

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

It is error alone which needs the support of Government.
Truth can stand by itself.
THOMAS JEFFERSON
(in Notes on Virginia)

REFLECTIONS ON FULL-EMPLOYMENT

At the beginning of this year the government was telling us that the complaint from which the country was suffering was inflation: too much money was chasing too few goods. So measures were taken to curb spending; hire-purchase debts were raised and cuts made in public investment and the social services. In the months that followed the diagnosis, unemployment has increased, (but is still below that forecast as the "minimum" for "full employment" by Lord Beveridge!) Production has fallen sharply, we are now told that we are suffering from a slight slump: that we have too many goods and there is not enough money about to buy them, so now the government has taken measures to encourage spending. All the shackles on Hire Purchase have been removed and public investment is to be increased by £25 millions next year, equivalent to about 150,000 jobs in the two year period, as well as a "major reinforcement" of the economy.

Nationalisation far from representing a revolutionary approach to the methods of production, a first step in the direction of workers' control of industry and the abolition of the capitalist rationale for production, is simply the implementation of Labour's theory that capitalism can be made to work smoothly if the government replaces "private enterprise" by State control in all the major industries and services. And even this theory seems to have fewer enthusiasts in the Party than at one time, but whether this is due to sincere misgivings or simply betrays the opportunism of those leaders of the Party more concerned with winning elections and enjoying the fruits of personal power, it is difficult to say.

approach to life the rough justice of which can be understood at a time in Man's history when mere survival depended on every member of the community doing his share of work. Life was the struggle for physical survival; work the symbol of life. Such is still the situation in great, and densely populated areas of the world, but not in the established industrial nations. Yet with modifications, emulating Orwellian cynicism, the concept that only those who work are entitled to eat has been carried into present society. Production has become an end in itself, unrelated to needs. Workers operate machines which produce goods simply to keep men in employment and the machines turning. Man's ingenuity is taxed to find new uses to which the machines can be put irrespective of whether what they produce is useful, harmful or useless. There are workers who spend a lifetime in the armaments industry producing weapons for their own destruction or which by the time they come off the production line are obsolete and automatically transferred to the scrap heap.

Though the Labour Opposition made great play of this reversal of the Government's economic policy, and with general elections in the air they exploited every tactical advantage offered by the situation, we do not think the government had cause to be embarrassed. After all in January, when Mr. Amory took over from Mr. Thorneycroft, he declared that two aims would remain "paramount" with him: "maintaining the strength of the pound and internal price stability". Everything else had to be sacrificed to the almighty pound sterling, including if necessary a few hundred thousand jobs. Now that pound sterling is strong again it is necessary to try and correct some of the troubles that have arisen in the process, and this Mr. Amory is trying to do by putting the financial machine in reverse! As Mr. Bevan concedes in last week's *Tribune*:

★
THE concern working people of all countries show for the question of full-employment is understandable . . . but spineless! Yes, spineless, because in the industrialised countries of Europe and America industry has reached a stage in its development where we should no longer be struggling to establish our right to a job but demanding access to the necessities of life as of a right: not the pittance of unemployment benefit or soup kitchens and relief when we are out of a job.

The workers themselves are the last to question the social value of their work. What counts for them is that they have a job which provides them with the money to buy food, shelter and a few frills to hide the emptiness of their lives. Coal

Popes, Cardinals & Priests

ONE reason for the Catholic Church's continued existence is undoubtedly its high entertainment value. Even on quite ordinary occasions the magnificence of its ceremonial makes the performances of its Protestant competitors appear feeble and uninspired by comparison. It was not surprising, therefore, that the recent death of Pope Pius XII and the election of his successor should have aroused such widespread interest among those whose business it is to supply the public with the spectacular. After all, Popes are not elected every day; and with a young and healthy queen on the throne the prospect of a coronation at home is unlikely for many years to come. So for the newspapers and the newsreel and television corporations the Vatican circus must have seemed like an oasis in the desert of the everyday and hum-drum.

the one about the black and white smoke makes an excellent story but leads to unsatisfactory results when attempts are made to put it into practice. The indefatigable Prof. Galeazzi-Lisi also provided the element of scandal. Before the body was cold he had sold his account of the papal death throes to the press. Cynical Romans, long familiar with the venality of Vatican officials, were moved to remark: "They've even sold the Pope". But on the whole it was the spectacular that prevailed. The suspense while the world waited for the result of the election was admirably maintained and not continued so long that interest could flag. The pictures of the occasion were suitably impressive, and the Swiss Guards in their Michael Angelo rompers added a nice touch of the picturesque.

They were not disappointed. It is true that at times the grand occasion took on the appearance of a comic opera. There was, for instance, the disastrous outcome of Prof. Galeazzi-Lisi's labour-saving method of embalming the Pontifical corpse, which began to rot even while it was lying in state in St. Peter's. As many of the faithful believe, quite wrongly, that the bodies of the saints have been preserved intact throughout the centuries there is likely to be some heart-burning when the question of canonization arises. And it is bound to arise, for the late Pope, with an eye to the future, had been careful to let it be known that he enjoyed occasional visits from the Virgin Mary.

The only thing that has been lacking is an explanation of what it all meant. There has been, it is true, a welter of speculation, most of it beside the point, both during the Conclave and after the election of John XXIII. The most that could be learned from it all was that the new Pope would not be like the last. John, we were told, would not, for instance, continue Pius XII's custom of addressing conferences of such diverse groups as midwives, engineers, and psychiatrists and advise them in detail on various aspects of their work. Ironically enough, the journalists who told us this were to attend the new Pope's first special audience, at which he lectured them on the profession of journalism and complained that in their accounts of the Conclave he had been unable to find more than two lines of truth!

Further light relief was provided by the stove used to make the smoke signals that announce the result of the election. At first it could not be found, and when eventually it was it failed to function as expected. Like most romantic legends,

We can be certain of one thing. During Pius XII's long pontificate the church became more political than it has ever been. In many countries Catholic

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GUN LAW IN CYPRUS

IT IS regarded as a feature of a 'civilized' society that the ability to use violence is vested exclusively in the forces of the State.

Whether EOKA's tactics will ever achieve the end they desire remains to be seen, but what they have demonstrated so far is their ability to penetrate the enemy's strongholds. Two incidents have shown this: the planting of a bomb in luggage being loaded on to a Comet transport plane, which went off too soon only because the plane was late in being loaded, and another bomb hidden in a settee in a NAAFI canteen, which killed two airmen and injured seven others.

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One of the arguments for World Government is to extend this principle, which is enforced within every nation-state, into the 'anarchic' field of international relations, so that order may reign between countries as it does now within countries. That would be regarded as a great step forward in human relationships, since such idealists hold 'order' to be more important than the liberty and integrity of individuals, and are not concerned with the social, economic or political pattern of a society as long as there is an absence of open conflict, and as long as government maintains law and order.

In Cyprus large numbers of the population have, in spite of their apparent respect for Archbishop Makarios, rejected the rule of God as far as 'Thou shalt not kill' is concerned. And no wonder, for they have found their island occupied and turned into a base for the specific purpose of playing a part in the organised killing called war. From airfields on the island paratroopers armed to the teeth have already flown forth to the Suez fracas and to crush rebellion in Jordan. The British masters of Cyprus have no regard for 'Thou shalt not kill', but like to pretend a Christian abhorrence for killing when carried out by somebody else.

The reaction of the military to these incidents has been to dismiss all Greek Cypriot employees from RAF establishments—three thousand of them—and from NAAFI canteens—another eleven hundred. These are all to be replaced, at some cost and inconvenience, by British personnel yet to be taken to the island.

By this standard Spain and Hungary are peaceful societies and Cyprus will be as soon as the terrorists are crushed and law and order are re-established there. The re-establishment of law and order, however, is proving a more difficult task than at first thought, and in pursuing it one of the cardinal principles of our civilization is going by the board—temporarily at least.

Now, however the pretence that law and order can be maintained on the island by the forces of the Crown has been given up. Following the attempts by the Government to put into operation its 'partnership' plan—which, naturally, is no partnership at all—EOKA, which twice in the past has called a halt to its violence when an acceptable solution seemed remotely possible, has now stepped up its activities and is claiming at least one victim a day, either civilian or soldier or policeman.

And the reaction of the Governor to the daily toll of civilian lives has been to arm all British men who ask for revolvers. It is interesting to see that the British male civilian residents of Nicosia consist of about 320 bankers, lawyers, business men and civil servants. No workmen, you notice. No farmers or builders or clothing workers. The local population do the useful, productive work; the British are there as the master class.

Arming Civilians
Civilians are being armed by the Government in Cyprus. British civilians, that is, of course. And this is taken as a great morale-booster and an indication of the authorities' determination to step up the fight against EOKA. What it is in fact however, is an admission of the inability of the Crown forces—police and military—to protect civilians. But this is always the case. Citizens are never 'protected' by police, any more than property is. The function of the police is to appre-

hend an offender after the offence has been committed, and by the punishment doled out to him to deter others from committing similar crimes. It is retribution, not prevention, and the functions of judgment and retribution—or revenge, to give the truer word—which are god-like functions, are vested in the secular authorities which have to keep us in order because we do not accept the rule of God, which theoretically, should keep us good, i.e., servile, rendering unto Caesar, etc . . .

These civilians are necessary for the British grip upon the island. And because these men like to have their families with them, their wives and children are exposed to the violence of EOKA also. This is a terrible thing—but what do they expect? British civilians don't have to stay there by law, as the soldiers do. The civilians hang on because

there are good pickings, salaries with expense allowances, cheap labour, sunshine, a standard of living not to be found so easily in Britain. In clinging to this they have to identify themselves with an occupying military power forcing its domination upon a resentful people.

Their Choice
If they choose to gamble with their lives and their children's futures in exchange for their prestige and bank accounts, they are doing no more than the fighters of EOKA and for a much shabbier reason. Mistaken or correct, the Cypriot resistance forces see their struggle as one for their freedom, their independence, their integrity, their dignity, their very lives.

The position of the British civilians in Cyprus is analogous with the hangers-on and collaborators of the Russians in Hungary or the Nazis in occupied Europe during the war. They are there to exploit a situation created by foreign domination, by imperialism, by the bayonet.

All Greek Cypriot employees of the British establishment have now been sacked—so that the supposed benefit of all military occupation, that it brings employment and prosperity, no longer holds. Four thousand Cypriots now have grievances and nothing to do. A good field for recruitment for EOKA, one would think.

The final division is now made. There can no longer be any contact, any friendship, between British and Cypriots. The British civilian stands armed beside the British soldier, surrounded by a population left with no room for any emotion but hatred and no activity but violence.

Gun law is triumphant in Cyprus. What a victory for the British way of life!

We are not in the old phase of boom and bust. There is never a real boom and never a real bust. There is only a persistent sabotage of productive potentialities.
He goes on to explain that the main reason for "the fact that the swing of the economic pendulum is not as violent as it once was" is to be found in the fact that quasi-Socialist principles have been inserted into the economy". The measures for increasing public investment are proof "of how past Socialist success is now relied upon to rescue capitalism from committing suicide".
Mr. Bevan and his friends may well be proud of having in part converted the Tory government to their way of thinking. But we wonder how many socialists who support the Labour Party will like to hear, by implication in what Mr. Bevan says, that Labour's economic policies are designed to save capitalism from committing suicide? Yet this is as much as the Labour Party would attempt to do if returned to power. The Labour approach to the economic problems besetting the world differs from that of the Tories only as to the measures to be taken to secure Mr. Amory's paramount aims of "a strong pound and stable prices". There is no question of either side permitting capitalism to commit suicide or of hastening such a process. Labour has no objection to a capitalist economy so long as Labour government can control it.

THE UGLY SHADOW

THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY, by Henry Pelling. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 18s.).

AMONG the Ashantis (so a friend tells me) there is a saying: Each man has two shadows. One, large and impressive, is thrown by his virtues, the other, small and ugly, stems from his imperfections. Man must try to get the right place in the sun, that his big shadow may cover the little one. Then he is able to pretend, there is no little shadow at all.

This seems to me the position of the Communist Party-member in our time. Turn and turn he does, just as the light from Moscow turns, always ready to toe the newest Party-line, always trying to cover the shadow of the little freak, the British Communist Party, ugly, comical, full of pathetic pretences.

It was Sylvia Pankhurst, the suffragette, of all people, who founded the "Communist Party (British Section, Third International)" and she was more or less the first ex-member as well.

Since those days of 1919/21 literally hundreds of thousands of people went into the Communist Party and went out again. Could a party be formed of all the ex-members of the C.P. of Great Britain, it would by far be the biggest party in these Isles.

The book by Henry Pelling, a Fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford and author of books about the Labour Party, etc., is not about the many members who have left, but the few who got stuck in it. It is a nearly complete account of the British Communist Party since it started. With ant-like busybess he collected his material from all corners and hiding-places. Some of his sources had long been forgotten, many the average person has never heard of, but here they all are, all well documented and unassailable. From Tom Mann to Borodin and Pontecorvo, from M.I.5 to Brian Behan, everything and everybody is mentioned, classified and indexed.

It is a good book for the student, clearly written and well printed. And, maybe, the author is not to blame, if one puts it down with a feeling of utter dissatisfaction. Perhaps it is, because the author finishes, where the book should really begin. Only in the last lines, when he drops his "objectivity at any price" and says:

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Book Reviews

really was made: by corrupt little weaklings, covering up behind each other, not daring to stand up for themselves but quite willing to sacrifice the life of millions to satisfy their lust for power. I am afraid, even in such a history, the leaders of the British Communist Party will still be the little ugly shadow of whoever is the big Russian or Chinese bully of the day.

MAX PATRICK.

Prison from the Inside

"BANG TO RIGHTS"* is an account of two years Corrective Training served by Frank Norman in the prisons of Wandsworth, Chelmsford and Camp Hill, Isle of Wight. The author is the 'illegitimate' son of a costermonger and spent most of his childhood in institutions. By the time he was twenty-four he had been bound over once and had served four prison sentences. He was then sentenced for the fifth time and his book records what happened to him during this period, the people he met and the change he underwent when he discovered the purposeful activity of painting. Written without regard for literary style in a vernacular which is a mixture of cockney and prison slang, it is nonetheless recommended reading for those who believe that imprisonment is just.

The failure of prisons, police and punishment to provide an effective antidote to 'crime' has been a perennial theme of anarchists for many years. The idea that virtue can be inculcated by means of locks and bars has been exploded so often that one wonders how it is that it can still be seriously put forward. Yet one still finds indignant moralisers who advocate longer sentences and severer penalties and bemoan the 'soft' treatment prisoners receive to-day. Frank Norman, however, with five sentences behind him, replies in no uncertain tones: "Bird is bird," he writes, "whatever you like to call it: C.T., P.D. (Preventive Detention), Borstal or Remand Home, its all bird. So let's stop kidding ourselves, shall we?"

"Prison can only be usefully reformed by dynamite". This was the view once expressed to me by a comrade who spoke from experience. "Bang to Rights" is a confirmation of my comrade's opinion. In spite of all the efforts of reformers, prison remains one great "wasting of men," as the author puts it. The sad procession of men and women in and out of these grim, grimy mausoleums of the human soul is an ever present reminder of that mockery which goes by the name of 'justice'.

S. E. PARKER.

*By Frank Norman. Secker & Warburg, 15s.

Single Excursion to the FINLAND STATION

"WHEN rogues fall out, honest men come into their own". When Governments fall out, honest (and dishonest) men come into the truth about the governments. This was true of the 1914-18 war when the USSR published the secret archives of the Tsarist Government. Now the German archives are giving up their secrets and amongst the documents which the West has seen fit to release are a selection on "Germany and the Revolution in Russia 1915-1918". This selection has an interesting history. Something similar was done in 1918 by Sisson for the U.S. propaganda services but this was labelled as a 'forgery' by the German propaganda services.

Recently Dr. Possony was commissioned by *Life* to write up these documents for publication. However, the result was found to be too dull for *Life*, so Alan Moorehead was commissioned to knit the whole thing up into a popularized history of the Russian Revolution, this was done and the result half flesh, half fowl and the rest, red herring, is now on the bookstalls.

This selection ("Germany and the Revolution in Russia 1915-18"), by Z. A. B. Zeman, published by Oxford University Press (25/-) needs none of the trappings of Alan Moorehead. In itself it is sufficient to throw light on the Soviet methods of power politics, foreshadowed by the opportunism of Lenin and his group.

J.R.

BRAVE REBEL

BRAVE COWBOY, by Edward Abbey. Foursquare Books, 2/6.

I HOPE large numbers of people will be misled into buying this book by the statement made on the cover that it is a "western novel". They will not be disappointed, for it is an exciting story, though hardly a "western" in the ordinary sense. Perhaps it might be regarded as the final "western", the end of the Wild West dream.

The cowboy who is the book's hero, lives in modern times. He still rides the range, a lot of the American West is still wild enough for that apparently, but taken over to make air-fields and places for testing atom-bombs. His friend, a city-dwelling intellectual, has been jailed for refusing to register for the draft (the cowboy himself has been out in the wilds, and has no papers), and the story tells of an attempted rescue.

Bondi, the intellectual, does not want to be rescued at all. He regards his friend as an anachronism. After his two years or so of prison, he hopes to resume his career. Besides, his whole act of protest depends on his being prepared to face prison rather than register, and he feels that the protest would lose its point if he escaped. Burns, the cowboy, wants to take him, with his wife and son, to a remote refuge in the mountains, ultimately perhaps to escape to Mexico. Bondi plays with the idea, but dismisses it as impractical and unrealistic, although in the discussion the reader is left with the impression that it is the cowboy who is the more practical of the two. After all, he knows already what jail-life is like. But in the end Burns is forced to escape from the jail (which he had entered by making himself drunk), leaving his friend behind.

Burns is hunted up into the mountains, and succeeds in proving that a man on a horse, with a rifle, can hold his own in mountain country, even against police-cars, sub-machine-guns, walkie-talkies and helicopters. (He even shoots the helicopter down).

Anarchist ideas are mentioned quite openly. Burns and Bondi were members of an anarchist group at a university, where both were students, Burns only for a short time. When Burns is arrested, for being drunk and taking part in a brawl, it is found that he has no papers. The F.B.I. are notified.

"... known to have attended secret meetings of so-called Anarchist group."

'So-called what?'

'So-called Anarchist group.'

'What's that?'

'I don't know. They're against all government, that's all I know.'

'They're worse than Communists?'

'I guess so.'

The symbolism of the story is easy to

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Anarchy in Tristan da Cunha

(NOTE.—The following passages are taken from a book review by Harry Paxton which appeared in the October issue of *The Catholic Worker* [New York]. The book reviewed was: "Rock of Exile"—by D. M. Bovy. Devin—Adair Co., New York).

THIS little rocky island, far from the mainland, had no human inhabitants until the nineteenth century. The present community dates from 1816, when a British garrison was landed on Tristan to forestall any possible attempt to use the island to rescue the exiled Napoleon from St. Helena—far to the northwest. When the garrison was withdrawn, a Scots corporal obtained permission to remain there with his coloured wife and children. The community grew by castaways from shipwrecks and sailors who jumped their ships. In 1827 five Negro and mulatto women were imported from St. Helena as wives for some of the settlers. All the "founding mothers" were Negro. The community was based upon what our racists term "miscegenation."

The islanders had no political theories. They were simple men and women, most of them illiterate. They took it for granted that they had to work for a living, and did so. They worked as equals, created no authority, paid no taxes. Though these men were of the sailing element which many "social workers" find "difficult", they got along excellently. In the entire century and a half of this growing community, there was not one violent crime. They had guns—which they used against birds, sea lions and other creatures giving them

read. Bondi is the intellectual, the time, guilt-ridden, with an itch for punishment, with a fundamental sense of "things as they are" alongside his rebellious impulses. Burns repudiates civilisation, and one can contract out of it if one is prepared to make the effort. He believes that current of American ideas that from Thoreau to Ammon Hennacy is the product of the days of the frontier.

I think the author is pessimistic of the future. He sees modern society, its mechanical cleverness, its limited resources, its teeming population, something fundamentally destructive to freedom and creativity, making men less than men. The Sheriff and his deputies (modern style) are represented in a quite different from that of the TV grammes. Their manhunt is somewhat of a muddle, not aided by the appearance of a crowd of enthusiastic heavily-armed amateurs, eager to get a shot at a dangerous anarchist, the "Red" who no draft card.

In England it is rather "bad form" for the anarchist to attack modern civilization. Things have not gone so far as in the United States, consequently counter-movement has made its appearance yet. It is still thought to be a quixotic to criticise the modern technological age. I doubt whether such a book as this could be written by an Englishman, unless he had a conservative reactionary viewpoint. The libertarian is so desperately afraid of being accused of wanting people to suffer hardship that he dare not open his mouth.

It seems to me that references to squalor of the Middle Ages, to the plays of Ibsen on TV, to the present higher material living standards are neither here nor there. We are in the Middle Ages, and the fact that things were bad then does not make them good now. The sheer facts are, if you look around you, that people are conditioned to conformity by all the sources of modern science, that the beauty of the world is being buried under red brick, that the seas are being polluted with oil, that the atmosphere is being poisoned with radio-active substances that the wild animals are being killed off, that all civilisations are becoming the same, that the forests are being felled, that the moors are being enclosed, that wireless and the airplane have made the world so small that it is increasingly difficult for the non-conformist individual to escape anywhere, that even a man's convictions can be changed by brainwashing and, to cap all, the very people who should protest against all this do not dare to because they are afraid of being accused of being "reactionary" or "romantic" or of being branded "impractical" or "unrealistic".

food or other necessities, but never against one another.

The little community grew—both internal growth, and the addition of other colonists, British, American, German, Danish, Dutch, Italian. There were no immigration restrictions—there was no immigration authority, or any other. The British Government, indeed, tried to create an authority—with rather amusing consequences. It empowered one of the missionaries who at times visited the island "to create a headman, a head-woman, an island council, and other officers. The appointments had been made but meant little to most of the islanders. . . . The chief's position was particularly anomalous: he could hold no more power than the other men were disposed to acknowledge him, since he had no other means than the force of his own character of imposing his will."

It was in no way a communistic society—though there was a Village Common and much of the work was done together. Each family owned its own cottage, plot of land, etc. But their co-operative operations were in some respects quite remarkable to the author of this book, himself part of a society of orders and obedience. The first he noted, on the big rowboat which took him and others from their ships to the island was:

"... the oarsmen—as if by a pre-arranged signal outside our notice or else by some silent mutual understanding—all gave way together and began pulling shorewards with long, deep strokes. There appeared to be no captain, even self-appointed, and no word

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What is the Success of the Newsletter Movement? Meeting University Students

The leading article in **FREEDOM** for Nov. 15 refers to the apparent success of the "Newsletter" movement. This is the paper run by Peter Fryer, the ex-communist, and a number of other people to whom the label "Trotskyist" is conventionally appropriate, whether or not they have any admission of affinity for the late Leon Trotsky.

As the writer says: "The Newsletter... presents as militant and direct a line as any bunch of politicians will when they set out to gather the support of militant workers."

The fact is that in a few months, they have been quite successful in attracting such support, to the extent that some unions, such as that of the Building Workers, are threatening to expel any members who contaminate themselves with such militant activities. The Newsletter has caused consternation among official circles by its plan to hold a National Rank and File Congress on Nov. 16th.

What I would like to be able to understand is why, does such a movement gain support which the anarcho-syndicalist movement has not been able to get?

Within the last few years there have been two periodicals devoted specifically to anarcho-syndicalism, both of which have been forced by lack of success to suspend publication. These consistently pointed out the fact that the Newsletter, and the impossibility of them being of any use to the workers. **FREEDOM**, while declaring and maintaining a policy of not confining itself to industrial issues, has nevertheless had a high proportion of its space to these questions, and during crises such as the dock strike

of four years ago the headlines and leading articles dealt exclusively with them for weeks on end.

These papers, and the groups behind them have for years called on workers to organise on the job, not to fight the boss here and now, but to take the means of production from him. The *Manchester Guardian* has made it plain that it regards these attitudes as absolutely improper, but it would appear that they have only just come to its notice through reading **The Newsletter**. Furthermore, the anarchists have a philosophy, outlook and tradition into which industrial organisation and struggle on the job fit naturally.

We all know that if any of the anarchist or syndicalist groups were to call a national rank and file congress, no one would come to it, and perhaps I am wrong, but I do not know of anyone who has expelled from a union for being concerned in the production or distribution of **The Syndicalist** or **FREEDOM**, or the leaflets which the Anarcho-Syndicalist Committee published some years ago.

However, **The Newsletter** has reached its present position in a few months.

I can suggest two tentative reasons: (a) The group sponsoring it has better contacts among militant workers on the job. This is due in part to the fact that they have been active in the past in the ranks of the Labour and Communist Parties.

(b) They are still fairly well "integrated" in the structure of the political left, so that the workers who follow them have no feeling that they might really have to organise for themselves in an anti-capitalist struggle, without leaders.

Is it simply that there are to begin with, more people interested in that kind of line, so that after the first half dozen comrades have written, copied and proofed the paper, there are still some left to devote their energies to selling it?

As I think there must be many among the readers of **FREEDOM** who are better able to assess these questions than I am, due to experience in this type of propaganda work, more intimate knowledge of the way things work in factories, I will leave it to that, in the hope that they will contribute to a discussion.

It is, finally, reassuring to notice that despite the despair in some anarchist circles there still are militant workers, and even the Trotskyist had to admit: "They don't trust leaders and they won't join parties, but they will organise themselves to fight the boss on the job. It's a great opportunity for you anarchists."

London, Nov. 9. PHILIP HOLGATE.

Welsh Nationalism, the Friesians and Anarchism

THIS letter concerns the letter from the reader about Welsh Nationalism in **FREEDOM** of Oct. 18th, and the reply by Donald Rومن in the issue for Oct. 25th.

It would be very sad indeed if anarchism could offer no solution for a people struggling for their independence. The solution depends on the willingness of a people to seek real freedom instead of putting its hopes and confidence in governments and in leaders and super-men. This should be avoided like the plague.

One of the many examples of a people's determination to maintain its separate identity was that of the Serbs. This people was conquered and subdued by the Turkish government in the 14th century, and the Turks tried to destroy every trace of the Serbian culture and language and to make good Moslems of the population. But during the 500 years of Turkish rule, the Serbs kept to their culture, customs and language, in spite of the fact that for the first 400 years there was not the slightest hope of their being freed from the yoke of the Turkish government. In the nineteenth century the Serbs got their independence and then they made the mistake of appointing one of their leaders in the struggle for liberty as their ruling prince. This prince and his descendants ruled Serbia until the day of their death when they had ruled with an iron hand.

Yet political independence and a national government with its coercive institutions are not necessary for a people seeking to keep to its own customs, language, and way of life—these attributes depend exclusively on the sentiments of the people concerned. About 30 miles from Berlin live a group of people called the Wends, perhaps 100,000 all told. They have their own language and customs, which are quite different from those of their nearest neighbours. Their language is related to the Polish language, but they wish to be neither Poles nor Germans, they want to be Wends, and to retain their customs and language.

Another example is the Basque people who have lived in Spain since history began—at least they were already there when the Romans invaded Spain more than 2,000 years ago. This people has never had either political independence nor a national government, but they have kept to their customs and language and have a rich literature in that language, and all that is supposed to be necessary for an independent people. Now, of course they are suffering under Franco, as all the people of Spain are.

When a people has turned its back voluntarily on its own language, customs and way of life, as to all appearance the majority of the Welsh people has done, there is little hope left for a revival. In my opinion, under these conditions, the best that the advocates could do would be to start centres or schools where Welsh people could re-learn their way of life, but these centres should avoid the encroachments of the government. If these gained little support, that would be a sure proof that the people at present do not care for a "free Wales". But if people are left alone to start an interest, it could be taken for a struggle for independence by applying the techniques which the late Mahatma Gandhi employed for the independence of India, his not for the purpose of instituting a national government with all the authority of a national government. Even a small people like the Welsh could be an inviolable giant for any government that is not for the purpose of being and to struggle for its liberty.

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Total 32 1 4

Previously acknowledged 655 1 1

1958 TOTAL TO DATE £677 2 5

Negroes may even be considered by some would-be employers as a "propitiously" or first class citizens. A vote is a vote is a vote.

GIFT OF BOOKS: London: J.L. Molins: E.R.J. *Indicates regular contributor.

RITA MILTON is certainly right when she says that students at this University do not question the basis of our society. We question very little. We are interested in our academic work which if successfully completed is the key to a rising status in society. Alternatively, some of us aim to scrape through our course with the minimum amount of work and the maximum amount of enjoyment. Enjoyment is found in playing cards, listening to jazz and going to the pictures.

New or old controversial ideas play a minor rôle either in the lecture-rooms or outside them. Even in the social science faculty I find that very little serious discussion of the nature of our society takes place. Most of us are busy learning their ever widening theories and the stock objections to them.

The recent report of the University Grants Committee points out that the danger of University education is that the specialist is driven "to memorise as

much as possible... in the limited available, leaving him with no to develop his powers of thought to acquire any knowledge outside his subject." My own view is that this is not the "danger" of University education but a worthy description of its present state.

Outside the lecture rooms the flourishing societies are believed to be the religious ones. It is not so, they know their actual membership. A Marxist really attract and attract a diverse group of a dozen or so. The political societies with the election pending make an effort and have succeeded in obtaining a total membership of one hundred students. Gone are the days of economic depression and so it seems, a very active interest in politics. The Rationalist Society failed two ago. This year a few of us have re-joined. We now call ourselves the Thinkers. We include the religious ones... to broaden our scope and to do big auditions, and doing what can be much of a force given the "enclosed" minds of most students.

Rita Milton mentioned the fact she felt she was not communicating ideas; this is true. But I doubt why very much can be achieved in the field of education by the usual methods of talks, discussions and pamphlets. The general approach of students is prejudiced: their total outlook first be changed. Perhaps a mass propaganda campaign with the slogans catchwords of the electioneer or a user might alter it. I fear that the native must be the 'tiny minority' anarchists mentioned in Rita's report. I thought Rita in her talk to place the emphasis on the commercial side. I am sure that I hope I am not fusing complacency with the reality that organisations cannot grow with the substantial financial backing which the student movement does not possess. Given the generation of students at sent at this University, the days of articulate group of people capable of encouraging individual responsibility in schools, universities or wherever they have chosen to work" (Rita Milton), as she is as Mr. Ted Hill's probability of becoming Prime Minister.

The Union University,
Birmingham, 15. DAVID LANE,
Nov. 9, 1958.

*University Grants Committee Cmd. 534 9/58, para 74.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON (ANARCHIST)

Regular Sunday meetings now held at "Marquis of Granby" Public House, Rathbone Street (near Percy Street and Oxford Street), 7 p.m.

NOV. 16—Philip Sansom on WHAT IS ANARCHISM? NOV. 23—Francis Tonks on ANARCHISM AND NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

NOV. 30—Richard Gool on AN EVALUATION OF 'DR. ZHIVAGO' (Pasternak)

DEC. 7—Donald Rومن on THE BOMB-THROWER MYTH DEC. 14—Max Patrick on Subject to be announced

DEC. 20—Philip Sansom on EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE

CROYDON LIBERTARIAN GROUP

For details of meetings and other activities, please write to: S. E. PARKER, 228 HOLMESDALE ROAD, LONDON, S.E.22.

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U.S. Elections

Change of Masters

"I do not see where there is anything that the people consciously want for the administration to do differently. If I am wrong I would like to know what it is."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER commenting on the Democrats' election victory, 5th November, 1958.

It seems quite probable that Eisenhower's somewhat querulous remark on the consciousness of the great American voter has more than a grain of truth about it, but it does not alter the fact that Republican administration is not what is wanted. It is improbable however that the President would care if he should have done differently. Even he, out of touch as he no doubt has been, must have had reports (delivered, one may presume, at the nineteenth led) on the current feeling of the electorate, and cannot be beyond the powers of the professionals in the party to have put to work the market-research experts (unconscious division) to check the state of the political pulse. Selling politics is a different from selling goods, but it is always necessary to create a demand based on something the consumer may think we want. The Democrats appear to have been selling the correct message.

In all fairness it should be noted that the Democrats were in a better position to sell—for the product most sought after was change. Anything for a change in the vague dimly-let hope that difference in administration would make a difference in practical results.

At the same time it has become almost traditional in off-year elections for the party not in power at the White House to gain ground. As a result of this anomalous feeling that unemployment figures were not impressing themselves upon the Republicans, that the recent recession has made the electoral jump, that continuous foreign crises, and even the most stolid voters, and perhaps even a genuine swing to more liberal and enlightened ideas.

The swing over to the Democrats, which has been compared to Roosevelt's "magnetic sweep to power in 1947," bears little comparison in fact. The "New Deal election" was a triumph for Roosevelt and a policy which promised better things for people who had nearly starved in the depression years, and those who whilst not so hard-hit could remember the agony of those lean years. This year's election has not been a triumph for a specific leader—for the Democrats do not possess one of any account, nor has it indicated the electorate's desire for a specifically new policy—for the same

reason. The result is much more an intimate impulse against policies hardly understood (and many of them were impossible to understand) in the forlorn expectation of something better turning up.

Undoubtedly votes have been cast in favour of personalities not policies. The bemused, "confused" average American suddenly confronted with a situation in which he can detect no "issues", no well-defined, over-publicised disputes, has been forced to make a intuitive choice of the better man rather than the party. It seems likely that the new Democrats had the better men, though the probable effect may not be very noticeable. A national attitude here and there, an almost imperceptible shift of emphasis on one thing or another. It may seem like a radical change in a country which, for all its progress and achievements, has not really changed at all for twenty years.

Numerically the Democrats hold approximately a two-thirds majority in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, whilst of course the Republicans still have the Presidency. It is to be assumed that the President will neither take nor have a great deal of interest in his next (and last) two years of office. Meanwhile the Democrats will search vainly for a "man of the hour" on whom they may pin their faith as next President. The Republicans will have to make do for the present with Nixon or Rockefeller, unless they can find a more inspiring candidate for their uninspired cause.

Both parties have a problem, for both are divided amongst themselves. The Republicans are split between Right (reactionary) and middle factions, and the Democrats between Southern (largely reactionary) and middle factions. The "middle" are probably nearer one another than their respective extremes. (A situation in which we are accustomed in this country.)

Americans now face the prospect of a two-years election during which time they will be coaxed and courted unmercifully. Issues which hitherto have been unimportant will begin to loom large, men who have been as invisible until now will suddenly become the proprietors of a new and shining era; industrial workers will be heralded as the salt of the earth, and farmers the backbone of the nation. Negroes may even be considered by some would-be employers as a "propitiously" or first class citizens. A vote is a vote is a vote.