which had power were imposed on the whole polis: government, from being a function of every citizen, became that of specialists. Martin Buber points out

SYNDICALISM — THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP — 4 Workers' Control

WHERE Syndicalism differs most from trade unionism is in its revolutionary aim, and the divergence in approach to social and industrial problems naturally stems from the fact that the goals at which the two schools of thought are aiming are in fact worlds apart.

For the trade union leader, things are going to-day just the way he wants them. The managerial organisation of society, the nationalisation of industry, the growing dominance of the State in all our lives; these are the natural fruits, implicit or declared, of trade unionism. It is doubtful, however, whether the rank-and-file trade unionist fully realised this when voting, at conference after conference, for nationalisation, for State control instead of private enterprise.

The Syndicalists, however, have always realised this, and that is why, although the unions have used the direct action methods of syndicalism before collaboration became so established, although they have expressed anti-war, international sentiments and have in some cases organised industrially, the real difference between them has never been clouded except in the minds of those who thought the unions would help to usher in industrial democracy. For where the unions have led to centralisation, nationalisation and State control, Syndicalism has always pointed to federalism, socialisation and workers' control.

There is the great difference. The one singing the praises of planning, of regimented efficiency, of dictation from above and obedience below; the other demanding freedom from the dictation of any class (even the proletariat!) proclaiming the responsibility of the worker, his ability to organise and his right to free access to the means of production and distribution on a basis of equality.

Against Anarchism, many people still make the mistake that "Anarchists don't believe in organisation", but against Syndicalism they cannot say that, since the syndicalists have always stressed the need for the workers to organise. So the critics, victims of someone else's domination, say instead, "But you must have leaders if you have an organisation." And so many people confuse organisation with leadership that it is often a very hard job to make them see that there is a big difference between organising and being organised.

In a society like ours, which is based on leadership, we are, all of us, constantly being organised from above. And because this has been so for so long, even those who profess the desire to change society think it must always be the same. But the Syndicalist rejects this. He sees the evils of present-day society as springing from the very fact that it is based on leadership—on the concentration of power over the many in the hands of the few.

Now, we expect the organs of the authoritarian State to reflect the nature of the State. We expect the armed forces and the prison service to be organised from above, with the control directed downwards from the top to the bottom. But in organisations which are aimed at changing the old order of things, it is logical to look for the reverse, and so Syndicalists base their form of organisation on the reverse of the leadership principle, which now has such a hold in the trade unions.

Social and political organisations always reflect the form of society they are striving for. That is why the Labour Party and the trade union movement have become monolithic and dictatorial, and why the syndicalist movement should always recognise the autonomy of its smallest unit, and that control must always flow from the bottom up, not from the top down. In fact, of course, there is no feeling of "top" or "bottom" in libertarian movements. As I discussed in the last article, there is no room in the syndicates for permanent officials, and thus there is no sense of "working your way up" in the organisation.

Syndicalists do not set out to organise the workers. We want to see the workers organise themselves, in such a way that the control of the organisation never passes out of their own hands. And from workers' control of their own fighting organisation, it is only a step to workers' control of the means of production. And that is the expression on the industrial field of the classless society.

For the Syndicates have the dual purpose of being the organisations for defence and attack in present-day society, and the organs of reconstruction after the social revolution. I shall be dealing later with the means by which Syndicalists advocate the waging of the class struggle to-day. Let it be sufficient for now to say that all those means are forms of direct action, action which keeps the initiative in the hands of the workers and through which they are the responsibility of making their own decisions, and realise their own strength and ability to run their industries.

Socialists and Parliamentarians who say they aim at a free society advocate taking over the State (whether by parliamentary or revolutionary means), transforming it from a bourgeois capitalist State into a "Workers' State" and then educating the workers to run society themselves while the State (in some way not yet clearly defined) proceeds to wither away.

Syndicalists and Anarchists retort that this is utter nonsense. In the first place "Workers' State" is a contradiction in terms, since the State is the concentration of the means of power of the ruling class and if there is a ruling class it must be distinct from the working class. Secondly, to take over the State implies an organisation aiming at the usage of State power, and since the whole population cannot manipulate the powers of the State, those powers will inevitably pass into the hands of a minority—whether elected or not makes little difference. And all history shows us that when a minority has power it will do nothing to help that power wither away. Since, too, the trend of the modern State is to take more and more of the functions of society under its control, it can hardly be seriously regarded as a vehicle for educating the workers to take responsibility.

Therefore it is clear that the conception of nationalisation as a step towards workers' control is as fallacious as the political idea of State Socialism being a step towards free communism. In fact, nationalisation is a political concept and simply results in giving to the State which holds political and social power, industrial power as well. And in the modern world it is industry which is the more important.

And here we come back to what I said in the first article about the importance of the workers. Without the productive workers society could not function for one day. They do, in fact, control industry, run society to-day, but they do not realise it, and so they allow themselves to be controlled by those who do. For there is no doubt at all that our rulers are fully aware of where the strength lies in society, and the growth of State capitalism has, for them, two functions. Firstly, it strengthens capitalism by both its monopolistic planning and control and by allaying it directly with the repressive forces of the State, and, secondly, it bamboozles the workers into thinking that, the bad old days of private enterprise having gone, democratic ownership means a better deal for them.

To show that at least one of our rulers is aware of the power of the workers, allow me to quote Sir Stafford Cripps from his pre-war Popular Front days:

"The capitalists are in your (the workers') hands. Refuse to make munitions, refuse to make armaments, and they are helpless. They would have to hand the control of the country over to you."

But Sir Stafford does not say such things to-day, nor do his accomplices in the Government. He was the architect of austerity, hiding from the workers the truth he had once found it useful to make known—that they could create abundance if they would only realise themselves.

It is now no longer a matter for intellectual discussion only. Private enterprise was a miserable failure as a means of providing well-being in society. So is the authoritarian alternative, State control. The libertarian alternative, workers' control, remains the only means by which the continued sacrifice of war and the frustration of peace can be eliminated.

Can the workers control industry? This, too, is no longer a matter of discussion. The workers have controlled their industries in revolutionary situations in Russia, Italy, Spain, Mexico, and other countries—even in Korea, at the beginning of the tragic war there, the workers occupied the factories in Seoul when the administration retreated. The control did not last, it is true, but it has never collapsed through any inherent fault or fallacy in the idea.

In Russia and Italy the workers allowed an authority to be re-established over them (in Russia, using revolutionary slogans to gain workers' support), in Spain it took Franco and the forces of Hitler and Mussolini, together with the apathy of the rest of the world, to destroy the revolutionary economy the C.N.T.—F.A.I., the Anarchist and Syndicalist organisation, had created.

The strength of the idea of Workers' Control is that it is something to which workers naturally turn when authority over them is weak. It is not a theory, but the natural desire for responsibility, to express the dignity of labour, that makes the idea the—unconscious—aim of the working class.

The task of the Syndicalist is to foster that natural desire and turn the unconscious urge into a conscious movement.

PHILIP SANBORN.

NEXT WEEK: The Wage System.

that "Plato, in his Politia, tracing the origin of the polis from the primal social fact of division of labour, almost imperceptibly goes on to include among the essential occupations that of the rulers, so that we suddenly find the population split up into two pre-eminently political sections: those who give orders and those who obey them: rulers and ruled; those who possess the instruments of coercion and those who are subject to them."

We, in England to-day, are subject to those who possess the instruments of coercion: we are born and bred in an atmosphere of slavery; wage-slavery; and ambition is to become property-owners—wage slave owners.

But those of us who wish to be free men and lead responsible lives instead of existing in the slothful irresponsibility of slavery, will do well to consider the rise and fall of Greece: for, despite the misery and chaos of the world about us, despite the degradation and inhumanity of life in this industrial democracy, despite even the prospect of an atomic war in which we may all perish in an instant, we, to-day, as individual men and women, are the heirs of all the ages. And our heritage is this, not that we love freedom, for the passionate desire for freedom is a flame that is kindled in the human breast we know not how, but that, looking at past epochs over the dark and backward abyss of time, we can see how, through apathy and ignorance, through acquiescence in the claims to authority of an élite, through faith in their leaders and lack of faith in themselves, men have in the past been betrayed into slavery.

We may know what we fight for, and love what we know: but our manual strategy in the war against oppression must be the book of History.

R.H.

WICKED AGITATORS

Aims of Industry Ltd., has produced a beautifully coloured strip cartoon explaining why the wicked agitators who make about profits are wrong.

It is so simple: The people who draw dividends are honest working men and women just like you—bus conductors, humble parsons and, of course, the inevitable widows.

A pretty story, but the Banker, a more reputable City journal, demolishes it in one blow. Two-thirds of industrial shares, it records, are held by people with over £20,000 in capital.

Reynolds News, 27/3/51

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS at HYDE PARK Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m.

INDOOR MEETINGS Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at the PORCUPINE (corner Charing Cross Road at St. Newport Street, next Leicester Sq. Underground Stn.)

JUNE 10—BRAINS TRUST JUNE 17—FILM SHOW

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM Every alternate Tuesday at 7.30

Enquiries c/o Freedom Press JUNE 12

ANARCHIST BRAINS TRUST JUNE 26—Harold Gilbert on

SYNDICALISM

SOUTH LONDON

Fortnightly meetings, sponsored by the S. London Anarchist Group, are held on alternate Tuesdays, at 7.30 p.m. at the

KENTISH DROVERS Public House, Peckham (corner of High Street and Rye Lane)

GLASGOW

OUTDOOR MEETINGS at MAXWELL STREET Every Sunday at 7 p.m. With John Gaffney, Frank Leach, Jimmy Kassidy, Eddie Shaw

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