

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

The art of government is
the organisation of idolatry

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Threepence

HAS KOREAN WAR ENDED?

THE possibility of bringing to an end the fighting in Korea, so long hoped for in the past, now seems to have been realized at last. Ordinary people will feel a tremendous and natural sense of relief. A feeling however should not be allowed to lead people to disregard certain considerations of this war and the nature of its termination however desirable a war-weary public may wish to turn away their eyes.

It will doubtless be hailed as a triumph for patient and devoted negotiations—for the negotiations have been proceeding on and off at intervals for two years, two-thirds of the total duration of the war. The United Nations will doubtless be pleased at their efforts to overcome the last-minute intransigence of President Syngman Rhee, while the Communists will doubtless congratulate themselves on their forbearance in awaiting an armistice in spite of the expressed attitude of the President of Southern Korea.

The fact is, of course, that the armistice has been agreed at a time when many "material obstacles" existed to make it "impossible"—the presence of the prisoners in United Nations hands, the aggressive attitude of Rhee, and so on. The fact that these difficulties have not been allowed to stand in the way of the armistice shows that at last the great powers who stand behind the Korean battlefields—America and Britain, China and Russia—actually desire to end the war.

Freedom's Viewpoint

Such a conclusion is in line with what has been written in FREEDOM many times during the past three years—that the war would continue so long as it was useful to the great powers. The course of the negotiations has shown how trifling argumentation can be made the excuse for continuing the war. Now the conclusion of the armistice even though apparently much larger

obstacles remain outstanding only proves the same thing, that the obstacles only provide an excuse when an excuse is desired for continuing the war. When such an excuse is no longer required obstacles are no longer permitted to obstruct. This is the cynical reality behind "patient negotiations".

In the light of the actual signing of the armistice, the attitude of Syngman Rhee becomes much more comprehensible. It has been plain from the beginning that whatever the United Nations or the Communists got out of the war, it was for the Koreans utterly disastrous. Rhee must have known that the major parties were now set on finishing the fighting and that his attitude would make no difference whatsoever. In such circumstances his utterances were clearly intended to secure his position with his own subjects when the war is ended and the Koreans

have the task of clearing up the mess—what is euphemistically called "reconstruction".

Realism About Wars

Anarchists have long insisted that wars are not to be judged by their apparent or declared aims: they break out when peace-time economy, despite armaments races, can no longer maintain its necessary level of profits. Once started they effect changes in the economic pattern of a nation's life and their sudden cessation would disorganize this pattern because the war becomes the basis on which the wheels of industry and full employment are kept turning.

No one expected the first world war to last four years, and very few thought the war of 1939 would last nearly six years. Even more fantastic is the duration of this "little

Continued on p. 3

TWO-MINUTE JUSTICE IN KENYA

THE upholders of the Justice on this side of the curtain compared with the summary execution or faked trials on the other side, will hide their annoyance at the quashing of the sentence on Jomo Kenyatta and his friends by the Kenya Supreme Court, by using this set-back as one more example of the impartiality of British justice. The grounds on which the Supreme Court ordered a re-trial are simply a legal quibble as to procedure, and the most they show is that the game of justice must be played according to the rules when, let it be added, so much publicity is given to a trial as Kenyatta's and when the defending counsel is a Mr. Pritt, Q.C., who knows the rules of the game and its loopholes as well as any lawyer engaged in the profession!

Less concern is shown for those unfortunate Africans who have been rounded up in Kenya during the emergency, and who have not been

able to secure the services of a Mr. Pritt to see that the rules of the game are observed. A *Reuter* report from Nairobi (July 24) of the meeting of the colony's Legislative Council gives an idea of how much justice an African can get from the courts. In the course of a debate Mr. Whyatt, the Attorney General, spoke of "the torrent of criminal work pouring through the courts". In the past two months no less than 10,000 Mau Mau cases have been brought before the courts—an average of one case being disposed of every two minutes. He added that the adequacy of the emergency regulations could best be judged by General Erskine who had authorized him to say he was "completely satisfied" with them. Mr. Whyatt also spoke of the difficulties of getting evidence against the Mau Mau (our italics).

In view of the fact that the formalities of asking a man his name and reading out the charge against him and pronouncing him guilty and sentencing him would take at least five minutes (assuming that the prisoner understood the language and did not require an interpreter) one wonders how much justice an African can get in the courts during his two minutes' appearance. Or do they hold mass trials of a hundred at a time, in which case one must concede that the mass trial will last more than three hours (about the time taken in Franco's courts to condemn 30 men to death or long years of prison)?

A question we would be tempted to ask the Colonial Secretary is how many death sentences, how many years' imprisonment, how many acquittals were doled out by the courts in the 330 hours (10,000 x 2 minutes) they took to complete the trials of the 10,000 Mau Mau suspects. And as a supplementary, how long did each spend in captivity awaiting trial?

Last week FREEDOM showed in relation to the Evans case, how dangerous was the death penalty, bearing in mind that in the event of "a miscarriage of justice" there were no hopes of redress for the victim. How much stronger is that argument in Kenya or Malaya, where the legal machinery has been so speeded up that it has become a mere formality, and where a blood-thirsty ruling caste has lost all sense of values, even bourgeois values?

R.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

He Advocated Atom Bombs for Korea

IT is a good thing that the Korean truce was signed if only for the fact that certain American democrats were proposing to speed up matters by dropping an atom bomb or two. Only last week Representative Overton Brooks, Democrat of Louisiana, who is also a member of the House Armed Service Committee said that if the Korean truce talks again broke down the United Nations should use atomic bombs on the N. Korean forces. He told a reporter that he thought a specific deadline should be put on the talks and that if it passed without an agreement, the United Nations should go on the offensive. It should be noted that this Democrat from Louisiana has for some time advocated the use of the atom bomb in Korea.

Also from Washington and on the same day, we read a report to the effect that the House of Representatives had decided to provide "a special room for prayer and meditation by members of Congress". The report says that the House "passed and sent to the Senate a

resolution directing the custodian to furnish the room, a little cubbyhole near the centre of the Capitol.

"There will be no formal religious services and no denominational altars. The idea is to have a place where Senators and Representatives may find solitude for meditation or prayer."

For people with the knowledge of what happened at Nagasaki and Hiroshima and yet who advocate the use of the atomic bomb, a room for "prayer and meditation" seems a waste of space; a padded cell would seem more suitable for such raving lunatics!

No Jobs for Heroes . . .

THE American Census Bureau reported last week that though the unemployment figures were the lowest since the end of the war, the average unemployment last year was 1,700,000. It is interesting to note that the greatest unemployment was among discharged servicemen of the Korean war. In October 1952, about 7 per cent. of them were looking for work, compared with 2 per cent. for other men of comparable age. It is perhaps just as well that we have high level assurances that in spite of the signing of the truce in Korea, not one American soldier will be withdrawn from the Korean front!

. . . But more Business for Business Machines

NET profits of \$151 million (about £40 million) for the first six months of this year is reported by the International Business Machines Corporation and its subsidiaries. Before taxation had whittled profits to this miserable £6 million they were \$41 million (£14 million). How can business men make ends meet when initiative is crippled in this way by inhuman taxation which takes more than 50 per cent.

PUBLICITY MINDED AMERICANS

ADVERTISING, which is business propaganda, and which like political propaganda aims at preventing one from deciding for oneself by a process of mental conditioning, is the basis of business in the United States. It is reported in New York that National advertising in United States newspapers is expected to rise to a record of \$600,000,000 (more than £200 million) this year. It should be noted that this only applies to national advertising in the newspapers. Add to this all the other channels for advertising that are being exploited and the picture, as to our minds, a pretty grim one.

On the political propaganda front we are provided with some figures by Dr. Robert L. Johnson, head of the State Department's International Information Administration who declared in the

Anti-Communist Hysteria Strikes in all Directions

THE question of whether a man who had once been a Communist was a fit person to be employed by the New York City Civil Service Commission as a Washroom Attendant has been taken to the N.Y. Supreme Court for a ruling! According to the *Industrial Worker* (July 3); Justice Aaron Steuer of the N.Y. Supreme Court has ruled that the mere fact that a person had once been a member of the Communist Party did not disqualify him as a New York employee, for work as a washroom attendant. Bonaventura Pinggera, who had in previous loyalty checks revealed he had been a Communist from 1936 to 1939, denied in his application for employment by New York City that he had ever been a member of an organization advocating the violent overthrow of the government. The New York City Civil Service Commission had ruled that, in view of all the circumstances, Pinggera was unfit.

It also appears that an alleged Communist who is engaged in cancer research is a bad security risk. A *United Press* report from Cambridge Mass (July 19) discloses that Cancer researcher Dr. Helen Dean Markham has been placed under suspension with pay from Harvard University because she is alleged to be under "Communist domination".

The Harvard Corporation, which announced the suspension, said the assistant anatomy professor would be "given an opportunity to be heard." However, no date was set for the hearing.

The corporation previously had cleared

Dr. Markham after she refused to answer questions regarding Communism put to her by a Senate internal security sub-committee in Boston last March.

However, the corporation said, "new developments" have come to its attention. "We can no longer reasonably believe that she is free from Communist domination," the governing body said.

Dr. Markham indicated she was completely surprised by the development.

"They haven't told me about this," she said after being informed of the corporation announcement. "Somebody will have to continue my experiments."

University officials indicated they would give her time to find a substitute to carry on a two-year-old research project on female cancer.

The corporation said Dr. Markham and her husband issued a press release "contrary" to the corporation's advice after they had been labelled as Communist party members by Federal Bureau of Investigation undercover agent Herbert A. Philbrick last month. The corporation said the release "contained statements implying that the Harvard Corporation approved her refusal to testify and supported her vehement criticism of the Jenner committee." Mr. Philbrick had testified that the Markhams were Communists in 1947.

At this rate it will not be surprising to learn one day that a group of American doctors had been rounded up following disclosures that they were trying to poison the American government!

THE FOOD WAR

THE American delivery of food for East Germany has unquestionably upset the Russians and brought into further prominence the food situation of East Germans.

However, there is little doubt that the American initiative is inspired more by political than by humanitarian aims. Already on July 22 the *Times*' Berlin correspondent wrote that "one unfortunate aspect, perhaps, of East German food scarcities has been the distressing tendency of some individuals or groups in the west to make political capital out of it, or to use it for electoral ends. Without the co-operation, or at least the tacit consent of the East German and Soviet authorities, it is almost impossible to work out any scheme which will substantially alleviate conditions in the Soviet zone".

On July 25th the *Times* returned to the same theme in an editorial: "A large scale plan of relief requires

more than good will and supplies: it depends for its success on detailed planning and the co-operation of the local authorities. Another condition for success exists in East Germany. As time goes on the political aspect of the enterprise must increasingly overshadow the humanitarian."

Of course the Communists are very vocal about American "munitions of the cold war" as they call the food. But Communists have never scrupled to use food as a bribe for votes at election times. The English press defends the American action and the *Times* refers to American shipments of wheat to Pakistan and speaks feelingly of the "unflagging generosity of the Americans". More realistic critics will however recall that America now has an enormous wheat surplus and a problem of storing it, so unflagging generosity is perhaps not their only motive even if one forgets also the political capital.

A Poem for Free Men

THE DRAGON AND THE UNICORN by Kenneth Rexroth. (New York: New Directions. \$3.00).

KENNETH REXROTH'S new long poem, *The Dragon and the Unicorn*, is a work which, I believe, will be remembered long after most of the more fashionable and brittle modern poetry of our time has been forgotten. For Rexroth is a poet who, while his idiom and his view of existence are organically related to the modern world, has nevertheless contrived to retain a directness and simplicity of diction and message which stand in sharp contrast to the obscurity of deliberation or ineptitude which distinguishes so many of his contemporaries. His aloofness from clique and coterie in recent years has militated, it seems, against his having received the credit deserved for the excellent writing of his earlier career, from *In What Hour* onwards, but the sheer intrinsic merit of his verse seems at least to have received a certain recognition, and Rexroth now appears to be taking his place among the few important contemporary American poets.

The Dragon and the Unicorn is, on one level, an account in verse of a year of travel in Europe and the United States, but interspersed with and underlying the notes of the voyager appears an impressive philosophic re-statement of the libertarian position. For Rexroth is a convinced anarchist of long standing, and his social philosophy is as inextricably mingled with his poetic vision as Shelley's ever was.

There is salt and bite in Rexroth's tale of his travels. The pretensions are pilloried and the humble are raised up; for Rexroth is impartial in his satire, and the faults of anarchists and poets (as distinct from anarchism and poetry) are laid bare with as much zest as those of Texan money-grubbers or English snobs. One's feeling is that Rexroth is at home only with the poor and the rejected—by conventional standards, and that is good company in which to be at home. I doubt if the American bourgeoisie are likely to be much affected by his comments on their "culture", or by the fun he pokes with grim intent at American "love".

*It feels like it's made of plastic.
It smells like it's perfumed with
Coal tar. It tastes like it's made
Of soya beans. It looks like an
Abandoned pee-wee gold course.
It is still and sterile
As a crater of the moon.*

But I hope that some European anarchists at least will read and think over his comments on their lack of touch with reality.

One could devote several thousand words to a profitable analysis of *The Dragon and the Unicorn*. If you are an antiquary or a gastronome, you will find as many oddments there to interest you as if you are rigidly intent on the condition of society or responsiveness to

a well constructed piece of narrative verse. But Rexroth's prime merits, in my opinion, remain firstly his remarkable power of descriptive evocation in clear and direct poetry, and, secondly, his ability to use the same medium for the terse and eloquent statement of a philosophy which has rarely been expressed as well in prose. And I can do no better than use the remainder of my space (after all, there have not been many major anarchist poems since *The Revolt of Islam*) to quote an example of each kind of writing which in itself will illustrate these qualities. Firstly, I reproduce a piece of descriptive verse relating to the Californian Sierras (Rexroth is an enthusiastic Alpinist and much of his finest poetry has been written about the mountains):

*Li Po and I both like to
Look at waterfalls. Deep in
The mountains, I turn my skies
And pause where black and white water
Breaks through the snow. All about
My feet are loose crystals of ice
Formed by the mist, as big as hands.
After a long time I turn
And drop into the valley,
Maneuvering swiftly over
Tumbled avalanche cones and snow
Covered rocks and through sparse thickets
Of dwarf maples, their trunks not
Much thicker than my thumb and pale
Silver grey. Their winged samaras
Still cling to them, a paler
Silver yellow. Each twig
Is tipped with buds, deep crimson,
Overlaid with fine black lines
Like drops of congealing blood.
Here and there on the snow is
A skeleton of a leaf, thin
And frail as an X-ray picture,
Its flesh eaten by winter.*

As for the philosophical sections of *The Dragon and the Unicorn*, they present an integrated statement of a free

society in which social realities are bound together by a total realisation of love. I must leave it for the reader to follow this statement in all its ramifications and complications, but as an example I would quote the following passage on the distinction between community and collectivity which illuminates what I believe is the fundamental distinction between libertarian and other social philosophies.

*A community of love is
A community of mutual
Indwelling, in which each member
Realises his total
Liability for the whole.
A collectivity is like
A cancer disorganising the
Organism which produced it.
The healthy organism
Itself, responds instantly,
As a whole, to the injury
To the slightest of its parts.
Those who by function, or the chance
Of historical accident,
Have mercifully been shut off
From the ravages of social
Paranoia and cancer
Still possess the remnants of
Community, and can begin
To widen and extend it.
This class, unfortunately,
Includes few white Americans.
Where it survives, community
Can transcend history only
By becoming self-conscious,
And its first step must be the
Stopping of the insanity
Of commodity production,
And the substitution of free
Satisfaction of human needs.*

The integration of these passages of social thought with the narrative sections of *The Dragon and the Unicorn* is close and organic, and the poem as a whole presents an impressive view of a world in decay and the vision that can save it.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

The Buddha Business

IN the last issue of *FREEDOM*, a correspondent, Max Flisher, takes me to task for my analysis of the Buddhist rôle in Burmese politics. Anarchism, of course, can have no integration with any religious authority whatsoever, and it is an illusion to believe that one can be of "an anarchist turn of mind" as he puts it, induced by the reasonings of priests of whatever calibre. He may well mistake self-abnegation for personal liberation.

Like many Westerners, he tries to rationalise his beliefs by saying that "Buddhism must be termed rationalist, agnostic and free-thinking" and is an ethical belief rather than a superstitious one. Exactly the same excuses are made, on a higher level, for Christianity and other illusions. Even a Spanish Catholic priest, exhibiting pieces of the cross oozing blood on Good Friday or some such twaddle, will explain to the hard-headed that this is only a "representation", although he will not reveal the same thing to his flock.

Naturally one cannot say much against the essential spirit of goodness, etc., etc., that figures in place of God as the result of a rationalisation of Buddhism, Christianity and other religions. Heinrich Heine remarked that "perhaps this new God-pure spirit this parvenu of Heaven who is now so ethical, so cosmopolitan and universally cultured, harbours a secret resentment against the poor Jews who keep reminding him in their synagogues of his one-time obscure national connections. Perhaps the old gentleman wants to forget that he is of Palestinian extraction, and that he was the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and that his name was then Jehovah."

Some similar remarks might be made of the Buddha, who seems to be trying

to pass off in vedanta and theosophical societies in the West as a similar "ethical cosmopolitan". We had better take a look at the god's "obscure national connections" in India. The legend has it that Sidharta Gautama "attained enlightenment" under a tree in Rajgir. This tree has now much the same adoration attached to it as the cross in Christianity. The royal monk, Asoka, cut it down when he was a pagan king, but on becoming a Buddhist venerated it, as it had the habit of sprouting again. His jealous wife cut it down, and up popped the tree again. After 2,500 years the same tree still exists! The enormous wealth extracted from the peasants to build a shrine nearby that cost a fortune and has been emulated by similar pagodas throughout the Buddhist world. Enlightenment?

Standards of poverty were enforced upon generation after generation throughout the Buddhist world because of the desire of rulers to build up after image of the god Buddha, as Gautama came to be considered. A somewhat exacting god, pleased at the times of his own image repeated over and over in temple after temple throughout the east, the level of his freethought to be judged by the sacrifices offered as the famous offerings placed by King Ashoka recently on top of Mount Everest.

The Western ethical cosmopolitan Buddha is not of much danger, perhaps exacting no forced tributes in the temples and images nor able to impel an army of lazy monks upon an impoverished population. But a certain political danger lies in such assumptions as made by Max Flisher in his letter. He says "that it exists peaceably because Marxism is merely a continuation of 2,500 year old history of non-dogmatism and benevolence". I do not quite know what he imagines the Marxist-Buddhist "Red Star" Communists are doing in the jungles of Burma. They are not peaceably contemplating their navels any more than the Socialist-Buddhist Government but engaged in a long-drawn-out bloody, fratricidal and tyrannical war. While they co-ist "peaceably" as regards each other, they do not do so for any peaceable or benevolent purpose and as for non-dogmatism, it is hardly necessary to relate what happens to those who do not wish to fight alongside them.

I have dilated on this subject because Buddhism is little known in this country, except the watered-down variety. In the East, no less than the West, the gods, no less than the kings and leaders, have to be destroyed in men's minds before they can hope for freedom.

INTERNATIONALIST.

A Study on Freedom

FREEDOM, by Maurice Cranston, (Longmans, 12/6d.).

MR. CRANSTON has written a book which has at least a titular qualification for a review in *FREEDOM*. Whether his analysis throws any light on the sort of moral and political problems which anarchists must face is more doubtful. Essentially his book is a very tentative restatement of liberalism (in the broad sense) from the viewpoint of linguistic philosophy.

The first of his three parts is probably the most useful for any practical purpose: it is devoted to clearing away intellectual rubbish resulting from careless or confused use of the word 'freedom'. Before we can discuss freedom we must be clear what it means or in what sense it is being used. But to illustrate the possibilities of confusion Mr. Cranston unfortunately draws some distinctions which though understandable in theory are untrue in fact; in particular one between what he calls the 'Progressive' and the 'Romantic' view of freedom. These he defines respectively as

"freedom from the constraints of nature, freedom from disease and hunger and insecurity and ignorance and superstition" and "freedom from the constraints of advanced political institutions, from Kingdoms, Empires and Churches."

He goes on to say that these two types of freedom are incompatible, because the first is only obtainable at the price of "police, compulsory education and the welfare state". It does not seem to have occurred to him that what success has been achieved in human welfare might have been in spite of rather than because of these political institutions. If his distinction represented a real difference between mutually exclusive beliefs, this would amount to a proof that anarchists—who believe that freedom from political institutions is a means to the end of freedom from the 'natural' ills of human life—do not exist. But this, as Euclid says, is absurd. For Mr. Cranston though quick to detect a fallacious argument is more easily led astray or questions of fact. To reach his conclusion about 'Progressive' and 'Romantic' freedom he presumably has to believe that mass literacy by state education is destructive of ignorance and superstition, whereas it is now the chief means of their preservation, that the displacement of infectious by neurotic and malignant diseases, and the diversion of social resources from curative and preventive research to biological warfare, constitutes the conquest of disease, and that security, economic or psychological, is a benefit conferred by the modern State, which in reality is at the mercy of economic forces it does not understand and

holds weapons it scarcely dare use. Admittedly we are told these things every day by our newspapers but we have a right to expect a more balanced judgment from a professed philosopher.

Mr. Cranston's critical ability shows to greater advantage in his examination of words as distinct from facts. He points out how the emotive and descriptive content of a word may be separately altered in various ways, as when the Nazis preserved the ordinary connotation of the word 'democracy' but used it as a term of abuse, whereas the Stalinists have more subtly cashed in on its favourable emotive value by simply using it to denote something quite different—communist totalitarianism.

Some of the definitions of liberty quoted in this section are worth pondering. As the author points out, they divide into those which describe freedom as an unrestricted exercise of the will, and those which describe it as obedience to some sort of natural or fundamental law. Hobbes gives us "Liberty, or freedom, signifieth properly, the absence of opposition"; Locke, "Liberty . . . is the power a man has to do or forbear doing any particular action"; Kant, Freedom is "independence of anything other than the moral law alone"; Leibniz, "Freedom is spontaneity of the intelligence"; Hegel, "Freedom is necessity transfigured"; Heidegger, Freedom is "a participation in the revelation of what-is-as-such"; Spinoza, "A free man is one who lives according to the dictate of reason alone"; and Engels, "Freedom is control over ourselves and over external nature which is founded on knowledge of

Exhibition

Cynthia Fuller at the Coffee House

HAVING art exhibitions in a café serves, I suppose, two purposes: firstly to attract artists and art lovers to the café, secondly to decorate the walls, and keep renewing the decorations, with a minimum of expense. The Coffee House, Trafalgar Square, has run exhibitions of about a month's duration each, since it was founded just over a year ago.

The current exhibition, until August 9, is of paintings and gouaches by Cynthia Fuller. They decorate the walls quite pleasantly, partly because they have so much in common that they seem to make up a set. Each painting is a group of large, formalised forms, painted entirely with an unusual texture rather reminiscent of rock. But they are different enough to be worth looking at individually, and Fuller is to be congratulated on a stimulating show.

D.R.

natural necessity." After this imposing barrage, and after a discussion of the Marxist and Existentialist concepts of freedom, the author has no difficulty in disposing of Herbert Read's attempt to draw a non-existent distinction between freedom and liberty. Apart from a persistent abuse of the word "libertarian" in the sense of an anti-determinist, this is about as near as he gets to a recognition that anarchists, too, have thought about this subject.

The general conclusion of this part is that 'freedom' signifies only an absence of constraints, a position which the author admits is negative but he believes to be defensible. This reduces freedom to the purely subjective level, A's freedom to hit B on the head being the antithesis of B's freedom from being hit on the head by A. To reduce words to a point where no confusion of meaning is possible usually results in emptying out most of their significance, as the author recognises when he says that "to proclaim belief in liberty" (in his sense) "is no more than the prolegomenon to a political opinion." This is true in that no libertarian fights for liberty in order that men should be free to oppress, exploit and destroy other men; what is needed, and what Mr. Cranston does not give, is an idea of the practical importance of liberty to-day such as Mill gave for his generation. His awareness of this is shown when he concludes; "Nothing I have said is intended to discourage anyone from loving freedom. I have only tried to clarify its meaning." Anyone who could love what remains after the bathwater has thus been emptied out with the bathwater must indeed be warm-hearted.

The most important issue which the book raises, but which is not fully discussed, is whether men really want freedom at the price of the responsibility which freedom entails. This is one of the basic issues for the libertarian and it is disappointing that it should be treated so cursorily.

Though very useful for clearing the ground of verbal traps, the weakness of the linguistic technique becomes fully apparent in the second part, where the author gives thumbnail sketches of the progress of liberalism in England, France, Germany and America. Historical analyses by non-historians are always given away by their peculiar baldness and barrenness, their air of having been written by someone who has simplified and tidied what he has read in a history book, not having realised that it has already been reduced to and probably beyond the safest limits of simplification. In the event one gets the unconscious distortions and confident over-simplification of H. G. Wells, or Bertrand Russell. In

any event what is said in this part, whether or not correct, adds nothing to what has already been said except to show that 'liberalism' has been used in as many ways in the past as it is to-day.

The last section deals very competently with the question of determinism and free will. Having disposed neatly of Kant, Bergson, Wisdom, Eddington and others, the author himself falls into a minor trap when he assumes that an intuitive feeling of free will is incompatible with a sincere belief in determinism. On the contrary, many determinists admit to "feeling" that their will is free, but reject this as illusory on the usual scientific grounds: determinist theory will obviously account not only for belief in free will or belief in determinism as a result of different pre-disposing circumstances, but also for "feelings" of free will combined with belief in determinism, or for that matter vice versa. But on this question generally Mr. Cranston approaches, without ever quite formulating to himself, the argument I think he could not meet—that the whole issue is irrelevant to the main topic of his book which, though academic in treatment, is in the last resort concerned with problems in metaphysics, does not either logically or psychologically make two pennyworth of difference in any practical matter. Though a believer in free will cannot reasonably adopt a 'fatalistic' attitude (though he may be constrained to do so by a succession of discouragements) a believer in determinism is never solely by reason of his beliefs precluded from striving hard after some object, in other words from believing that his actions can and will affect the course of events. Thus whatever our beliefs the important point is that we all *act as though* our wills were free; and as this is a case where a particular belief has no influence on actions it can be classed as metaphysical *i.e.* one from which it is impossible to draw any practical conclusions. It is useless to say I should

Continued on p. 3

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HAS KOREAN WAR ENDED?

Continued from p. 1

war" in Korea of over three years—longer than the Spanish Civil War. Yet if one regards war as an economic institution necessary in the cycles of the economic life of competing great powers, one would not expect them to be short-lived episodes.

We dwell on this aspect of contemporary wars not because we are cynical or ungenerous, but because we are very much interested in understanding the paradox of war. It is that the declared objectives of a given war are so rarely achieved? And why is it that these war-dealing procedures, so hateful to ordinary people on both sides, nevertheless continue to occur and extend themselves over years?

Duty to Future Dead

One may wish to turn one's eyes away from a war once it is over, to escape the horrors and the pointlessness. If one has lost relatives or friends in such struggles it is not surprising to examine them objectively, to accept the conclusion that they are cynical expressions of economic forces and have no idealistic content. However, but it is not right to forget the deaths—in this case, over a million—of so many combatants and civilians without learning something of how to prevent the "need" for such losses in the future. To prevent wars in their causes and operations is a duty not only to the people who have lost their lives, but to those who will die in future wars.

FREEDOM has repeatedly stressed the connection between the Korean war and the American stock market. The consequences of a cessation of hostilities have been so frankly faced by financiers that the "danger of peace" is a term which has been used quite unashamedly and without any cynical relish. It simply represents the acceptance of war as a mode of economy on the part of those who have most to do with the operation of such an economy.

Obviously the ending of the Korean war, on this view, represents the ending of a phase. It does not in any way diminish the dependence of market economies on war itself as a method of economy, and therefore it offers no hopes of future peace. No amount of talk in the United Nations, or speculations about "changes of heart" in the Russian leaders can alter this fact.

Future of Korea

What of the future of Korea? Our economy makes it certain that there will be war in the future but that does not mean that it will occur in Korea. Armament economy is concerned with the production of arms not with the location of the battlefield—that is determined by political factors as such. From this point of view Korea remains as unfavourably placed as ever. South Korea remains a potential American base on the Asiatic mainland, while North Korea will become a bone of contention between the Russian and Chinese governments. For Korea has strategic implications regarding Manchuria and the Russian border as well as regarding Formosa and Japan. This unfortunate geography places the Koreans still between the faces of the grindstone of rivalry between the great powers, and they will be relieved of this disadvantage only by a major shift in the location of power, or by the ending of the economic and social system which requires war for its continued existence.

UNPREDICTABLE MAN

THERE is an heroic faith which may derive its sustenance from inner sources to a degree which I who am not an hero cannot assess, but the faith of the average man and woman rests mainly on its being shared by other men and women. One makes assumptions, gives meanings to reality, conforms to patterns of behaviour, and finds one's own existence justified because of a continual, tacit, expressed or imagined approval of other people, however limited their number. The secret of righteousness, in fact, the belief of being in the right, depends on a conscious or unconscious clever process of concentrating one's attention on the people who share one's purposes, interests and views, the others being pushed out of focus as unimportant.

Thus it was easy in England in the last thirty years to believe in the possibility or desirability of freedom, in the free choice of ideals, in the reality of values backed by centuries of human thought and endeavour; it was easy to believe in reason, in justice and goodness. It was easy also to laugh at the absurdity of the state ideologies of totalitarian countries, and at the histrionics of their leaders; it was easy to condemn or deprecate, albeit ill at ease, the millions that submitted to and cheered the stranglers of their freedom.

But in Italy and Germany, and later in the countries that fell under their domination, an eclipse of faith was experienced, often total and sometimes fatal, which a person who was not there can only imagine, and even then not too often and not for long. It was not always possible or very helpful to understand why and how it was done, but people of one's faith were made unrecognizable or unreliable overnight, the best ones disappeared, and crowds once variegated, neutral and pacific, coalesced into a homogenous one-voiced mass calling destruction on that very type of man to which one belonged. It was not only those friends, that group or that class with whom one more or less identified oneself that gradually shrunk and vanished, but also all one's spiritual ancestors, the thinkers and martyrs of the past to whom one went for inspiration, and that humanity of the future in function of which one thought, loved life and fought. God, history, human nature, or whatever constant one relied upon to shape and order one's thoughts, seemed to have been taken off; it was as though the very substance of reality had played one foul and treacherously passed over to the tyrants. Event after event proved that the tyrants were right, country after country fell under their sway, and hope in the countries that opposed them dwindled accordingly. The best place to be in was a prison, because there one met people of one's faith, there was freedom of speech, and the swelling number of its inmates showed that the enemy had not yet won the day. But to the prison there followed the concentration camp, starvation and mass-murder, and there was nothing more to see in man except a life to be extinguished.

Practically in every country at one time or another during the war an opportunity was offered and seized to take up arms and fight. The various resistance movements were no doubt heroic, but yet, from most accounts, far from glorious. Resistance could be carried on and be successful by using the same methods and the same ruthlessness one abhorred in Nazism and Fascism. There were fortunate exceptions, but generally the Resistance was controlled or infected by a party and a power that

differed only in externals from Nazism and Fascism, and would more readily inherit their structures and achievements than tolerate the existence of allies for whom freedom and justice were a real aspiration and not a means of deception. Wherever a Communist party triumphed, with or without the assistance of the Russian army and secret police, the same tragedy was re-enacted over a wider area, and millions were brutalized, a condition of despair made the norm, man shorn of everything but his animal will to survive. As for the countries that escaped communist domination, life could be tolerable, but who ever thought in terms of solidarity with all the people of the earth, and saw his destiny in the light of the destiny of mankind, fell prey to a feeling of frustration, of powerlessness, of futility and absurdity and, although in greater comfort, not less deeply despaired.

What political course was then open to the idealist with enough sense of realities to have any illusions as to the chances of success and net result of his actions? Totalitarianism means the absorption, the control and co-ordination of people's actions in one powerful unity, and the factual if not legal suppression of all power of initiative not stemming from the nervous centre of the State. According to this definition totalitarianism was not confined to this or that country, but was a world phenomenon. Post-war man, moreover, was prone to accept totalitarianism as natural and congenial. The world was divided in two camps, and a third world war was preached as avoidable or ending in victory only on condition of totalitarian preparation. Any group and any action that would run counter to the needs and purposes of the central apparatus preparing for war was immediately discredited or attacked as playing into the hands of the enemy. Communist activities and exploitation of social demands in the West lent truth to the argument. Another argument was that it was foolish for example for a pacifist or an anarchist to scorn the army and the government of his country when they were the only guarantees of his being able to continue as a pacifist or an anarchist.

According to the various circumstances of their life, and in particular to their ability to keep contact with people of the same faith, men who have lived through the last twenty-five or thirty years as anarchists and enemies of

will agree or disagree with the correctness of my picture, and consequently endorse, minimise or caution against the importance and significance of the following.

First, if a totalitarian state may still appear all-powerful to the inmate of a labour camp, it is possible for one outside to see in it weaknesses and limitations that are not imposed by the existence beyond its frontiers of another powerful state. The communist system has its inner contradictions no less than the capitalist. The Marxian claim to interpret, control and direct the course of history has been given the lie at least in two instances, which prove that the monolithic might of communism is a myth and that its advance is all but unilinear and irresistible. Tito's rebellion showed that centrifugal forces could successfully operate within the Communist family, and the triumph of Mao-tse in China put a barrier to Russian imperialism in Asia far more formidable than the American forces or American aid.

Secondly, the death of Stalin has caused havoc in the Kremlin, and 'par ricochet' in all the local communist parties, although it is still too early to measure its magnitude. Communist leaders both in Russia and abroad knew until yesterday whom to hate, whom to fear, and whom to obey, but now all their certainties are shaken, while the rank and file, and perhaps even the soldiers in the Red army, may begin to wonder what is the whole purpose of the bullying of people they have been carrying on for years, and whether the ideology they have been serving is not radically at fault.

Thirdly, as Russian propaganda be-

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REPRISALS IN EASTERN EUROPE

NEWS is trickling out from behind the Iron Curtain of reprisals on the part of the governments of the Russian satellites against workers who demonstrated or revolted during the mid-June uprisings. In Eastern Germany strikers are reported to have been shot and long terms of imprisonment handed out. Frau Hilde Benjamin, who succeeded the disgraced Zaissev as East German Minister of Justice (ironic term) has declared that no mercy will be shown to provocateurs. The death penalty continues to be imposed in Rumania for "activities against the State". (Red Hilde has herself been replaced by Ernst Wollweber, an old guard Communist).

On the other hand an attempt is being made to make severity against

militants more palatable, by the release of prisoners whose "liberty does not constitute a threat to the State". Releases from gaol and from concentration camps therefore go parallel with trials of militant workers, and this process is going on not only in East Germany but also in Hungary. It may be taken as an indication of the extent to which the Russian Empire in Europe has been shaken by the events of June.

Workers Still Resist

Reports are still coming through of continued resistance. Workers are staging go-slow and sit-down strikes and demanding the release of their comrades imprisoned after the uprisings.

"Go-slow and sit-down strikes are continuing in many of the big State-owned factories of East Berlin and other industrial centres. Refugees say that recently East German military units were called in to suppress workers' demonstrations in the uranium mines on the Czechoslovak border.

"Further east the Russians have declared a state of emergency in the Polish border towns of Goerlitz and Zittau. A curfew is in force, and public meetings are banned. In the neighbourhood of these towns small groups of partisans, both Polish and German, have attacked Russian convoys and supply trains intended for their occupation forces."

(Observer, 26/7/53.)

An earlier report declared that at Aue, in Saxony, on the Czech border, fighting had broken out between the police and the Uranium miners, and 1,700 miners had been put under arrest.

comes less aggressive and Russian diplomacy more accommodating, the war drive and American supremacy in the West lose their character of inescapable necessity. War may still come because it may be the only chance for totalitarianism to survive, but it will be war out of loss of faith, and loss of faith this time on the part of the totalitarians themselves.

Events in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Russia show clearly that their leaders have developed a bad conscience, that the oppressors are coming to terms with the oppressed, and that the latter are taking courage. However uncertain of the future, they are determined to do all they can to fljbring the present dispensation to an end. Out of terror and abjection men affirm their indomitability will not to be finally reduced to labour units, machines or guinea pigs for sadistic experiments. Once again, and perhaps on an unprecedented scale, men are fighting against their old haunting nightmare that might is right.

I am not a prophet nor am I in a privileged position to feel the pulse of the world. In fact, the recent events beyond the iron curtain may prove no more than minor disturbances in a crisis of succession. The death of Tiberius did not spell the end of the Roman empire. History is full of similarities and recurrences, but remains essentially unpredictable. The truth is that man himself is essentially unpredictable, and that is the comforting truth we must be able to read in the present situation. If having survived despair we lapsed into apathy and disillusionment, if we thought that the power of the State could be invincible and force men to behave and think according to its own requirements, foreseeing and nipping in the bud every challenge and rebellion, we have now a proof of the contrary. It is spirit, in the double meaning of the word, that is invincible. Invincible because un-suppressible because its modes, the where and when of its emergence are unpredictable. This unpredictability accounts for the monstrous proportions of the police apparatus in a totalitarian state such as the Russian where it has been reckoned that one man out of every seven is a policeman of some sort. But if the totalitarian state may overestimate the force of spirit, it is certainly not up to us to underestimate it. Lukewarmness in our faith at the moment could hardly be justified when people in other countries, with harder reasons to despair, have spirit to rebel. They may know nothing of anarchism, but they are rebelling against a totalitarian state, their faith is that no state is or will be allowed to be all-powerful, and with their faith we can strengthen and confirm ours. Perhaps do something to strengthen theirs.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

*Our correspondent seems to hold the view that a third world war will have a political basis and will be from the other side of the Iron Curtain. This of course is not the view of this paper which has continually stressed the economic causes of war as against the "ideological"—EDITORS.]

[Nor do we believe that politicians and dictators are governed by good or bad consciences, but by expediency. They give ground with the firm intention of retrieving it when it is the right moment. Lenin called it a "strategic retreat"!—EDITORS.]

CARTELS RESTORED IN JAPAN

THE Lower House of the Japanese Parliament to-day passed a Bill to allow a revival of cartels in Japan, subject to certain Government controls.

The "Big Three" pre-war cartels of Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo, and about seven others, were split up into smaller firms under the Allied occupation, and an anti-monopoly law was passed to prevent them from setting themselves up again.

To-day Mr. Yoshida's Government won the approval of the Lower House to alter this law. It claimed that cartels are more efficient than a mass of small firms, and that Government controls will protect the public against abuses—*Reuter*.

Krupps have been reconstituted in Germany, and now the great Japanese combines which were behind the Japanese war against China are to be revived also. Once again is demonstrated the power of an economic system to override the common sense and expressed wishes of ordinary people.

A Study on Freedom

Continued from p. 2

not blame someone for something because "he couldn't help it"—if he really couldn't, that is if his actions are fully determined then so are mine, and you are wasting your time because I "can't help" blaming him either. That this has been appreciated for some considerable time is clear from Archibald's "The Librarian's Beasts" for whom Clytemnestra begs Cretes not to slay her because "I ate my child, must share the blame for this" he rightly points out "Then it is Fate that hath worked this thy death". It looks as though Mr. Cranston will have to start again on this problem, a good way further back.

The tentative conclusion reached in the last chapter is a curiously illogical one, that some human actions are "determined", some not, though it is difficult to say which are which. This is the sort of untenable compromise which one was not surprised to find in Mr. Kewse's philosophy of history but which should not satisfy a more determined thinker.

Altogether the book fades out rather than finishes, with a curious Cheshire-Cat effect which is really the lingering consciousness of the complete irrelevance of the last third of the book. After an interesting circular tour of the linguistics of liberalism in which we have been driven inexorably past interesting issues peeping round odd corners, like so many Coronation coach trippers, Mr. Cranston puts us out where we started with the sobering reflection that if our enquiry has given us some grounds for doubt and some for belief "without grounds for doubt the subject would not be philosophy, and without grounds for belief there would be no point in writing". He should reflect that without ground for certainty no one is prepared to make a considerable sacrifice, and unless at least some people are prepared to make sacrifices when they seem necessary, freedom is not likely to survive. In the last resort freedom can only be defined, not defeated, by words. L.A.P.

ANARCHIST IDEAS IN INDIA

At the time of the "Anarchist trial" at the Old Bailey in 1945, an English friend then in India wrote to me that the extensive reporting of the seditious charges made an impressive demarché of anarchist ideas on the new generation in India. The conduct of the authorities was not unfamiliar to those who had grown up under imperialist rule, and the nature of the views under fire received considerable sympathy.

Since then, while anarchist ideas cannot be said to have spread like wildfire, the slow introduction of modern anarchist thought has begun. I say "modern" because there does exist an old libertarian tradition in India, with an emphasis on decentralisation and independence from the State, which imperial rule and local political parties have sought steadily to destroy. A libertarian movement to-day if it arose would not be dependent upon "imported ideas" but upon an age-old manifestation no less indigenous to India than to other countries and requiring only its transformation from a philosophy and instinctive ideal to a modern revolutionary trend.

Already in Bombay a libertarian publishing centre has issued books on Anarchism and allied subjects in English, Hindi, Gujarati and other languages, and the present availability of Anarchist classics and theoretical works is a great step forward.

The work of our old comrade M. P. T. Acharya is, in particular, a striking instance of what one man can do. An Anarchist of many years' standing, in Russia and Germany before returning from exile some years ago, he has despite ill-health, poverty and increasing years, formed a wide audience for anarchist ideas. His articles in the vernacular *Kaiser-i-Hand* (under the pen-name of Marco Polo) dealing with political and economics of the day (some of which have been reproduced in FREEDOM from time to time) pull no punches. Our own Press Council might pause from their weighty deliberations wherein the newspapers with the smaller circulations attack those with the larger, and reflect on the fact that no equivalent journal in England would dream of allowing so flagrant a rebel the opportunity of expressing his own opinions!

A striking success must be registered with M. P. T. Acharya's articles in *Harijan*. This is the paper founded by

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

Continued from p. 1

hinting at the fact that the withdrawal of his own books by McCarthy's boys an unfriendly act?

WHO ARE THE BOMB THROWERS?

AN A.P. report from Vienna (July 22) states that a Bucharest court has sentenced three persons to death and four others to heavy prison terms on charges of "terrorist activity". Radio Bucharest announced Saturday. According to the report, the group had placed a time bomb in a state-owned store on Dec. 31, 1952, which injured 12 employees.

It would be interesting to know the political affiliations of these "bomb throwing terrorists". They could hardly be Communists, and had they been anarchists we are sure we should have been told, just to keep alive the old myth about anarchism being synonymous with bomb-throwing. Perhaps after all, they were friends of Western democracy, though we would hate to associate the good name of "Democracy" with bomb-throwing—at least other than with block buster-atom-petrol-bomb throwing!

A NEW LAW IN MALAYA

UNDER the Emergency regulations in Malaya it is a crime to refuse to become an informer, or to give food to the "bandits", or to be in possession of weapons, etc. One had thought that every possible crime had been legislated for. But we were mistaken. The Malayan government last week published new laws making it an offence for anyone to buy, sell or possess bulletproof wearing apparel without license. It is, in other words a crime to protect yourself from a bullet which is officially intended to kill you stone-cold, for we can well imagine how licences to possess a bullet-proof waistcoat will be allocated. And it is only a matter of logic that a bullet fired by the forces of law and order cannot be obstructed in carrying out its duty!

LIBERTARIAN.

Gandhi, and still voicing the original Gandhian principles, as distinct from the official Gandhi-vestigation to which all parties bar the extreme right pay lip-service. Over the past year (as can be seen from a mere glance at the index to volume XVI—1952-53) his informed articles on Russian economy and the illusion of "communism" in Russia, as well as those on profit economy in general and the monetary system, have reached the *Harijan* public. On reading other people's articles in *Harijan* it is patent how far these criticisms have influenced them.

While the Gandhians have many points out of common with Anarchists, such as their mysticism, non-resistance, belief in prohibition and some other points arising therefrom, they are tending to stand increasingly nearer the Anarchists on many other issues especially in the reaffirmation of a peasant economy and decentralisation.

INTERNATIONALIST.

VALUES AND THE FACTS OF LIFE

Although I do not profess to follow all of Giovanni Baldelli's philosophical thought process I am in complete agreement when he states that anarchism "is a world and life-affirmation". At the same time if values are not in accordance with facts they should be discarded always with the realisation that we cannot know the full facts of our existence and must to some extent rely on our intuition and sometimes to accept the verdict of results without always knowing the why. The mistake largely to-day is to start with values and try to fit facts to them. A life-affirmative attitude should enable people to accept the facts of life and base their behaviour on these facts.

The scientific method in so far as it is specialist tends to base its findings on certain facts. This may not however be the fault of the method.

Colchester, July 20. ALAN ALBON.

COMMUNITY

I am sure that Alan and Joan Albon's letter on a Community will find many active supporters among anarchists and others.

There must be quite a number of people (non-complacent) who are at the moment sick to death of our present system and are seeking a constructive life to lead, and this community is perhaps just the thing they are seeking. But it is all very well for us to talk. What about action? As I am sure that the Carnegie Foundation is not likely to provide the capital needed for the venture we must provide it ourselves. Perhaps other readers of FREEDOM will have some constructive suggestions to make.

Kettering, July 12. E. NEHMS.

FREEDOM'S "REFORMISM"

During the past few months, there has been an increasing tendency on the part of the editors of FREEDOM to come to terms with the outside world, and to give praise as well as blame. Kind words have been said about actions by the Conservative Party and the British Press, in spite of the fact that these right actions have been done for the wrong reasons. It has been left to the readers to provide the uncompromising attitude, and the clash between the two points of view has occasionally reached the point of viciousness.

Evidence of this new "line" was given in the article on the East Berlin riots (FREEDOM, June 27). The concessions bestowed by the East German government were shown as a result of pressure by the people. In other words the workers had shown that if they organized themselves they could make those in power act in accordance with their wishes.

To those who, like myself, believe in the power of non-violence, the events of the past few days come as no surprise. The more obviously totalitarian a government, the more vital becomes "co-operation". Passive submission is not enough, the whole propaganda machine becomes tuned to the one aim of making the people enthusiastic. So long as the peoples wants are satisfied, all goes well. But it is quite obvious that under their present conditions, the workers have no interest in raised norms and are refusing to "play fair". The one possible criticism of this point of view and one which caused many intellectuals to leave the pacifist movement, namely the power of indoctrination, seems to be smashed to the ground.

All this you may agree with, but the principle lesson to be learnt, (as you

implicitly state), is that no government can survive if it continuously ignores the wishes of its people. The old anarchist cry was that not only was there no such thing as a good government, but neither were there such as "better" or "worse". Time seems to have made a difference to the latter.

I do not wish to agree or disagree with the modification in outlook. I merely comment on its significance.

Thornton Heath, July 13. P. J. HITCH.

[It is indeed heartening to learn that the readers of FREEDOM are more uncompromising than the Editors in their attitude to the "outside world", particularly since the general criticism that is generally levelled at us is that we "live in the clouds".

But our correspondent goes a bit too far when he draws the conclusion that the original article on the East Berlin riots suggested that by organisation the people could make governments act in accordance with their wishes. What we do suggest is that no government can continue to function unless these is some kind of co-operation from some section of the population: that a government will resort to violence in implementing its will in proportion to the opposition it meets. Since the majority of people have been brought up to believe in government, and still believe in this institution, they obviously can make a distinction between "good", "indifferent", or "bad government" according to how closely it represents what they consider to be their interests. To anarchists such distinctions are difficult to make, since their social conceptions discard the whole idea of government as harmful to human development. As Kropotkin showed, long ago, anarchists do not even believe in "Revolutionary governments".—EDITORS.]

POPE, POLO & THE PRINCE

"Internationalist" in his interesting contribution *Pope, Polo and the Prince*, (FREEDOM July 4) is more entertaining than informative, and clearly overreaches himself when he comments on the supposed struggle between "Protestantism" and "Catholicism" brought into relief by the Coronation oath. As for the infiltration of Catholicism into "Protestant churches" by way of Anglo-Catholicism, such a misconception can only arise from his identification of the Catholic Faith with the Roman Church exclusively as the context clearly shows. Roman Catholics must indeed be disappointed with the meagre results of these conspiratorial activities for the influence of a tiny minority of Anglican papalists in the Church of England is manifestly negligible and likely to remain so, such an authoritarian, legalist temper being happily foreign to the Anglican ethos in spite of an inherent tendency to Erastianism due to the State connection. Many theories about our religious history and customs have foundered in an

inadequate appreciation of the true nature of Ecclesia Anglicana. The Church of England asserts the great, positive principle of a non-papal Catholicism, though it is true that she may fairly be described as Protestant in an historical sense having regard to her rejection of the doctrinal perversions of the Papacy. The oath which the Sovereign repeats at the Coronation Service, and which safeguards the "Protestant Succession" should, therefore, present no great difficulty to the enquirer. The House of Hanover notwithstanding, the English Church is still able to reconcile the Protestantism which sought to purge her spiritual inheritance of superstitious error and the Catholicism which is native to her genius.

Until "Internationalist" can disentangle himself from the consequences of a faulty appraisal of the religious and social trends which have contributed to the establishment of the ties between the Anglican Church and our constitutional monarchy his estimation of these very real forces in our national life will remain unimpressive and of little value to the serious student.

Leeds, July 10. P. M. M. HUGGON.

ARE AMERICAN INDIANS AMERICANS?

SAN DIEGO COUNTY, California, declares that Indians on reservations are ineligible for social security benefits. Superior Judge Arthur L. Mundo, on appeal by friends of the Indians, ruled last February 4 that the real test was not "if they are Indians, but if they are needy and otherwise qualified to receive State aid." Now San Diego County is seeking to have this verdict overturned, and the Association on American Indian Affairs is waging a court fight on the Indians' behalf.

The Catholic weekly *America*, in commenting on the case, asserted: "If any people in the United States are entitled to the full rights of citizenship, they would seem to be the descendants of the original Americans, who lived here in freedom before any and all immigrants from outside." A court ruling in Arizona last March held that the State's legislature could not deny Indians social security rights.

That is the extraordinary state of affairs in this mid-twentieth century where the natives of a country have less rights than those who have occupied their countries to bring them "civilisation"! And this condition is not limited to the Indians of America but exists in vast areas of Africa and the East.

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