

Freedom

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Threepence

"Cease to gnaw that crust.
There is ripe fruit over your
head."

—THOREAU

Mrs. FELTON CIVIL DEFENCE PLAN FOR INDUSTRY

WITH their customary ineptitude the authorities have put the case of Mrs. Monica Felton into the hands of the Director of Public Prosecutions, and the sleuths of Scotland Yard have begun their enquiries. This follows Conservative demands in Parliament that Mrs. Felton should be prosecuted under the Treason Act of 1940 for "giving aid and comfort to the King's enemies".

Mrs. Felton is a novelist, a Doctor of Philosophy, a member of the Labour Party, and until last week was Chairman of the Development Corporation for the town of Stevenage, at a part-time salary of £1,500 a year. She recently made a 12-day visit to North Korea under the auspices of a Communist-dominated organisation, the "Women's International Democratic Federation". In a recorded broadcast from Moscow on June 10th, she said to have "made remarks about men, women and children being imprisoned for years without water and then shot, or on many occasions burned alive", and she has stated that two U.S. soldiers had saved one mother of five children, all of whom had been killed, and that while looking at an open grave she had been told by a native woman: "You must know we were not only U.S. soldiers who did these things, but British soldiers, too."

She repeated her charges at a Press Conference in London and at public meetings. In a statement to the press after her dismissal, she said: "The truth about Korea is so appalling that nothing will silence me. I have been dismissed because I have found out the truth."

"I have been removed from office as chairman of the Stevenage Development Corporation in an attempt to discredit me in the eyes of the world. The Government dare not let the country know what savagery is being committed in the name of Western civilisation."

"I went to Korea because here was a chance to sort out the facts from the propaganda. The simple fact is that a whole people and the life they have created for themselves are being destroyed with a calculated savagery that can only be compared with that of Hitler and the Gestapo against the Jews."

"The Americans are using the most devilish weapons on the civilian population. No-one with two eyes would need an interpreter to tell them that a whole people is being crucified."

"Every single British soldier in Korea will bear me out. If this be doubted, let U.N.O. send a commission of inquiry."

Naturally, nobody here is able to verify or refute the statements Mrs. Felton made in Moscow. Their circumstances make them suspect, but there is ample, reliable evidence of the atrocities committed by the South Korean authorities, and as to the

charges against U.S. and British troops, there can hardly have been an army free from cases of rape—the inevitable consequence of the sexual frustration and irresponsibility inseparable from militarism. But her remarks to the press can scarcely be doubted by people who read the newspaper reports from the Korean war or who see the newsreels from Korea at the cinema. When Mr. H. N. Brailsford referred to Korea as "a bloody shambles" he was stating the obvious.

One would, however, have felt more sympathy with Mrs. Felton if she had drawn attention to the guilt of the authorities in the territories she visited. We refer not so much to the American reports last year of atrocities by the North Koreans, reports which have mysteriously ceased recently, but to the hundreds of thousands of Chinese peasants, armed with rifles only, who have been flung to their death against flame throwers, guns and bombers.

It seems likely that the referral of the case of Mrs. Felton to the Director of Public Prosecutions is a measure of intimidation only and that there is no intention to prosecute. A trial would give too great an opportunity to the other side to give publicity to discreditable evidence. What, for instance, is one to say of the news from South Korea published in the *Observer* (17/6/51), which states that "Controversy is raging in South Korean Government circles about the report of Suh Min-ho, chairman of a committee of the Korean National Assembly, that 50,000 South Korean conscripts have died from starvation and disease in military camps since December. The South Korean Defence Ministry has denied this, but admits 799 deaths up

to March. . . . Suh Min-ho states that several thousand South Korean conscripts have deserted rather than face death in the camps, and that 80 per cent. of the fewer than 350,000 survivors are physical wrecks incapable of working. The investigating committee has substantiated, it is alleged, the details of a 300-mile 'death march' which conscripts were forced to make in December. During the three weeks of the march about 300,000 men are stated to have deserted or died along the way."

The dismissal of Mrs. Felton from her job depended, of course, not so much on the fact that she had absented herself from it, but on *where* she had gone to. Nevertheless, there is, taking it at face value, something to be said for Mr. Dalton's point of view that if you pay someone £1,500 a year for a part-time job, it is not unreasonable to expect the job to be given precedence. And there is something rather comical about Mrs. Felton's remarks defending her fitness for office when she declares that when she took over the job there were not even six permanent houses at Stevenage while now there are 900 under contract—as if she had rolled up her sleeves and started bricklaying herself. The truth is that progress in the new towns is dependent entirely on how much or how little of its revenue the government decides to devote to them, and at present they are very far down the priority list. What the new towns need is not big-salaried figureheads but people of enthusiasm and devotion who are alive to the adventure of building a new community and transmit that enthusiasm to the people so that new towns become everybody's concern and not just a pious hope to be shattered by the upturned values of the budget.

ONE more step towards putting Britain on a war-footing is being taken in industry. A plan for setting up Civil Defence units in all establishments with more than 200 workers "in the important built-up areas" has been outlined in a Home Office memorandum now being circulated.

To begin with, each firm is being told to appoint a whole or part-time officer to organise a Civil Defence scheme, recruit instructors and members, and train them.

The scheme has been drawn up with the approval of the trade union leaders—of course—after discussion with local authorities and employer's organisations. We are told that the local authorities have made "good progress" in Civil Defence arrangements, and their efforts will be linked with the new scheme for industry.

So far the scheme is voluntary. So far. But we remember so many schemes in the last war that started off voluntarily and soon became compulsory (fire-watching, for example). In spite of the supposed "good progress" made by local authorities, figures as published of the number of volunteers so far have not been impressive. Obviously, like direction of labour, compulsory Civil Defence service will be introduced just when the Government thinks it necessary.

So that the scheme will not cost the employers anything, its cost can be deducted from trading profits for income tax purposes.

The usual arguments are put forward in the memorandum for justifying this scheme. The Government, we are told, while doing all it can to avert the risk of war, is compelled, in its efforts to make war less likely, to proceed with C.D. preparations. We seem to remember posters in 1939 bearing the message "Civil Defence is Insurance for Peace". Whoever was paying the premiums on

that insurance must have been a long way behind in his payments by September of that ill-fated year!

The memorandum tells us: "Every good citizen earnestly hopes that we shall never have another war." We sincerely hope so. And we also hope that all good citizens will do something about preventing war themselves instead of allowing local authorities, union leaders and the bosses to organise them for war.

In the Commons recently, Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas, Home Office Under-Secretary, said it would be found that there was a great improvement in Civil Defence regulations as a result of last war experiences. After the next war, no doubt we shall know even more about Civil Defence. If we are still here, to know anything.

As a result of last war experiences, how about the workers in industry taking the one action that will effectively prevent a war—a general strike against all war preparation.

P.S.

Nation Wide Clap-trap about Missing Diplomats

REMARKING that confidence in British security measures has been seriously undermined in recent years, the leader writer in the *News Chronicle* declares that "the affair of the missing diplomats has shown how jumpy the public has become".

Now journalists do much of their work at night and night work (as the Peckham Health Centre, for example, was able to demonstrate) undoubtedly is wearing to the nerves. We can well imagine that in the cloistered environment of Fleet Street the atmosphere is "jumpy" indeed.

The editors of *Freedom*, we fear, lead altogether more humdrum lives, earning their living in non-journalistic activities. Perhaps it is because they are thrown into the midst of the busy life of urban people earning their living, that they have wholly failed to detect this "widespread misgiving", this jumpyness.

Speaking seriously, does not this alleged anxiety over the missing diplomats—to take only one example—show that the press has completely fallen into the tendency, pointed out by George Orwell, of using words not as a vehicle of expression, but as a means of preventing thought? When we hear of "nation-wide this", and "widespread that", ought we not to ask ourselves what does this mean? We shall usually be compelled to answer that it means just about nothing.

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A Central African Dominion

"Colonial countries granted Dominion Status have either exterminated the indigenous peoples or turned them into serfs," say Africans.

THE long-awaited report of the Conference on Closer Association in Central Africa which was published on June 13th recommends, as was expected, that Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be joined in a federation to be known as British Central Africa.

The background to the Conference held in March was discussed in *Freedom* for 31/3/51. Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing colony, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are British Protectorates, the former ruled by a Governor with an Executive and Legislative Council. The total population of the three territories is

variously estimated as between 6,000,000 and 8,000,000 of whom 163,000 are Europeans.

In the proposed Federation, the federal government would have full responsibility for defence, economic planning, civil aviation, higher education, railways and Customs, and the existing territorial governments would retain control of African education, health, land settlement questions and native administration generally. In the spheres assigned to them, the Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Governments would remain responsible to the United Kingdom Government. The federal legislature, says the report, should consist of 24 members, of whom 17 would represent Southern Rhodesia, 11 Northern Rhodesia and 7 Nyasaland. Three representatives from each territory would be members specially chosen to represent African affairs. In each of the two northern territories, two of these would be Africans. It is also proposed to establish an African Affairs Board and a Minister for African Affairs.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies explained in Parliament last week that these are "framed to take account of the special features of the Central African situation, including the self-governing

status of Southern Rhodesia, and designed in particular to provide substantial safeguards for the interests of Africans."

He continued: "In issuing this report for public consideration and discussion, I wish on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to make it clear that, in relation to our responsibilities in Central Africa, we adhere fully to the policy which has been repeatedly stated with the assent of all parties. Our ultimate objective is self-government within the Commonwealth, but self-government must include proper provision for both Europeans and Africans. We have set Africans on the path of political and economic progress and it is our task to help them forward in that development so that they may take their full part with the rest of the community in the political and economic life of the territories."

A Compromise

It will be seen that the report is a compromise attempting to reconcile the conflicting interests in the territories concerned. The British Government evidently hopes that the proposed federation will remove Southern Rhodesia from the orbit of South African expansionism. Malan's government intends to absorb Bechuanaland, just as Cecil Rhodes and Dr.

The Law and Identity Cards

THE Lord Chief Justice said on June 12th, that the Court had got to decide once and for all whether the police had a right to ask people to produce their identity cards.

He ordered that an appeal against a conviction for failure to produce an identity card when requested by a police officer should be stood over to enable the law officers of the Crown to be represented.

Mr. A. P. Marshall, K.C., for Mr. C. H. Willcock, said his argument was that the Act relating to the registration card was passed as a result of an emergency. Pursuant to an Order in Council, that emergency was brought to an end as from October 8th, 1950.

Mr. Willcock, as a matter of principle, objected to producing his identity card in the circumstances in which he was stopped.

The magistrates decided that no Order in Council had been passed repealing the National Registration Act.

Lord Goddard asked what was the object, assuming the Act was still in force, of asking a person for his identity card as well as his driving licence.

He added that the emergency had either come to an end or it had not. "From other sources I know a great many people are very concerned about demands to show their National Registration Cards, for reasons which they cannot make out and—well, I won't say more."

"It has been brought to court to have the constitutional rights of people decided and they shall have it decided one way or another."

"Trenton Six" Trial

Four Acquitted after 15 Weeks Trial

THREE years ago, six Negroes were arrested on a charge of murdering a 72-year-old Trenton (New Jersey) shopkeeper. At the first trial they were all found guilty, but because it was such an obvious frame-up, the New Jersey Supreme Court ordered a fresh trial. This took place last February but ended abruptly when the prosecutor was suddenly taken ill with appendicitis. The present trial which lasted for nearly fifteen weeks—the longest in New Jersey's history—has now been concluded, the jury, after twenty hours' deliberation, returning a verdict of not guilty on four of the defendants and finding the remaining two guilty, adding a recommendation to mercy.

Full details of the case are not available at present but a Reuter report states that the defence lawyers asked for acquittal on the grounds that the police forced false confessions from five of the men. The sixth refused to sign a statement. In fact, the judge ruled out three of the confessions" as, he said, "the State had failed to prove that they had been obtained legally". A polite way of referring to third-degree methods.

Apparently the dead man's woman friend was the only witness to give

evidence linking the six men to the murder. But she changed her testimony no less than eight times and even admitted that the police and prosecutor had rehearsed her evidence several times.

It will be interesting to know on what evidence the two defendants were found guilty, and also what amends the State will make to the four proved innocent after three years in prison, with a capital charge hanging over them.

Jamieson intended to in the days of Seretse Khama's grandfather, and just as it has absorbed the mandated territory of South-West Africa. The next step after Bechuanaland would be Southern Rhodesia which already has a greater rate of white immigration from the Union of South Africa than from Burpee, and which has already initiated a "Malanisising" policy (see *Freedom*, 31/5/51). A glance at the map will indicate the pattern of South African expansion.

The South African Minister of Agriculture, speaking in Australia on June 11, about his government's intention of leaving the British Commonwealth said that the desired above all else to retain the domination of the white races. "This is threatened—we are outnumbered four to one—and unless we take action we cannot preserve it."

Rhodesian Opinion

From Southern Rhodesia itself a correspondent recently wrote that the Civil Servant's report was "awaited here more in sorrow than in anger. Most White people seem to think that the report is bound to involve a 'pandering to the Native' which Southern Rhodesia would be mad to accept. 'Pandering', in this context, may be taken to mean any step which would hold out to Africans the prospect of equality of opportunity within the next thousand years or so."

On the other hand, as the *New Statesman* pointed out, the white settlers

A PLAGUE OF BABIES by GERALD BRENNAN

"Man is a weed in those regions."

DE QUINCEY. HOW is it that as one travels down to the South of Europe, as one enters regions that bask all the year round in a beautiful climate and possess soils of marvellous fertility, the poverty of the inhabitants grows greater and greater? This is the question that I ask myself after returning from a two months' visit to Sicily and Calabria.

Sicily was the granary of ancient Rome and its soil produces several times more to-day than it did then. Some of the land, perhaps a third or even a half, is owned by the peasants; the rest belongs to large and usually absent landlords who rent it to tenant farmers. But all of it is well cultivated: as in Northern Italy, every inch is sown. Nor does the condition of the peasants and agricultural workers seem too bad. Comparing it with Southern Spain, it might be called good, for there is little casual labour and those who are employed earn enough to feed and clothe their families. Yet in every country town one sees knots of men leaning against the walls. Talk to them, and a flood of bitterness and despair wells out of them. Many of them have had no work for years and are kept alive on a pittance supplied by the municipality. "All we need is work," they say, and this is true, for Italians are the hardest workers and the most abstemious lives in the world. Unlike the Spaniards, they

Gerald Brennan, who here gives some impressions of his recent visit to Southern Italy and Sicily, is already well-known to many readers as a writer on Spain. His recent book, *The Face of Labyrinth*, a most penetrating study, is the classic account of Spanish social history.

live whenever they are able within their incomes and put by savings.

Then go to Palermo, the capital of Sicily and a city of 430,000 inhabitants. The whole of the centre of the city is occupied by a vast slum in which some 200,000 people are packed together in the worst housing conditions in Europe. The houses rise in five and six stories on either side of narrow lanes and every room has eight, twelve, or even more people living and sleeping in it. All the garbage is thrown out into the streets, where it is collected when the Municipal authorities think of it, and the stench is overpowering. One seems to be walking through the London of 1850, as described by Mayhew, except that this Southern population is more animated, more exuberant, more, shall we say, monkey-like, than the gin-sodden slum-dwellers of our foggy city can ever have been.

However, not all these people live in real poverty. There is a permanent housing crisis in Palermo (though large working-class blocks are now going up) and the small-shopkeeper class prefer to pay as little as possible for rents so as to have more money to spare for food and amusements. South Italians care less

about cleanliness and decent housing than any other people I have known, and they positively enjoy crowding. But still there is an enormous amount of acute poverty. Walk through the narrowest lanes, only a couple of yards wide, look at the rags they call clothing, at the thin faces of the women and children, at the food sold on the stalls, and one will be horrified. This is due to the unemployment. It is much worse since the war, because many export trades have dried up, but it was always chronic.

"What can we do?" an Italian said to me. "There are no openings for new industries. The only remedy is emigration. There are half a million too many people in Sicily."

"That's a great deal in so small an island," I said.

"And before long," he went on, "there will be a million. There used to be epidemics that kept the population down, but the doctors are curing all that. Sicilian children have a remarkable vitality."

"But why do you have so many?" I asked.

BOOK REVIEWS

structure to books: the pillory for those that do". One would feel more enthusiastic about the aims of this crusade, and all the fine sentiments about knowledge and culture expressed in a few paragraphs to the question of interference not by taxation but by censorship, direct or through fear by the publisher of prosecution under the obscenity, libel, or sedition laws. Not to mention political pressure, of which examples that come to mind are Trotsky's book on Stalin, publication of which was withheld until after the war when Stalin ceased to be a friend of democracy, and Orwell's *Animal Farm*, which was turned down by a number of publishers, because it was an unpopular and embarrassing theme at a time when Russia was being whitewashed, only to become a best-seller in America as soon as the cold war tap was turned on.

Devaluation of Man

(1)
"Power, like a desolating pestilence
Pollutes whatever it touches; and
obedience,
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom,
truth,
Makes slaves of men, and of the
human frame
A mechanized automaton."
—P. B. SHELLEY (1813).

(2)
"There is no greater condemnation of
our civilisation than the fact that it
results in means becoming ends, while
the true end, which is man himself,
has become a means—no doubt a
more expensive one than a dog, but
cheaper than a cow or a machine
gun."
—IGNAZIO SILONE (1938).

(3)
"To define force—it is that X that
turns anybody who is subjected to it
into a thing. Exercised to the limit,
it turns man into a thing in the most
literal sense: it makes a corpse out
of him."
—SIMONE WEIL (1940).

(4)
"The Transfer of Surplus Populations."
—headline in *The Times*,
June, 1951.

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W.C.1

FOREWARNED IS FOREARMED

"LAG'S LEXICON, by Paul Tempest. (Routledge and Kegan Paul. 234 pp. 10/6d.)

WITH all its faults *Lag's Lexicon* should find a place on our bookshelves, perhaps between the latest editions of *A Police Constable's Guide to his Daily Work* (Pitman) and *Every Man's Own Lawyer* (Technical Press). For when these two have failed, one's new way of life will be made easier by being at least acquainted beforehand with its customs and language. As the compiler rightly points out in his preface, "Forewarned is forearmed."

But Mr. Tempest is not the best of lexicographers, for he too often allows his prejudice to get the better of him and that impersonal professional approach to his task which one finds elsewhere [e.g., *Cheese and (K)—see Steamer*] is marred by such offensive outbursts as the whole page he devotes to the entry "Political Offences". Whilst correctly pointing out that the law does not recognise political offences (though we would draw his attention to the Criminal Justice Act 1948 which does in fact recognise them by making provision for the "special treat-

ment" of "any person serving a sentence on conviction of seditious, seditious libel . . . which required to be detained in a prison"), he classifies the political "for the most part" as the "weak unpleasant type with a bee in his bonnet and the intelligent supporter of his country's enemies who, had he done the same thing for the enemy would have been shot out of hand". This is just plain rubbish.

Then, again, why pick on the abortionist and ignore all the other "criminals" from the bigamist to the burglar and from the forger to the housebreaker? And all we are told in any case is that "the abortionist in prison ranges from the illiterate simpleton type of person to the hundred-guinea-a-time Harley St. man", and that they are to be found in "both ordinary and convict prisons and in women's prisons". This is just padding and discrimination in bad taste.

Furthermore, the lexicon cares for me if I am a Jew, Catholic, Protestant, or, believe it or not, Mohammedan, but does not enlighten us poor atheists, of whom there must be more among the prison population in this country than Mohammedans, as to our position.

The language of prisons which is mainly based on rhyming slang, is sometimes very funny, but more often as far-fetched and as monotonous as bad punning. (I liked the alternatives for carrot soup; loop the loop, or yellow peril.)

It was also thoughtful of the compiler to include alphabetically the names of the various prisons with their respective accommodation (e.g., "Liverpool. Local prison with cell accommodation for 705 men.") We note that none have bath-rooms attached and we might almost refer to Maidstone prison ("cell accommodation 350 and a number of dormitories") as a establishment.

Very perceptive are Mr. Temple's remarks about the Howard League which has "done a great deal towards making prison more humane and comfortable without 'spoiling' the prisoner". He writes: "It seems to be the policy of the authorities to encourage such League and societies by giving them some sort of semi-official status. By doing this it is possible to prevent them from becoming too powerful and to suppress anything that would not make good public reading."

Taxing Culture

A BRITISH Chancellor of the Exchequer in justifying his proposal to levy a purchase tax on books, said that he could not distinguish between books and boots. Fortunately, as Sir Stanley Unwin points out "he was soon made to recognise their difference". But it would seem that in many countries to-day books are still just another commodity. Books imported into Cuba, Belgium and Switzerland pay a tax based on their weight, whilst most other countries impose some kind of tax based on the value of the books, and in some cases more than one tax.

Sir Stanley proposes some kind of crusade to expose those governments who tax or obstruct "knowledge". The methods to be used are "ruthless publicity" and praise of countries which offer no ob-

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control ought to take precedence of all other political measures, because no system of organised life can work, let alone produce happiness, if the population is what it is going to be in fifty years time. Emigration, as it exists to-day, is a mere palliation. Yet it will not be easy to make this idea popular. The Church opposes it by every means in its power, though it might change its attitude if it came to see that widespread unemployment plays into the hands of Moscow. And there is an even greater obstacle to the limitation of families in the passion that all South Italians, the men even more than the women, have for babies. If they cannot have one every year, to fit in with the crop of beans or potatoes, they feel that there is a blot on their fertility. Their pleasant climate and their terrible history have combined to make them an improvident race, living in the present because they do not trust the future. Or if they do think of it, what better insurance can they have against old age than a bevy of sons in America, who will send back monthly money-orders?

Yet these objections are not the only ones that a rational propaganda will have to overcome if it is to persuade the South Italians to limit their families. It will find itself up against what one can only call Nature. It is natural to desire large families if one likes children, it is natural to dislike interfering with such powerful things as the sexual instinct, it is natural to feel pride in human fertility and to hope that one's progeny may become, as the Hebrew poets put it, numerous as the sands of the seashore. In fact, human beings only consent to limit their procreative instincts when they are put in the straight-jacket of modern bourgeois civilisation, which demands prudence, forethought and a host of other disagreeable restraints. In preaching the Calabrians the necessity for birth-control we must not forget therefore that we are asking them to change their easy-going, expansive ways for the tight-book-keeping mentality that has been forced on the more "civilised" races. We are asking an independent, primitive people to enter the mill in which we are ground down.

Of course, it is going to happen. As the standard of living rises, as the pressure to keep up appearances increases, as the direction of labour becomes general, as regimentation and bureaucratic organisation spread, the strain of bringing up large families will prove too great to be endured. Birth-control will become the rule, even in Calabria.

GERALD BRENNAN.

COMMENT

TIP-TOE THROUGH THE TULIPS

An Open Letter to the Great British Public

DEAR G.B.P.,
May I, as a member of a rarely vocal section of our Island Race, address a few words to you through the courtesy of the editors of *Freedom*?
The organisation on whose behalf I write, the Union of Flowers and Shrubs of England, has naturally been highly gratified by the publicity three of our members (and good, loyal, rank-and-file members they were, too) recently received following a very unfortunate incident in South Shields.
You may remember the incident. A company of our members were on parade in a public park, doing their duty with that deep-rooted devotion which is so typical of our kind, when a working-class human (female, with three off-shoots) came along and, yielding, we are asked to believe, to a sudden insane impulse, stepped on to our territory and picked our three brothers!
Our organisation had a paid-up membership in that sub-section of that park totalling 15,947. Following this unhappy event, we were reduced to 15,944. Clearly, if this sort of irresponsible—even criminal—pilfering of our members were to continue our organisation would suffer both in prestige and financially. Imagine our gratification then, when our right to stay put was upheld in a Court of Law.
The U.F. & S. of E. wishes to publicly express its gratitude to those two magistrates of South Shields, Mr. Edwin Thompson and Mrs. Washington Tate, for their valiant defence of our three brothers, and we may say that their use of their powers of remand to lock-up the criminal, Mrs. Margaret Johnson, and this then her £5 after her night in the cells, represents no more than such vandalism deserves.
After all, there is a whole section of our membership available for introduction

into private homes, and if Mrs. Johnson had really needed the pleasure our members can give, surely, better than simply taking three she could have engaged a dozen at the nearest florist? We can assure her that the two magistrates do not go short of the company of our members—many of our gayest brothers regularly find their way into their homes—but, of course, they pay for our services. Mrs. Johnson may not have been able to afford to do that, but surely the answer to that is—to go without!
Many people wrote to the press actually criticising the magistrates for "punishing the woman twice", "using the power of remand as a punishment" and other strange arguments. Lord Jowitt, the Lord Chancellor said in the House of Lords that the magistrates had made a "grave error of judgment". How could this be? Surely three of our members are a worth more than the happiness of a woman and three children? Although as a taxpayer, or the wife of a taxpayer, she had helped to pay for our forces in the park, everybody knows that civic pride is more important than individual pleasure.
But, sirs, the most disturbing thing of all is surely this: as a result of the publicity given to this case, Mrs. Johnson was overwhelmed at her home with flowers sent to her by people all over the country, who apparently wanted her to have the flowers she herself wanted.
Is not this setting up a very dangerous precedent? If ordinary humans express solidarity in this way against the findings of the defenders of law and order, will this not make the law look an ass? And is this a good thing?
Yours, etc.,
A. TULIP.
(President, Union of Flowers and Shrubs of England, New Gardens.)

Social Environments and Birth Control

THE prospect of famine in India has given occasion for us to discuss in *Freedom* the problem of birth control for the vast millions of Asiatic peasants. To any rational mind it is a problem which must be tackled, for continued delay in the acquisition of conception control can only mean the continuance of terrible, life-denying, even life-destroying, poverty.

In an article on the opposite page, Gerald Brenan raises the same question in regard to the population pressure in Italy, at its worst in the South where also poverty is greatest. The discussion of the difficulties likely to be encountered before rational and conscious control of human fertility is believed (leaving out of account the opposition of the Church) raises some fundamental points. These show clearly how necessary is an imaginative approach, how impractical is any purely political consideration of economics and censuses. To overcome the difficulties the most imaginative and the most radical thought will have to be the most down-to-earth and practical.

Birth control in southern Italy will find itself, writes Brenan, "up against Nature. It is natural to desire large families if one likes children, it is natural to dislike interfering with a powerful thing as the sexual instinct, it is natural to feel pride in human fertility..."

That the term "natural" may beg many questions is suggested, however, by his observation that the passion for babies is found even more among men than among the women of southern Italy. The pleasure in a new baby every year can only arise where no other useful activity is open to women. Reactionaries are right when they insist that motherhood is fulfilment for women; but it is not the only fulfilment and it should not exclude other life-fulfilling activities.

It is here that birth control becomes a positive and a liberating influence. "No-one wants to become a monk or a nun nowadays," is the remark only possible where sexual activity is inevitably linked with conception. To relieve women of the inevitability of unwanted pregnancy and the fear of it, is to open for them the door to a fulfilling sexual life. To relieve men of the irresponsible attitude inevitable where conception control is absent is to make possible for them a far more human and affectionate attitude towards their partners in love-making.

The love of children is indeed natural; and it is natural therefore to seek their welfare. But the children's good is only destroyed by the regular annual additions to the family. Conception-control in no way inhibits the love of children, but rather enhances it.

Thus birth-control is the key not simply to the problem of population pressure. It is also a most powerful means whereby men and women may control the consequences of their actions and hence their environment. Able to achieve fulfilment in their love life without anxiety and poverty, men and more especially women, will be able to achieve far greater responsibility in life, far greater liberation of their energies. But they then will need also a social environment which does not crush, as it does to-day, their human aspirations.

THE COMMUNIST PURGES — 2 Pattern of the Purges

IS it possible to discuss a pattern, a logical thread underlying the innumerable purges in the Communist controlled countries? No reasonable observer can accept the official explanations of "treachery", "disruption", "sabotage", running, it seems, from top to bottom of the Communist parties. Yet a convincing analysis has yet to be made which provides a comprehensible explanation. To a considerable extent this is due to the lack of reliable information. Communist activity is itself so much a matter of façades and sophistry that almost nothing of it can be taken at its face value as fact. Despite this initial difficulty, which is nearly insuperable, an attempt will be made in this article to indicate some kind of pattern.

Devotion to Stalin

Let us start on the theoretical plane. Hilary Minc, the strong man of the Polish Politburo, declared before the Polish Central Committee in September, 1948, that "national deviation" (one of the almost invariable charges against the accused) amounted to (1) "lack of faith in the Soviet Union" and (2) "lack of faith in the effectiveness of the teachings of the great Stalin".

These two failings could readily be said to be the same thing, for the first and most obvious concern of the purges is to consolidate the colonial power of the Soviet Union over the satellite countries. In the earliest stages this can easily be discerned, first in the liquidation of open enemies of Russian domination, whether of the nationalist Right or of the revolutionary Left, or of the Church, or of the cultured intelligentsia. But it can also be seen in the exceptional case of Tito in the party itself, as an unwillingness to accept the dictates of Moscow out of concern for national interests.

It must not be assumed, however, that this yardstick can be applied indiscriminately. Michael Padev, who wrote a long and able account of Communists on trial for the *Manchester Guardian*, points out that it is not always "Westerners" or local Communists who are replaced by Moscow-trained men:

"To mention but the best-known cases: in Albania the 'Western' Communist, Enver Hoxha, educated in Paris, was spared, while the Moscow-trained Kochi Xoxe was sent to the gallows. In Bulgaria, Traycho Kostov was 100 per cent. 'Moscow trained'. He had never visited Western Europe before 1947, when he led a Cabinet delegation to sign the Paris peace treaties. Wladislaw Gomulka, in Poland, was also an 'Easterner', while Hilary Minc, the present Politburo 'strong man', is a 'Westerner'—he has lived for many years in France. In Czechoslovakia one 'Western' Communist, Vlado Clementis, is high on the liquidation list, but most of the members of his group are 'Easterners' and 'Moscow trained'. And the man who conducts the purges—the Minister of the Interior, Vaslav Nocke—is a 'Westerner'. In Hungary, Matthias Rakosi, perhaps the most prominent of all 'Western' Communists behind the Curtain (he has travelled extensively in Western Europe and America and speaks fluently English, French and German), is still firmly in

the saddle, while many 'Eastern' Communists have been executed. In Bulgaria a group of over a dozen Communist generals and senior officers, who had spent all their lives in Russia and had served in the Red Army, were also ruthlessly liquidated in 1950."

The Silent Purges

It may be well to point out here that one can be misled by considering only the cases which come to public trial. Large numbers of liquidations are carried out without publicity, and it is probably correct to assume that those who represent popular resistance to the government are disposed of in this way. For this reason one should not assume that no resistance exists because no resisters are brought to public trial: it is clearly in the interest of the régime to suppress all publicity in such cases.

The propaganda trials are different: it is not difficult to see that they serve immediate propaganda needs. Any feasible explanation must be directed to uncovering the principle by which the actors are chosen.

Method

Some help may be obtained by considering the method of the party purges. Padev describes the "liquidation by stages":

"The liquidation process itself has proved to be a long and elaborate affair. First comes the removal from the Politburo, followed a few months later by removal from the Central Committee and expulsion from the party itself. The victim is then relegated to some minor Government post. (Kostov, in Bulgaria, was made a librarian; Gomulka, in Poland, a statistician; and Clementis, in Czechoslovakia, a bank official).

"At this stage the victims are only accused of 'unfriendly feelings towards the Soviet Union'. No mention of treasonable activities is made. A few more months roll by. The victim is then suddenly arrested and a dangerous conspiracy and espionage group, to which he is supposed to have belonged for many years, is unearthed. Finally, the victim is tried and executed, or executed without trial. Usually a whole year elapses from the first signs of the victim's downfall to his final liquidation.

"Thus Wladislaw Gomulka, in Poland, was first reprimanded and temporarily suspended from his office in July, 1948. He was removed from the Politburo the following September, and expelled from the party in November. Throughout 1949 he was still to be seen in his office of the Polish Central Board. It seems that he 'disappeared' towards the middle of 1950, but it is still not known whether he has been liquidated physically as well as politically. Traycho Kostov, the acting Prime Minister of Bulgaria, was removed from the Politburo and the Cabinet in January, 1949. He remained in the Central Committee for another three months. He was then put under house arrest and expelled from the party. He was imprisoned the following August and tried and hanged in December. Vlado Clementis, in Czechoslovakia, was compelled to resign from his Cabinet post in March, 1950, but he was arrested only in February, 1951. The Rumanian Com-

munist leader, Lucretiu Patrascano, was stripped of his power in the summer of 1948. He was accused by the *Cominform* journal of being 'an American agent' in December, 1949, but he is known to have been liquidated in prison only towards the end of 1950."

The only exception to this process was Laszlo Rajk. He was arrested at the height of his power on 30th May, 1949; was tried in September and hanged in October.

The extended "liquidation by stages" was described in the case of Marshal Tukhachevsky in the 1937-8 Krivitsky in the Soviet Union, by Walter Krivitsky, a member of the G.P.U. who absconded. (He subsequently "committed suicide" in a Washington hotel.) Similar isolation of the victims occurred then, other officials being afraid to be seen talking to one upon him". George Orwell graphically conveys up to the atmosphere of such situations in "1984".

We may easily guess at the psychological advantages to the ruling power. Marked out for destruction, the victim will attempt to escape, probably by making contact with Western Embassies. These in turn will seek to turn the occasion to their own advantage by ask-

Strikes in West Indies

TROOPS were flown from Jamaica to Antigua in the Leeward Islands on June 14th, in answer to a call by the Governor for military reinforcements because of "local disorders" resulting from the recent strike in the sugar industry which began on May 11th.

It is only a few months since the widespread strikes on the sugar estates in Grenada, British West Indies when the British Navy and police from Trinidad were sent to quell the disturbances.

The Caribbean Labour Congress gave figures on wages and prices. The average weekly wage of a domestic servant was 7/- and the average daily wage of a labourer was 3s. Flour in Grenada and sugar were 64d. a pound, and soap 2s. 6d. a bar. "In other words," said the Congress, "an average working labourer (for approximately 50% are unemployed without dole or other relief) must work six hours of a nine-hour day in order to purchase a bar of soap for a week's use; and a domestic servant must do half a day's work to buy 1lb of sugar."

ing for information. The material of the impending trial therefore begins to accumulate.

Meanwhile, the presence of the condemned man, nominally free, in their midst, can only create a kind of suppressed panic among the remaining officials. "There, but for the grace of— Stalin—goes myself!" Self-defence can only lie in closer and more evident subservience to the Soviet Union. Hence the régime receives even more blind support, more slavish devotion.

Choice of Victim

There remains still the question of choice of victim. Padev appears to believe that the problem of agriculture provides the touchstone, and that Moscow demands all-out collectivisation or the 1928 model. Those who criticise this policy, believe it premature or even frankly impractical, are guilty of "national deviation" and go for trial. This seems to us too theoretical.

But he points to another factor. "Virtually all liquidated Communists have been notorious for their brutality." And he lists Kochi Xoxe, in Albania; Kostov in Hungary (he organised Petkov's trial and was ruthless against opposition); and Rajk (liquidator of non-Communist opposition and organised Cardinal Mindszenty's trial); Sling, in Czechoslovakia; Gomulka, in Hungary. All unpopolar, they have been thrown to the lions of public hatred. They are the scapegoats whereby the régime seeks exoneration.

And herein lies the irony of the situation. Devotion to the Soviet Union means disregard of the national good and, very likely as well, a display of ruthlessness. Result: unpopularity; reward, liquidation.

Conclusion

To sum up. The purges serve the ends of Soviet colonial policy by a variety of means. To the writer, the most important of these is the psychological atmosphere created. The fear, uncertainty, incentive to belly-crawling and denunciation represents in extreme form the appeal which all materialist motives of self-interest in those governed. In such an atmosphere, ideals and hopes, the mainstays of revolutionary action, cannot easily flourish, and certainly not in public.

Under cover of such an atmosphere the colonial power can make the most appalling material exactions from the people. A leading Communist now and then is a small price to pay for bleeding a country white. Yet it seems unlikely that such a policy can be indefinitely pursued. And the revolt of a colony may well be the match which sets fire to the Soviet Union itself.

ANARCHIST.

A Central African Dominion

FROM PAGE ONE
would "gain greatly by linking themselves with the financial prosperity of Northern Rhodesia, and they would be better placed to 'put a stop to Fabianism in the two protectorates'. They can also be sure that "they could always modify to White advantage, as time went on, any inconvenient concessions which the Act of Union might make to the Africans of these territories".

This, of course, has already been done in South Africa, and in Southern Rhodesia itself, where without protest from the British Government, African rights have been over-ruled although they were by law protected by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The elaborate arrangements which the report proposes for safeguarding African rights can just as easily be circumvented. Lord Farrington recently declared that "The franchise in Southern Rhodesia, like the Ritz, is open to all." There are in fact to-day 300 African voters in the country.

African Views

Of the reaction to the proposed federation in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Lord Farrington said:

"... the Africans are afraid. They have been to Southern Rhodesia, many of them, to work in the mines and on European farms. They have watched the whittling away of all constitutional checks on the local Europeans. They have heard the demands for more land to be settled, the attacks on the Colonial Office and the demand for Dominion status. They watch the immigrants pouring into Northern Rhodesia, many of them Afrikaners, they listen to the 'white leadership' claims of Sir Godfrey Huggins and Mr. Roy Welensky, the European railwaymen's leader who has made his way to a dominating position in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, and they fear that if their territories are joined to

Southern Rhodesia, they will lose their rights and their lands.

"The federal schemes," said the Northern Rhodesian African Congress in January, 'are designed to effect the granting of Dominion status to the Central African states. The colonial countries which have been granted Dominion status have either exterminated the indigenous peoples or turned them into serfs.' They spoke also of the danger of immigration in Northern Rhodesia itself: "The treaties which were signed between our chiefs and the British Government did not allow immigration of European races into this country without their consent. The treaties were made to protect the Africans by Her Majesty's Government, of Queen Victoria." The same appeal came from the Nyasaland African Congress: "Any proposal to include Nyasaland in any form of federation or amalgamation would be legally a breach of treaties made by Her Majesty Queen Victoria of the British Archipelago and the Chiefs of Nyasaland."

Race War Coming

The British authorities so far have carefully avoided any clash with the White settler interests either in South Africa or Rhodesia and have continually given in to racialism on the spot. (See for instance, its attitude to Mr. Michael Scott's revelations (*Freedom*, 10/12/49).) It has often been stated recently that the racialist policies, and the British "utelage" policy are irreconcilable, but in fact, they are always reconcilable because the U.K. Government always gives in.

It becomes more and more obvious that only the Africans themselves can achieve their liberation. And the tragedy is that in what now seems to be the inevitable racial war of the future, they will fall a prey to the ambitious demagogues who are always created by racial discrimination and indignities and economic servitude. But whose fault will that be?

Crazy Commentary

● **Quite Unbalanced**
SEATTLE, May 17—Two students at the University of Washington are the latest holders of the seesaw marathon title after going up and down for 52 hours 5 minutes.

The craze is sweeping colleges here since two students from Washington State College teetered for 49 hours 10 minutes.

● **Split Personalities**
WASHINGTON, May 30 (A.P.)—Bickering in Congress over international affairs is threatening the mental health of America, according to Dr. C. Minninger, a psychiatrist.

"The public is not sure whom it can believe or whom it should follow," he said. "We don't know how to plan nor for what."

[It has not occurred to them to follow no leader.]

● **Seeing Red**
SYDNEY, May 30—A local magistrate ruled yesterday that you can't smoke Communists out of an apartment building by burning sulphur.

The magistrate ordered the eviction of Mrs. Gladys Whaling from her apartment after the owner said she had burned sulphur three times in an effort to decontaminate her building of Communists, "who are in the walls and ceilings".

● **What Next?**
ELISABETHVILLE, Belgian Congo, May 17th (U.P.)—The provincial council of Katanga, meeting here to-day, recommended that all natives over 16 be required to carry an identity card in their pockets, and to choose a family name to put on it.

● **Boomerang**
CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., May 30 (A.P.)—Tennessee Judge I. D. Miller, who has granted more than 20,000 divorces, was divorced here by his wife Edith, who alleged cruelty and inhuman treatment. He was ordered to pay her \$150 a month alimony.

● **Notes on Evita**
BUENOS AIRES, May—Horacio Colombo Gnechci, 32, jumped into a Zoo pit here, and kept lions at bay with flaming newspapers until keepers rescued him.

Peronista newspapers publish illustrated reports of the incident, saying that Colombo braved the lions because he had dropped photographs of Evita Peron, wife of the President among them.

"For Evita Peron everything is little,

and the lion's den nothing," they quoted him as saying.

● **Record of our Folly**
In its 300th issue, the *Emergency Legislation Service*, a fortnightly publication which keeps the legal profession up-to-date with Whitehall's outpourings, reveals that since 1939 it has had to classify 16,000 Statutory Rules, Orders and Instruments. The editor and his staff of six comment: "Still they come."

● **Protection from Draughts and Ideas**
The Minister of Works in a Parliamentary written reply, stated that the estimated cost of the Government offices in Whitehall Gardens was £5,681,700.

Two pairs of doors for the two main entrances which are approximately 33 feet wide by 23 feet high—were ordered at a price of approximately £13,000 a pair. Each pair weighed approximately 11½ tons, of which 8½ is steel and three tons aluminium, and would have to be mechanically operated because of their size.

None of the people connected with the items quoted above is or has been, to our knowledge, certified insane. We conclude therefore our crazy column with a cutting from the *Toronto Star* about

● **A Man who was really Crazy**
A man who represented himself as a senator from Maine and who made a scathing address to a joint session of the Ohio House and Senate, turned out to be an escaped mental hospital patient. It recalls the case of a man who escaped from the Whitty hospital some 25 years ago, posed as a doctor from the federal health department, forced a clean-up in a number of Ontario towns, and was even banqueting in one as a reward for his services. He arrived in Bowmanville as a crippled double-amputation war veteran doing sanitary inspections. His wooden leg and artificial arm were faked. He expressed doubts about the milk supply, advocated pasteurisation and denounced the methods of some of the farmers. He addressed the town council and Rotary club, promised a new hospital wing for the nurses, and left with the town's blessing. At Port Hope, he enforced a sanitary clean-up and did a really fine job for municipalities; was guest of honour at a hospital luncheon.

Dare we draw conclusions?

THE Labour Party exists to-day, but only as a political machine, and those who seek to set "the enthusiasm of the old-timers" against the apathy of the younger generation, are deliberately blinding themselves. Moreover, around the Labour Party existed the movement (from which in the last analysis it always drew its support, of which it was only a part—the larger part, but the least active) which was "the movement", which cherished the ideals of socialism and anti-militarism, and however much the labour leaders may really have despised it, once they all (and even to-day, all the veteran leaders, even Attlee) sprang from it.

It is, of course, only a coincidence that the men given the job of kicking the old "movement" in the teeth is John Strachey, who is far from being representative of it. One long ago lost the illusion that of the others would have shrunk from the task, given the chance, but it does appear as an attempt by the Lord to write a short story that would beat O. Henry's attempts. For years, Mr. Strachey sought to destroy the socialist movement, after all. He was born into the Conservative ruling-class and he later became the intellectual leader of the Communist Party. From the Right and from the Left, Mr. Strachey's effort left the socialist body unmoved. Finally, he enters the Labour Party, shorn clean of Toryism and Muscovism, and the biggest job he gets is the destruction of the next generation of socialists.

There is no other way in which to describe the conception plan, and the Territorial scheme, as outlined by Strachey, has most certainly no suggestion whatsoever of impermanence, rather is it clearly designed to incorporate forced training into the national way of life and by associating Territorial training with locality, absorbing so far as possible the energies and abilities of young men of future generations, by grabbing them young and indoctrinating them in militarism. And yet even as one is writing this, in occasional dreary Labour committee-rooms some old-stager is asking the question: "Why don't we get youth movements like the Clarion of Blatchford?"

The energies of youth, which always gave the socialist movement impetus, and sometimes led to far wider and greater movements, are to be directed to militarism; woe betide the man who seeks to deflect this direction. As our new legislation which covers for the first time not only soldiers who are to be preserved from seditious influences but also civilians, who happen to have inside their pockets the buff form that signifies the interest the Minister of Labour is taking in him. Of course, we know the reason for this. All anti-militarist, all revolutionary, all genuinely socialistic propaganda is to come under the axe—not immediately, but immediately it has been thought, by the most reactionary Attorney-General this country has had the misfortune to produce since the Ministry of Castlereagh, that this should be the case. Sir Hartley Shawcross is the model of the new Labour Party. What has he to do with the workers? His complete scorn for them is shown by the very fact that he believes there is such a thing as incitement or conspiracy—a belief which marks the petty fascist who is unable to concede that people can actually think for themselves. The Labour Party of the future will consist of gentlemen like Sir Hartley—devoted, without a question, to the ethics of their profession (which are not quite the ethics of humanity in general). He would not shrink to prosecute "however unpopular it was", which is, of course, the negation of any pretence at democracy. And one might also say that just as no lawyer considers himself bound to examine his conscience on which brief he accepts, but is prepared to throw in his eloquence on whichever side engages him, the new type of lawyer politician that dominates the Labour Party (and which can alone rise under the new set-up) would be equally at home on either side of the House. Long gone are the days when one could recognise which was which. A few greyheads remain, who have come up from the pits, and on top are still the safe men—above all, the creator of the new machine, Herbert Morrison, who is without any question, as scorned and feared by the politicians whose machine he has fashioned, as Disraeli was in his time.

The aim of Morrison is to build a party machine which will rival the Tory machine on the political field, while remaining in alliance with the trade unions, whose co-operation is necessary in view of the "Labour Front" method of running industry, and whose personnel will help to fill the office (at first at any rate)—one may wonder where the next generation will come from. From the benches? More likely direct from Productivity Training Colleges or with a diploma granted by the University Chair of Industrial Relations).

At the same time, they would like to hinder and destroy the movement on which they rose, and nobody fears it more than the old socialists in the Cabinet, whose phobia against anti-militarism is far greater than anyone else's, since they are in the category of "converted pacifists".

There remain all over the country the old militants of the socialist movement still in the Labour Party; there are many

extraordinary optimists who believe the Labour Party might be reformed, although these are few in number; there is a large number of young people who support the Labour Party because they think with all its faults it is still the workers' party. What more do they expect to happen before they will be convinced of their error? Is it not time that they woke up to the realisation that the alternative to the Labour Party is not the Conservative Party?—once the reformist Labour leaders aped Toryism, and one might well have preferred the real thing to the shadow. Now the Tory leaders follow supinely in the wake of Socialist legislation and lead, chanting contrary slogans, but walking the same path to the totalitarian state. Nor is the alternative to British capitalism Russian imperialism.

The true alternative is to question the whole basis of political socialism. Is it really true that we need these lawyers and M.P.s and trade union leaders and steel bosses and millionaire "converts"? Can the workers act for themselves without a political organisation? In short—as Anarchists have so often asked people to consider—can society be run without government? A.M.

BY the end of this month—which means in a week's time, we should have reached the half-way mark in our appeal for £600. We are more than £50 short of this amount, and would be even farther off the mark but for some large contributions from groups in America, particularly on the West Coast. May we take this opportunity of thanking all who contributed to these collective contributions as well as to all those readers who have individually made their contribution to the Appeal. In particular those friends whose contributions are shown in our lists accompanied by an asterisk (*), for they are regular contributors who appreciate that the problem of publishing a paper such as Freedom is one which will never be solved.

TO some readers this may sound like a hopeless situation. In fact it isn't because it has never been our intention to publish a "popular" paper aiming at a mass public, and which would be distributed through all the existing channels. Of course, we should welcome a mass readership if we could achieve it without having to modify or water down what we have to say. At present it appears impossible to achieve such an objective and we must be content to reach a much more limited public. It is our opinion that we have only touched the fringe of this "limited"

public. The difficulties in reaching it are enormous, for it is distributed among all sections of the community and geographically in every town and village in the country (not to mention the problems involved in reaching a similar public in other English-speaking countries).

NOW, let us face problem No. 1. The energies and available time in our group are limited by the fact, for instance, that we have to earn our livings. To produce the kind of paper we should like and to tackle the problem of distribution would entail at least two full-time workers which, with expenses for travelling, advertising, extra postages, etc. . . . would make the economic price of Freedom not 3d. but 6d. a copy! Therefore, to tackle the problem in this way and still sell the paper at 3d. means that we would need sufficient resources to face a period of several months during which the "Sales Manager" would be building up the circulation.

Since we see no chance of receiving the large sums that such a project requires, we have proposed to attack the problem in a more modest way, and the £600 we have asked readers to give us this year is to be spent in advertising Freedom and our publications in a number of journals which we think include among their readers those who would be interested in

our ideas; in sending out specimen copies to addresses which we have or come across and, of course, to have in reserve a sufficient sum of money to cover the estimated losses which we shall incur in this first year of publication as a weekly.

But this is not all. Already this year we have published two volumes, Selections from the Writings of Bakunin, and Herbert Read's Art and the Evolution of Man, and shortly will have ready Tony Gibson's Youth for Freedom. In the autumn we shall be publishing Philip Sansom's present series on Syndicalism as a booklet. These publications have meant an outlay of more than £300, only part of which will be recovered from sales during the coming months. The balance is only recovered over a period of years. Such a policy may not be the right one from the economic point of view but it has meant that Freedom Press publications in print have now reached the impressive total of nearly fifty titles, covering a wide variety of subjects from which to study the anarchist approach to social problems. And Freedom Press exists to do this and not to study what is the right economic approach to publishing!

But having said this, we must draw the attention of our friends and readers to the ever-increasing financial difficulties involved in the kind of publishing we undertake. The days of the 2d. and 3d. pamphlet are gone. Paper which cost a lb. only a year ago now costs, with postage, 1/9 a lb. Typesetting costs have doubled since 1939, as have printing costs. Cloth binding now costs us 1/6 on a small volume such as Art and the Evolution of Man. And, this is equally important, our readers support our publishing efforts less than they did during the war years. The result is that our editions are smaller and therefore more costly since certain fixed costs have to be distributed over few copies printed. In the benefit of Freedom readers we produce paper-bound editions; yet these do not sell as well as the cloth editions which are sold through booksellers.

The rhythm of our book publishing will therefore have to be seriously curtailed if we cannot recover from immediate sales of new publications at least one-half of our initial production outlay. Proposals we have in mind on this subject will be put to our readers on another occasion, but we shall be glad in the meantime to receive their suggestions.

We shall also be returning to other problems! Yet we hope we have said enough to impress on those friends and readers interested in the expanding activities of Freedom Press that such a venture as ours needs their support: contributions to the Fund and NEW READERS.

SYNDICALISM — THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP — 6 THE MEANS OF STRUGGLE

SINCE Syndicalists wish to see the workers responsible for running their own industries, the means they advocate for achieving that end are those which depend upon the initiative and responsibility of the workers. It is plainly foolish to put control in the hands of minorities and think thereby that the majority will learn to exercise control of themselves. While someone else is running your life for you, you will never learn to run it yourself!

For this reason, and for the arguments I have already put forward against political action, Syndicalists have developed means of direct action. These are, in fact, the means to which workers naturally turn when they are forced to take action themselves, and it is either by the use of these means or by the threat of their use, that all real advances in working-class conditions have been made.

These means are the strike, in all its various forms (culminating in the social general strike, to which I shall devote my next article), the boycott and sabotage. Let us deal with the second of these first.

THE BOYCOTT.

When a member of a group, or a family, offends the other members, they quite naturally shun him, until the quarrel has blown over. The boycott extends this automatic withdrawal of social contact into a conscious means of bringing moral pressure to bear upon one who has performed an unjust act. The boycott began in Ireland, when, during a time of bitter social strife, a landlord's spiteful evictions turned a whole countryside against him. So his servants left him, nobody would work his land for him, the tradesmen wouldn't serve him; he was made to feel a social outcast and was eventually driven away. His name was Captain Boycott, and ever since then, whenever workers have refused to deal in any way with a company, a shop, an individual, it has been called a "boycott".

In Britain, in 1950, the price of fish was decontrolled. Immediately prices began to shoot up, but housewives retaliated by boycotting the fish-shops until prices came back to something near what they were prepared to pay. They very soon did.

In Spain, in 1951, the tramways corporation in Barcelona declared an increase in fares of 40%. The Spanish workers walked to work—in some cases a distance of five or six miles—and walked home again at night. Not just some of them—all of them walked, and the trams ran completely empty for a whole week, until the company capitulated and went back to the old fares.

These are just two recent examples; working-class history is full of others. Appeals to their respective governments in either of these cases would have been fruitless—but direct action was effective.

THE STRIKE.

As is already perfectly clear, the workers are indispensable. Industry cannot operate without them, and so their greatest weapon is the withdrawal of their labour. Striking has always been and always must be the most effective action the working-class can take, but Syndicalists have much more up their sleeve than the simple walk-out strike. In fact, the protracted stay-out strike is one in which the workers suffer most—especially nowadays when all strikes are unofficial and the unions pay out no strike-pay.

During the long period of preparation for the final taking-over of industry, the workers should regard themselves as engaged in guerrilla warfare with the employing class. As such, it is much more effective to stage a number of short lightning strikes, than a long one where the strikers might be starved back to work on the boss's terms. The lightning strike is one where no warning is given, so that the boss has no time to prepare by organising his blacklegs or stocking up or getting rid of materials which would be strike-bound. The existing regulation under which 21 days notice of strike must be given in advance is precisely so that this can be done. Why should the workers give the boss this advantage?

Since the aim of the workers should be to take over industry, they will learn more by staying inside the premises in time of dispute than by walking out. This has been developed in the stay-in strike, wherein the workers fold their arms and refuse to work, but stay at their places of work.

This has many advantages. In the first place it shows the workers that they are in fact in control already—and it keeps them in control at the point of production. No blacklegs can be brought in to work the machines while the workers are there. No foremen or office staff can attempt to carry on production. When the workers are all outside the factory, the boss can walk up and down the rows of silent machines and say to himself, "All these are mine." While the worker is occupying the factory, he's not so sure! And from this situation—of remaining in control but refusing to work for the boss—it is only a step to taking over the plant and working for themselves.

The stay-in, or sit-down, strike has proved very effective in the past. The 1936 wave of strikes in Paris is a well-known example. Recently, however, we have had another example nearer home, when Glasgow busmen, in a dispute with the Corporation, ran the buses but refused to take any fares. This is a method Anarchists and Syndicalists have long advocated, of striking at the boss while continuing to serve the public. The ordinary bus-strike only antagonises the public, but by conveying them free, the busmen immediately gain their sympathy! Naturally!

This, and many other forms of staying in control, but fighting the boss, have been and can be developed by conscious workers.

SABOTAGE.

This is a word which creates more hysteria than "anarchy" itself! It has been so tied up with treason in time of war, that even the workers are now afraid to use the term "sabotage" or to defend its use. But in fact it means nothing more than interference with the smooth running of the boss's business.

Some forms of the strike are, in fact, sabotage. The go-slow, or ca'canny, in which workers continue to do the work, but at such a slow pace that it is uneconomical for the boss, is really sabotage. So is the work-to-rule, where the workers operate strictly according to the regulations of the company.

A good example of the latter was the action of the French Customs Officers, who staged a work-to-rule at the frontiers, with the result that lines of cars, carts, coaches and lorries, stretched for miles, while the customs men meticulously examined and searched everything and everywhere, as the rules laid down. When, some years ago, French railwaymen tried it, they carefully examined every nut, bolt and rivet on every railway bridge before driving their trains over them—all according to the rules!

This has the double effect of drawing attention to their grievances and making the company's rules look silly—as they usually are!

The usual idea of sabotage, however, is of destruction. But this is not its purpose. Its function, in time of industrial strife, is simply to prevent the use of machinery or services by blackleg labour. If the workers walk out of a factory, there is, as we have just discussed, nothing to stop the scabs from walking in. But if the workers render the machines unworkable, it does not matter if the scabs do walk in. This does not necessarily mean destruction of machinery. Indeed, this should be avoided, for after all, if the workers want to take over the factory, they want it intact, and in running order! But every worker knows his machine well enough to know one or two small pieces of it without which it will not operate.

I don't wish to go further than that at the moment (for obvious reasons!) but I should like to point out that although governments are most ruthless against sabotage against themselves, they are quite prepared to use its most extreme forms when it suits them. What is the bombing of factories and the murder of the workers in them but sabotage of the enemy's war potential? This is considered legitimate in warfare, is something from which revolutionaries recoil, but which States do not hesitate for one moment to perpetrate. In this class war the Anarchist and Syndicalist is anxious to avoid destruction and bloodshed. That is why to-day instead of talking in terms of barricades, we see the social revolution as being effected by industrial action. This finds final expression in the Social General Strike, which we shall discuss next.

PHILIP SANSON.

Next week: THE GENERAL STRIKE.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS at HYDE PARK Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m. INDOOR MEETINGS Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at the PORCUPINE (corner Charing Cross Road at St. Neopote Street, next Leicester Sq. Underground Stn.) JUNE 24—Sidney Parker THE INDIVIDUAL AND ANARCHISM

NORTH-EAST LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM

Every alternate Tuesday at 7.30 Enquiries c/o Freedom Press JUNE 26—Harold Gilbert on SYNDICALISM

SOUTH LONDON

Fortnightly meetings, sponsored by the S. London Anarchist Group, are held on alternate Tuesdays, at 7.30 p.m. at the KENTISH DROVERS Public House, Peckham (corner of High Street and Rye Lane) JULY 3—Francis Tonks THE STUDENT & POLITICS. JULY 17—A Meeting to Commemorate the SPANISH REVOLUTION

GLASGOW

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

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