

In this issue:
Communities in Relation to Society - p. 2
The Case of the Groveland Negroes - p. 3
Overtime - p. 4

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The men of future generations will yet win many a liberty of which we do not even feel the want."
 —MAX STIRNER

Vol. 12, No. 42

December 15th, 1951

Threepence

THE "UNITED NATIONS" ONLY PAY LIP-SERVICE TO— HUMAN RIGHTS

LAST month at the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, Mr. Vishinsky replied to Mr. Dean Acheson's denouncing human-rights violations in Hungary and other Russian satellite States, by drawing attention to a case of two Negroes who had been shot by a sheriff and concluded: "What human rights mean in the States of America." The Canadian Minister of External Affairs then asked Vishinsky to stop trying to explain the shooting. "If that is accurate, a shocking crime has been committed. The important fact is, that 99.9 per cent. of the population of the United States will feel 'what about it' whereas in Hungary, for instance, if anyone 'so much as' mentioned his sleep, about the innocent Hungarians dragged from their homes and driven like animals to the horrors of a concentration camp, he would 'join the 10,000 if he got that far'." And he concluded: "Of course, Mr. Vishinsky says reports are slanderous fabrications."

Unravel the half-truths and wrong analogies contained in these excuses is indeed a difficult task. What is clearly revealed, however, by the statements is how stupid they are! Why did Mr. Vishinsky deny that thousands of Hungarians have been driven out of their homes? He could point out that Hungary is going through a period of national and social upheaval and the names and potential enemies of these changes must be prevented from being in a position to sabotage the "revolutionary workers'" efforts. And he could have then proceeded to point out that in times of crisis or upheavals, such as wars, for instance, all governments adopt measures which sweep aside all considerations of "human rights". And Mr. Vishinsky could have pointed an accusing finger at the United States' action after Pearl Harbour when not 10,000 but 111,000 men, women and children living on the West Coast of the continental U.S. were evacuated by the U.S. Army and herded into ten vast concentration camps.* Some of the detainees were born in Japan but the majority were American born and American citizens. But, as General de Witt, put it so succinctly: "A Jap's a Jap... It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not..."

* See "American Minorities—The Japanese in America," FREEDOM, 29/5/51.

I don't want any of them... They are a dangerous element... The Jap race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japs born on U.S. soil, possessed of U.S. citizenship have become 'Americanised', the racial strains are undiluted." Or, more recently, last week in fact, the U.S. Army announced that 33,149 people were being held as civilian internees in Korea.

And British Governments are no exception to the rule. The arrest and detention of thousands of Indians without trial during the troubled years of British rule in India is past history, as also is the deportation of "Jewish terrorists" to concentration camps in central Africa. These facts are too conveniently forgotten by the politicians. But in Malaya, detention without trial, the destruction of whole villages and the eventual "resettlement" of the villagers (see FREEDOM, 17/11/51) are present-day facts. And in the canal zone in Egypt only last week, Lt-Gen. Sir George Erskine, G.O.C. British troops announced that Royal Engineers would "bulldoze several Egyptian mud houses out of the way" to drive a new safe road through to the water plant supplying the British". (News Chronicle, 8/12/51).

"Describing the work as a military necessity, General Erskine said that Egypt had asked for one week to consider the British proposals about the road but the British had decided to go ahead in 24 hours, with or without Egyptian approval." (Reuter).

The "human rights" of the British Army in Egypt are for the General more important than the rights of a few

Egyptian peasants; the rights of the planters and British forces more important than those of the Malaysians and Chinese in Malaya and so on through the examples we have given earlier and many more. And by this reasoning one can easily attach labels inscribed with "human rights" to the atom bombs which are being stored up for the next war.

"HUMAN rights" and politics are incompatible. "Human rights" obtained for some at the expense of the "human rights" of others should be denounced as unjust. "Human rights" which are put in cold storage in times of crisis are blatant hypocrisy. The defenders of the status quo have never believed in "human rights" except in order to make political capital. But no revolutionary movement can ever hope to succeed in building the new society without recognising the "human rights" of those who disagree with them. Indeed, the inability to recognise the rights of the minority reveals the weakness of the majority, not in its physical power to coerce, but in its positive, creative and moral influence. That is the lesson one learns from the terrorism in the satellite countries in Eastern Europe and in Russia. But it is also the lesson to be drawn from the growing dependence in the democracies on force and mental coercion, loyalty tests and the blind acceptance that "our way of life is good; all else is bad."

Along these roads lie misery and intellectual decay as far-reaching as the physical and moral horrors of war.

Continued on p. 3

Syndicalist Notebook

Wage Freeze to Return?

Mark my footsteps good, my Page,
 Tread thou in them boldly.
 Thou shalt feel the winter's rage
 Freeze thy blood less coldly.

SIR Stafford Cripps' sudden departure from public life last year, makes me think of him as actually departed from this world altogether, having left his spirit behind in the House of Commons. But it is nothing so ghastly that haunts the House and the corridors of Whitehall. The chill wind that blows through the pigeonholes is the bleak realisation that the champions of free enterprise must follow in the steps of Sir Stafford. And although the page of Good King Wenceslaus found that by putting his little feet in the footprints of his master he weathered the cold better than by treading a path of his own, our present-day servants of the Crown must find it a bitter pill to swallow, that their championship of the free market and supply and demand must yield to a planned economy on Crippsian lines.

To follow the analogy with the famous carol, however, we, the people outside the Palace, find ourselves in the position of "yonder peasant" gathering our winter fuel. BUT with the great big difference that instead of a good samaritan coming out of the palace to help us, we have to stay out in the cold, cold snow, up to our neck in a snow drift, while those inside merely look out once a year, on the feast of St. Stephen's, to see if we're still there. St. Stephen, himself, who is in there with them, doesn't even bother to look out.

Yes, kiddies, we have to be brave and face up to the fact that another freeze-up is on its way. This year, Santa Claus Butler is going to present us with another dirty big wage-freeze all of our very own, but you'll have to be good little boys and girls or you won't get it at all. And it's ever so good for you.

What's that? You don't want that for Christmas. Well, when you grow up a bit we'll tell you what to do with it. You know what to do with it already? Well, why don't you do it, then?

PORT WORKERS' LEADERS CALL OFF THE BAN

THE ban on overtime in the Port of London was called off last week, a guarantee by the employers that all suspensions which had been appealed against would be withdrawn.

This guarantee, which meant no victimisation was satisfactory enough in its way, but the union leaders seem to have led the men back with absolutely no difference having been made to the issues on which the men's action was based.

Both the original wage-claim and the more important issue of compulsory overtime have been shelved "for future consideration", and in fact Lindley and Barret, leaders of the Lightermen and the Stevedores respectively, urged the men to work a little bit extra to make up for time lost during the dispute! The men have gone back to a 10-hour day.

There is some hard thinking going on among the rank-and-file as to why their leaders suddenly changed their minds. We have our ideas, but for the moment will simply ask the rank-and-file: Why follow leaders, anyway?

THE FIREMEN

LOCAL authorities continue to take disciplinary action against firemen involved in the recent boycott.

A public meeting is being held in London to protest against these actions, and a special delegate conference of the union is being called for next Monday to settle the question of what action is to be taken.

Catholic firemen are going to pray for guidance at a special Mass at Westminster Cathedral on Sunday. They would do better to rely on themselves rather than on God.

P.S.

The Secret Censorship

NOT long ago, we quoted a press report of summonses against booksellers in Newcastle for selling books and magazines alleged to be obscene, in which the police said they had been working to a Home Office list.

When the case was heard in court on December 3rd, a solicitor defending four booksellers, said that the police "are using Gestapo methods, going from shop to shop with a secret list which has been refused to the newspapers". One of the booksellers, Mr. Henry Bremner, said that he was an executive member of the Newsagents' Federation which had approached the Home Office for a directive about the sort of books they could sell.

"The reply has been that there is no such thing as a banned book in this country."

"Two years ago a bookseller had books ordered to be destroyed. I asked the police and Home Office for a list of titles and was refused."

Some of the books seized in this case had been on sale for 40, 50 and 60 years without objection. (News Chronicle, 4/12/51.)

The Times Educational Supplement, discussing the implications of the secret list, says: "No-one can be satisfied with the present system; there have been too many notable errors from Ulysses down. It is said that the Home Office list includes Decameron and many of the Canterbury Tales. As for stage censorship, a succession of worthless bedroom farces, like the latest *Mary Had a Little Lamb*, like the canons of the Lord can satisfy the serious plays are Chamberlain, while serious plays are banned until they cease to be 'advised'." The trouble with the present system is that it works and therefore appeals to the police, the bench, and the administrative view. Working arrangements are the worst enemy of law reform."

AFRICAN AFFAIRS TSHEKEDI RETURNS

THE history of the case of Tshekedi and Seretse Khama was discussed very fully in our issue for 9/6/51 and 7/7/51. Since then the British Government sent its mission of observers to Bechuanaland with results which are best summed-up by the comment of the Times Review of the British Colonies, which said:

The British Government's latest plan for dealing with the entanglements of the Bamangwato has manifestly failed, and failed in such a manner as to leave the situation much worse than it was previously... The Government attempted to shift the burden to the tribal kgotla, presumably in the hope that they could base the policy of exclusion on the tribe's own objection to a white consort for the chief.

When the kgotla eventually declared for their hereditary head, with his alien wife and his future half-breed heirs—a decision which now has the backing of Tshekedi himself—the Government were hoist with their own petard; and any arguments they might thereafter devise for disallowing the succession of Seretse were immeasurably weakened in advance. They have, in fact, blundered through temporary expedients from one injustice to individuals to another... It is clear that everything now done will be hampered by the sullen feeling in the tribe that their native loyalties have been violated and their expressed desires set at naught by the very authority that purported to consult them.

The reports of the three observers were published on December 7th. Two of them, Mr. H. L. Bullock and Prof. W. M. Macmillan, declared firmly against Tshekedi's return, and the third, Mr. Lipson, was less emphatic. However, Lord Ismay, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations has agreed with Tshekedi on terms for his return. The Government has decided, it was stated in Parliament last week that his rights in the reserve "should not be restricted for longer than is necessary in the public interest. He has already renounced the chieftainship; and His Majesty's Government are convinced that the interests of peace in the reserve demand that he be excluded from the political life of the tribe. The sooner this exclusion is shown to be effective, and it is the Government's intention to make it so, the sooner will it be possible to allow him progressively greater freedom to look after his private interests in the reserve and ultimately, if all goes well, to let him live there as a private person."

When the carefully-avoided question of Tshekedi's nephew, Seretse Khama was raised, Mr. John Foster, the Under-Secretary replied that "the Government intends to adhere to the policy of its predecessors as given in the White Paper of March 1950." On this, the Manchester Guardian comments that, "It would not be surprising if the Government reviewed the Seretse Khama one well before his five years of exile is due to expire. One important aspect of the Seretse case, about which the last Government was silent, is the hostile attitude of the Union of South Africa. The present Government will be no less obliged, of course, to take it into account."

Seretse issued a statement which declares that "The Government's clearly expressed intention to adhere to the disastrous policy of the last Administration with regard to the chieftainship is directly contrary to the wishes of my people, who, as Mr. Foster is fully aware, are repeatedly asking—in the

strongest terms—for our return.

"Meanwhile, the position in the Bamangwato Reserve is bound to deteriorate further as a direct result of the British Government's stubborn refusal to give heed to the wishes of the tribe."

He is probably right, for while the observers heard a great deal of hostility to Tshekedi (which it is declared by his supporters was due to carefully spread rumours that he wanted to be chief*), they met everywhere the demand that Seretse should return.

The Observer last September reported a meeting of over 100 leading chiefs, sub-chiefs and counsellors in the Protectorate, convened by Chief Bathoen, chairman of the Bechuanaland African Advisory Council, which passed a series of resolutions which the Observer described as a vote of no confidence in British policy and a "challenge to the entire policy in Bechuanaland."

"The chiefs say the thinly veiled policy of the Bechuanaland Administration in inciting the Bamangwato of Serowe into acts of violence against the so-called supporters of Tshekedi is nothing but a clumsy attempt to mislead the outside world that the Bamangwato as a whole are opposed to Tshekedi and his supporters."

"The meeting then passed a resolution demanding immediate rescinding of the banishment orders of Tshekedi and Seretse."

"Tshekedi himself recognises that the storm over his own banishment has been used as a screen for the real issue—the marriage of Seretse and its repercussions in the Union of South Africa. As he says, 'The obvious reason of racial intolerance is too delicate for any public discussion or assertion; hence individuals have been ruthlessly sacrificed for the unexplained 'public good'."

MALAN LOOKS ON

THE South African Government has made no official statement on affairs in Bechuanaland, although, says Mr. Colin Legum in the Observer, those nationalist leaders not in the Government "make no attempt to hide their satisfaction over recent developments... South African Nationalists welcome the growth of chaos and confusion as their best hope for early incorporation, not only of Bechuanaland, but also of the

* Mr. Foster said that Tshekedi "has already renounced the chieftainship", but in fact he never expressed either a claim or a wish to be chief.

Continued on p. 3

112 Days Detention for Civilian

THE case of Roy Bowers has been reported in the London Press, and has undoubtedly caused much of a stir amongst the men who—having completed their term of conscription as National Servicemen—are still called upon for Territorial Service for whatsoever time the State may choose to inflict. He was court-martialled at Chelsea Barracks, and made the following statement:—

"I object to the external discipline of my mind and to the State's right to command me as an individual. And I object to any course of action advocated by the State. I have, and I intend to continue, to refuse to obey the State's dictum." (Star, 6/12/51.)

From that pertinent statement it will not be difficult to see that the Chelsea court-martial were dealing with an Anarchist.

The defending officer (who is, of course, appointed by the Army) did what he no doubt thought was the best thing for his reluctant client, who repudiated his defence, as reported in the Evening News (6/12/51) which—with its customary delightful manner of picking out a statement from many others, and giving it in the headline as if it were really fact—headed their version, "Private Was Led Astray by Anarchists. (No "Says Officer" or any such whittling down for the Evening News.)"

"Capt. L. H. W. Barrington, defending, told the court they were dealing with a foolish young man with high principles, who was led astray by a crowd of anarchists with nothing to lose."

"Bowers, who had pleaded guilty, said: 'I consider I was not led astray by anarchists. It is the only possible way of thought for me. They are my actual

principles, and I intend to stand by them."

The Government, has, of course, imposed the particular form of sacrifice Comrade Bowers was asked to make, primarily—for the moment—upon young men. It is obviously impossible for a veteran Anarchist of three-score-years-and-ten, with forty years propagandism behind him, to make the particular form of resistance necessary against National Service. Quite clearly, it can only be a chap of 20 years old who can make this stand, because he is the one being called upon.

The sneer of the militarist, so implicit in Capt. Barrington's defence and more particularly the Evening News version of it, is seen to be a pretty weak one. You may be sure, of course, that there would be nothing "foolish" or even "young" about Bowers if he did what the State required of him. But in point of fact he was prepared not to swim with the stream but to resist, and it is only by virtue of the fact that people like him do resist that the tentacles of the State do not reach even further in their grip.

Capt. Barrington is, of course, only a foolish young man led astray by a crowd of militarists with a great deal to lose, and it is a pity that his statement should be given prominence over the forceful statement of Roy Bowers, namely, that he is not prepared to accept the State's right to command him as an individual, which is the basis of freedom.

He is now serving 112 days' detention for his "being absent from leave from his annual camp". The State is once more mistaken if they think that this will alter the views held by a man like Roy Bowers. INTERNATIONALIST.

I WOULD like to begin this paper with a warning. This is, that the remarks I shall make will be largely academic. My knowledge of communities is, with one or two unimportant exceptions, second-hand; it is also limited in time and place. I know something about communities in America in the nineteenth century and I've collected a little information about a few other communities; but the impressions received from written accounts or even from hearsay very rarely give an adequate picture of reality. I expect a number of readers of FREEDOM could endorse this statement. If, as I did once or twice during the war, they read some account of a community and then visited or lived in the community in question, they will probably agree that the account and the reality often bore no more relation to one another than most advertisements do to the commodities they advertise. One community I knew, which was called in grandiose style, the So-and-so Land Scheme, raised expectations of a well-organised, efficient, up-to-date market garden. When one arrived one found a single shack in which half-a-dozen men were attempting to live—in extreme discomfort—off the produce of a ploughed-up football field. Many other examples of a similar disparity between report and actuality will occur to anyone who had experience of such matters. Sometimes report was worse than reality; malicious or disaffected members of such communities were only too ready to paint them blacker than they were. I do not wish to give the impression that all, or even most of these communities, were wholly unsatisfactory. I simply wish to establish the fact that second-hand knowledge is necessarily incomplete and can never give one the shock of actual experience.

To this general warning I would like to add an apology for the fact that I am almost wholly ignorant of the present position of communities in England, and that I know very little about contemporary communities in any country. My main interest has been in communities of the past.

What I propose to do in this paper is to examine briefly some of the characteristics of wartime communities in England, and then to consider the question of the relationship of communities in general to society. Lastly, I shall make a few tentative suggestions as to

how a community, supposing it were thought desirable to found one, might best be organised.

Most communities owed their existence either to religious or to socialist theories. People who wished for freedom from the restrictions of ordinary society so that they might test out such theories, formed themselves into small groups for the purpose. In most cases, but not all, a communistic or co-operative economy was adopted, either for practical or for ethical reasons. In the United States in the nineteenth century there was a great variety of such experiments, one or two of which still survive, while many others have succeeded them. As far as I know, at least one such community has been founded in almost every country.

In England there was barely a handful of communities until the years immediately preceding the war. There were one or two small societies of Christians who were attempting to provide living examples of the ideal of brotherhood, and these aroused a certain amount of interest among Christian pacifists; but it was not until the establishment of the Bruderhof colony that this interest became more than superficial. The Bruderhof, or Society of Brothers, was the first really large-scale organisation of its kind in this country. It had a membership of over 200 and was successful for three reasons. First, because its members were united by a common faith and by strict discipline; second, because it had been tried and tested in Germany before emigrating to England; and third, because its organisers were good business men and its members hard workers.

The Bruderhof, which claimed a number of English converts, caused a great deal of discussion among pacifists, and revived memories of some earlier communities in this country, such as White-way, Clousden Hill, and even the Abode of Love. But little activity took place until the outbreak of war, when a great number of small pacifist communities gradually appeared, mainly for two reasons. A number of pacifists of all kinds had lost, or had felt bound to give up, their jobs for conscientious reasons; and an even greater number were exempted from military service on condition that they worked on the land. Many of these people were attracted by communities in which they would not

only be working among those who shared their beliefs but would also avoid—so they innocently supposed—the monotony and hardship of working for a War Agricultural Committee or a slave-driving or unsympathetic farmer. Some people also took the view that war-resistance could best be maintained by gathering pacifists together in groups

which might be expected to afford them mutual encouragement and also enable them to engage in anti-war propaganda. Generally speaking, therefore, people were brought together in these communities not because they believed in communities as such, but because communities seemed to offer a less unpleasant means of existence than could be found elsewhere.

even at night. Pain was concentrated and magnified in such places as it is in an aching tooth. And it was made worse by a number of contributory factors. Usually members were earning either no money at all or barely sufficient to pay for tobacco or an occasional glass of beer; often men had to cook, clean the premises and mend their own clothes in addition to doing a heavy day's work; meals, even when they were satisfying in bulk, were usually unattractive and could not usually be served in that atmosphere of relaxation which is essential for their enjoyment. And then there were the psychological strains connected with the impact of the war itself, the doubts and anxieties which were aroused by the relationship of the community to the outside world, the feeling of isolation, and the consciousness that the work one was doing was, in most cases, neither particularly useful nor particularly interesting—feelings, in fact, that were shared by any sensitive person in any sphere of life during the war, but were possibly made worse for pacifists by the fact that they usually lacked the compensation of public approval.

Such were the conditions of many communities. I have concentrated upon the disadvantages, the miseries rather than upon the advantages and the occasional pleasures because the former are too often looked by eager advocates of community life. Most of these distressing relationships could be avoided in the time in a properly organised community; and much of this friction would never have occurred in communities in question had been moderately prosperous. Lack of money was one of their major difficulties, as was in many other communities in other countries and at other times. Land, capital, especially in a highly industrialised country such as ours, where it is so costly, means poor soil, which in its turn means poor crops and may mean wireworm, clubroot, and half a dozen other pests and diseases. Lack of money also means poor accommodation of elementary conveniences and comforts, over-crowding, and consequently the social difficulties already mentioned. It may also lead, by means of the grapes and rationalisation, to the preservation of primitive methods of living and the cultivated disdain for machines and labour-saving devices. These elements, combined with instability of membership, the sheltering of the on the run, and the general amateurish impermanent air which characterised many communities, were responsible for the understandable suspicion with which some of them were regarded by neighbours. Too many communities were like gipsy encampments; too many suffered from parasitical and irresponsible members who either did not work at all or behaved in a manner that aroused the animosity of the public. In fact, it is not surprising that communities were often regarded as a means of escape from the obligations which society imposes. Many people still look upon communities from this point of view, and this raises the question of the relationship of communities in general to the society in which we live.

(To be continued)

EMERSON ON WAR

SINCE the peace question has been before the public mind, those who affirm its right and expediency have naturally been met with objections more or less weighty. There are cases frequently put by the curious—moral problems, like those problems in arithmetic which in long winter evenings the rustics try the hardness of their heads in ciphering out. And chiefly, it is said: either accept this principle for better, for worse, carry it out to the end, and meet its absurd consequences; or else, if you pretend to set an arbitrary limit, a "Thus far, no further," then give up the principle, and take that limit which the common-sense of all mankind has set, and which distinguishes offensive war as criminal, defensive war as just. Otherwise, if you go for no war, then be consistent and give up self-defence in the highway, in your own house. Will you push it thus far? Will you stick to your principle of non-resistance when your strong-box is broken open, when your wife and babes are insulted and slaughtered in your sight? If you say "Yes," you only invite the robber and assassin; and a few bloody-minded desperados would soon butcher the good.

In reply to this charge of absurdity on the extreme peace doctrine, as shown in the supposed consequences, I wish to say that such deductions consider only one-half of the fact. They look only at the passive side of the friend of peace, only at his passivity; they quite omit to consider his activity. . . . If you have a nation of men who have risen to that height of moral cultivation that they will not declare war or carry arms, for they have not so much madness left in their brains, you have a nation of lovers, of benefactors, of true, great, and able men. Let me know more of that nation; I shall not find them defenceless, with idle hands springing at their sides. I shall find them men of love, honour, and truth; men of an immense industry; men whose influence is felt to the end of the earth; men whose very look and voice carry the sentence of honour and shame; and all forces yield to their energy and persuasion. Whenever we see the doctrine of peace embraced by a nation, we may be assured it will not be one that invites injury; but one, on the contrary, which has a friend in the bottom of the heart of every man, even of the violent and the base; one against which no weapon can prosper; one which is looked upon as the asylum of the human race and has the tears and the blessings of mankind.

—R. W. EMERSON, in his *Essay on War*, reprinted by the P.P.U. at 1/-.

The American Minorities

(Continued from our last issue)

4

The Life Energy

"Looking at Akiko, for once almost ready to burst through the restraint of perfect self-control, I found myself remembering the throngs of people, all over Japan, who could be found daily and almost hourly, bowing in a group before some national shrine. Now, I thought I understood something that had puzzled me often—the feeling of electric tension that seemed to flow in waves from the bowed, silent people. Especially was this true on any occasion of national celebration, of the vast throngs bowing before the Imperial Palace, on the Yasakuni Shrine where the spirits of soldiers killed in battle were venerated. It occurred to me now that these moments of communal worship of some national symbol made the only legitimate release of emotion permitted under the Japanese Way. In Japan the love of country, either as a nature-worship or patriotism, was the only emotion that custom allowed the individual to express. And so in the million genuflections of a million bodies before some recognised symbol was released the tension of a million private emotions too long repressed, too studiously denied. A problem for the future, not only of Japan, but for the world, was concerned with what might happen if circumstances ever brought about a lowering of the controls, and if this damned-up emotion were ever released on a flood of fear and national insecurity."

—Year of the Wild Boar, by Helen Mears. (J. B. Lippincott, N.Y., 1942.)

*

THE happy person, the person satisfied in his work, the complete person, the lover, has no interest in persecuting others (the lover has time for his beloved only). The happy person desires time for his own delights. He needs a society that will leave him alone in the most personal things and in which he can rationally and joyfully participate in the more communal things. Moreover, he wants to choose his own place and area of contribution.

The sick person, the prejudiced person, lives under a trembling volcano: himself. His energies are continually frustrated and channelled into evil and aggressive acts.

If the individual is permitted to express his basic energies freely, this is

done through love and creative work: Love can be romantic-sexual, self-love, friendship, and their combinations, and includes a creative interest in individuals of different cultures.

5

Race Prejudice: A Social Biopathy

When the creative life energy of the individual is damned, it may turn two ways: inward to create physical diseases and functional insanity, or outward to create social diseases (social biopathies: hate, race prejudice, war). Class society uses this hateful energy for its own purposes. It channels hate along socially acceptable paths: against minorities, foreigners, "Communists", sex deviants, other States, intellectuals and artists, etc.

As the death toll of the germ-carried diseases drops sharply, the cardiovascular and cancer diseases leap catastrophically upward. The rates of commitment to mental hospitals rises tremendously. The crime rate rises astoundingly. (We are not here concerned at all with the so-called crimes against property, but the crimes of violence against the person also leap forward. Thus: rape is increasing at the fastest rate of any category in America to-day.) Thorburn gives the following statistics for total number of crimes and misdemeanours, etc., convictions in the U.S.A. from 1920 to 1940:

1920	—	40,691
1925	—	77,202
1930	—	175,530
1935	—	363,743
1940	—	1,155,986

(International Journal of Sex Economy and Orgone Research, Vol. 1, 1942, p. 258.)

6

The Mechanics of the Channelisation of Hate

"The natural bio-energetic principle in the newborn baby is systematically smothered and ruined by the armoured parent and educator; they are backed up in their ignorance by mighty social institutions which thrive on the armoury of the human animal."

—WILHELM REICH: *Children of the Future*, Vol. 2, No. 4, *Orgone Energy Bulletin*, Oct., 1950.

MINORITY and racial discrimination is merely institutionalised hate. This hate is the socially permitted or accepted or (in Nazi Germany or any country at

Continued on p. 4

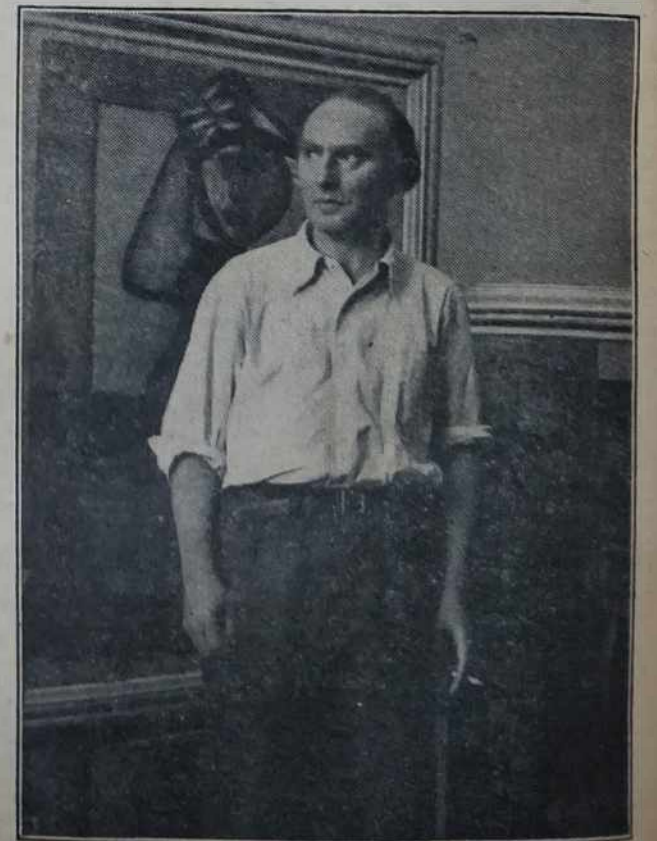
JANKEL ADLER Memorial Exhibition

A conspiracy of silence seems to surround the memorial exhibition of the work of Jankel Adler, now being held at the New Burlington Galleries under the auspices of the Arts Council. Very few reviews have appeared in the press, and when introduced sympathetically by Denis Mathews to the B.B.C. Critics, Adler received short shrift from these gentlemen, who either found his works "ugly" or "impossible to live with". In his lifetime, Jankel was always deeply disappointed at the reception of his works in this country and he still does not receive the recognition due to "a painter with a great European reputation," and whose "importance in contemporary painting can scarcely be over-emphasised."

And yet his paintings are compelling and powerful. They have a unity and carry a conviction with them that will not be ignored. Here is an artist with something definite to say and a mastery of the means of saying it.

There are those who stress the Jewish influence on his work and although his origin and early environment were the experience on which he drew, he had grown from this to much greater stature, a human being bound neither by barriers of nationality, race or religion. A close friend, writing at the time of his death, said: "He retained a strong sympathy for Judaism though he rejected its tenets and practices." When he asserted his Jewish origin, it may well have been in defence of and sympathy with the Jewish people. Just as he inscribed two of his paintings: "In commemoration of the Polish Dead," although at other times he was contemptuous of those who referred to him as Polish. And, again, he demonstrated where his sympathies lay when he dedicated another painting (not in this exhibition) "Hommage à Durruti", thus identifying himself with the cause of the Spanish people.

To return to the exhibition. It would be an impossible task to attempt to describe any of the eighty-one pictures in detail. We can only urge as many as possible of our readers to visit this collection and if they have not already done so to become acquainted with the work of this great artist.



JANKEL ADLER 1896—1949 [photo by Marie Louise Berner]

OVERTIME

THE recent ban in the London docks on working overtime focused attention on an aspect of working conditions which has been neglected for too long.

The steady rise in the cost of living since the war, together with the continued urges to harder work and greater effort, have made longer hours of work seem necessary and inevitable.

Before the war, there was far more consciousness about the length of the working day than there seems to be now. Which is understandable when we consider the changed conditions of the labour market since the nineteen-thirties.

Then, when there were never less than a million unemployed—the peak figure in 1931 was over three million—the unions were conscious of the fact that a reduction in the working day could have meant the provision of more jobs.

Many were the arguments then put forward showing how peak efficiency could not be maintained for too many hours. Tests and experiments were carried out, and statistics proved that a shorter working day would often result, not in a drop in output, but in an actual increase.

The knowledge that they were working for less hours would bring forth greater effort from the workers than when they knew they had to stay at the job longer. In many tedious and monotonous jobs, the converse was also found to be true; the extension of hours of work did not produce an increase in output relative to the extra time put in.

It is astonishing, when one looks back, to see how slow has been the progress in the reduction of the working day. It was in 1886 that workers in America were echoing the agitation of European workers for the eight-hour day. The Anarchists who became the Chicago Martyrs after the bomb incident in the Haymarket, Chicago, were taking part

in what was almost a world-wide movement of the time.

That was 1886, and the target was a maximum of eight hours work a day. How many times has production multiplied since then? How much more does a worker produce to-day than he produced in the same industry in 1886? In those 65 years, the productive capacity of every industrial country has multiplied over and over again.

The Americans claimed that U.S. productive capacity doubled itself during the last war. In this country, we are told that productivity has increased by 40% since 1946 alone. And yet, to-day, 65 years after, the average working man spends longer at the job than the workers regarded at a maximum in 1886!

Somehow or other, in spite of a period of unparalleled technical expansion, no greater leisure has been won by the working class. In time of depression and of boom, the circumstances seem to have worked against them. In a de-

pression the worker has been too glad to have a job to be prepared to risk it by demands for a shorter day. In the few times of prosperity we have known, there has been plenty of work to be done and plenty of money to be made while the going was good. In the ten years of the two world wars, all the arguments have been for more production to back up "our boys at the front"; Labour shortages have been answered by longer working hours.

And since the last war we have had variations of Morrison's "We Work or Want!" in all the various "exhortations to close dollar gaps, export or die, meet the economic crisis, face up to our commitments and, of course, now the re-armament drive.

Although circumstances have changed, therefore, time and time again, there have always been reasons why no movement to shorten the hours of work has grown up among the workers.

And, of course, one of the main reasons has always been that very same technical expansion which was once heralded as a means to more leisure. As technical knowledge has increased, whole new industries have been created.

Since 1886, for example, aircraft, motor-cars, radio, telephones, television, electronics, electric railways, road trans-

port, cinemas, and a thousand other activities have developed. There is so much more for people to work at to-day. But then, because of the increase in population, there are many more people to do the work!

But the apparent paradox—that for all the speed-up in productive processes and for all the labour-saving devices, we are working as long to-day as 60 years ago—is only a part of a lunatic world of paradox—part of a system which breeds contradictions and absurdity and within which the answers are as barmy as the questions.

Within the capitalist system of market economy there is just no hope that the possibilities which we undoubtedly have for reducing the working day and making full use of the technical resources at our disposal, will in fact be used for that end.

The newest headache our masters have to contend with—and which they will pass on to us eventually—is the "problem" of the revival of German and Japanese competition in world markets.

In the same economy the development of productive capacity in other countries would be regarded as something to be pleased about. But the capitalists fear it, just as they fear abundance in the production of anything except war

materials. The weapons of war are the only industrial products to-day which can be consumed as quickly as they are produced. That is why a war economy is becoming such a permanent feature of capitalism in every country.

It is fruitless, then, to look for more leisure while capitalism lasts. Free enterprise capitalism is merging into State capitalism, this is merging into totalitarianism, and leisure—time to think—is dangerous to the 20th century slave State.

The tendency in this country at this moment is towards the longer working day. The dockers have just realised their position—they are committed to work periods their bosses think "reasonable"—and the miners are now working every Saturday morning, having given up their long-fought-for five-day week. The staggering of hours to relieve the loads on power stations is another form of the same thing.

The fact that overtime is paid for at higher rates than day-rate is small consolation. Rising costs of living are forcing many workers to seek or accept overtime in order to make enough to live. But taxation also plays its part in reducing the reward for extra hours.

The answer is not to be found in the direction at all. For society to make use of the means of production for disposal, it must create that economic organisation which will administer production for need, instead of for profit of the owner or the glory of the State.

Then—and only then—will a reduction of the working day become possible. The workers in control of industry would obviously not work longer hours necessary. In the free society of anarchism, the release from useless and unnecessary labour of the millions to-day serve the capitalist and his machines would provide a labour force which in itself could greatly reduce hours spent on productive work by the individual.

There is no short cut to this end: creating of an Anarchist influence, a syndicalist organisation are the steps. Until they get under way, bosses will remain virtually unopposed and the workers will continue to work in the interests of their masters and not in their own.

THE AMERICAN MINORITIES

Continued from p. 1

war—as in the case of the Japanese in U.S.A.) the socially glorified hate. And this itself is a substitute for personal hate. In a mass society even hate is massified—depersonalised. And so is love: for flag, for "country", for "Mom", for "fellow man" (but not the man next to you) or beneath this: so-called love for fellow man (as in the Soviet Union); the practice of the most barbaric hatred or indifference: totalising in the end in a grand numbing of feeling and discrimination and finally of individuality itself.

All this is a product of deprivation: economic and/or emotional. So the most deprived nation of Europe: Germany becomes the most bestial. So the most deprived individual can become the most vicious, i.e., parts of the so-called lumpen-proletariat. (However, the word itself represents an easy attempt of Marxist thinkers to solve an involved problem [See Prunier's article in FREEDOM on the gigolos of Barcelona] and is

but another slightly more subtle example of mass thinking.)

The happy individual will tend to be unprejudiced towards minorities, and women and children: that is he will not want to exert his authoritarian will over them. The frustrate individual on the other hand, having to control himself authoritatively will also try to control others this way: i.e., minorities, women and children, and even the man next door (especially his sex life) and even the worker on the bench next to his: especially if he has radical economic ideas. He links himself economically and politically with the powers that be (the authoritarian father). This is why it is so easy for such a person to switch ideas from one day to the next. He likes to be a vicarious winner. Yesterday a fascist, to-day a Stalinist. What he really admires is the power itself. (Thus Stalinists find no great psychological adjustments necessary in their own welcoming of yesterday's reactionary in their fold . . . as long as he plays ball . . . i.e., remains obedient. If not, there is always the firing squad or the labour camp.)

Thus the bigot's life energies are consumed in a lifetime of hate, persecution, and dissolution in the mass destructive energy of a nation, a party, an ideology. Thus race prejudice and war are simply institutionalised socially-approved sadism. One of the most frightening things in the world is to hear a group of young men discuss arms (mostly aeroplanes) or war, as if it were the same thing as tiling a roof. Or to see the conniving, meant to be gentle, smiles of a sales girl and a proud father buying his six-year-old a mounted toy mortar that shoots twelve projectiles at once while moving.

Why try to create or love when the whole world is against you? Destroy! Hate!

Hate and the world hates with you, love and you love alone.

The opposite spoke on the wheel of the mass individual (opposite to the persecution of the minority) is, of course, the chosen people or master-race idea. Is there any people (or even individual) which has not at one time or another thought or spoken of itself as a chosen people (or person)? If there are, certainly these are the least warlike peoples, and the most comfortable, probably the happiest individuals.

What determines whether the aggressive energy is turned inward or outward (or in what combination of the two)? Outside of the factor of threat of punishment from outside (i.e., non-prejudiced)

Special Appeal

Nov. 23rd to Dec. 5th:

Edinburgh: T.O.M.* 5/-; Manchester: J.B. 2/-; Manchester: R.F.T. 7/6; Farnham: Anon £2/2/0; Bradford: A.B.H. 3/6; Point Piper, N.S.W.: R.R. 4/-; Sheffield: H.W. 2/6; Los Angeles "Man" Gp.: £10; York: H.A.A.* 10/6; Cambridge: C.L.D.* 5/-; Anon* 2/6; London: L.G.W.* 5/-; Glasgow: A.M.C.D.* 4/-; London: F.E.D.* 5/-.

Total	14 18 6
Previously acknowledged	463 4 2
1951 TOTAL TO DATE	£478 2 8

GIFT OF BOOK: D.S.M.
* Readers who have undertaken to send regular monthly contributions.

CALENDARS 1952

Our friends of the RETORT PRESS (New York) inform us that we shall be receiving a small supply of calendars, produced and printed by them, in the course of the next few days. Price 2/6 each. Orders should be sent to FREEDOM BOOKSHOP as soon as possible.

authorities (although these same non-prejudiced authorities may be willing to slaughter Huns or Crooks or Reds) we come to the domain of the development of types of personality and here we must lay down our arms.

But granted an externally aggressive hatred then: political and class structures and needs will in general determine if the socially approved hatred is to be directed against internal minorities, external states, witches, Communists, or perhaps even people with red hair (as among some savage tribes). Sometimes, unfortunately, for the vulgar economic determinists (I once heard a young Marxist seriously attempt to explain crates of Jewish bars of soap, turned up in Greece, as a result of the fat shortage in occupied Europe! However, even his comrades greeted him with raised eyebrows), sometimes and latterly more and more, utter hate and irrationality takes command. (Not that economic exploitation should be dignified by the term "rational".) But Hitler tied up vast supplies of crucially needed rolling stock on the Death Camps. He destroyed vast amounts of usable labour power. He exterminated not only Jews but started mass exterminations of different Slavic nationalities (Russians, Poles, etc.), all according to his race theories.

He was systematically exterminating gypsies, "hopelessly insane" people, circus people. And as Hannah Arendt has documented in her *Origins of Totalitarianism*: He and his doctors had developed plans to X-ray every inhabitant of Germany. Those with heart or lung disease were to be exterminated. Then, at the next stage (presuming a hereditary taint) their families were to be exterminated!

This is not Marxist economics. This is (to put it mildly): the "emotional plague".

Now, what determines the singling out of a particular group?

- (1) Historic tradition (It's the custom).
- (2) Weakness of group.
- (3) Recognisability.
- (4) The iota of "truth": i.e., the parallel envy of the minorities' success in the deprived group's area of aspiration: economics, sex, happiness, general well-being.

Bettelheim and Janowitz in *Dynamics of Prejudice*, a 1950 study of a group of Chicago veterans (after finding the correlates of prejudice to be: (1) subjective deprivation; (2) downward social mobility; (3) anxiety and (4) the absence of adequate internal control of hostile discharge against minorities), go on to demonstrate that in America the prime clusters of anger, focusing around deprivation of power (economics) and sex (love) have been directed in two main directions. Economic frustrations choose Jews as an explanation and scapegoat. Sex frustrations choose the Negro. In Germany where the sex and economic frustration were both catharted through the Jew-hatred, the combined effect was catastrophic.

In the three years since May 1948 there have been in the City of New York alone, over 15,000 arrests for sex violations of all kinds!

That Sex and Race Prejudice are intimately connected, is a repressed bio-social fact. For instance, who realises that the White-Negro intermarriage is prohibited by law in 30 out of the 48 States of the U.S.? 16 States ban White-Oriental marriages. 5 States ban marriages between Whites and American Indians. Some of the prohibitive phraseology from different States reads: No marriage shall be permitted to be contracted between White and: "Negro; the descendant of any Negro; Hindu; Malay; Mongolian; mulatto; member of the Malay race; one-eighth Mongolian blood; one-eighth or more Negro blood; mestizo; persons of colour; Indian; African; half-breed and [Seoul papers, please copy]: Korean (South Dakota). Certain States are so pure they prohibit marriage between Negroes and "members of the Malay Race" (Maryland, for instance.)

(To be concluded)

FREEDOM PRESS

- TONY GIBSON:**
Youth for Freedom paper 2s.
- PHILIP SANSOM:**
Syndicalism—The Workers' Next Step 1s.
- ERRICO MALATESTA:**
Anarchy. Vote—What For? 6d. 1d.
- M. BAKUNIN:**
Marxism, Freedom and the State. paper 2s. 6d., cloth 5s.
- HERBERT READ:**
Art and the Evolution of Man. 4s.
Existentialism, Marxism and Anarchism. 3s. 6d.
Poetry and Anarchism. cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d.
The Philosophy of Anarchism. boards 2s. 6d., paper 1s.
The Education of Free Men. 1s.
- ALEX COMFORT:**
Delinquency. Barbarism & Sexual Freedom. paper 2s. 6d., stiff boards 3s. 6d.
- RUDOLF ROCKER:**
Nationalism and Culture. cloth 21s.
- ALEXANDER BERKMAN:**
ABC of Anarchism. 1s.
- PETER KROPOTKIN:**
The State: Its Historic Role. 1s.
The Wage System. 3d.
Revolutionary Government. 3d.
Organised Vengeance Called Justice. 2d.
- JOHN HEWETSON:**
Sexual Freedom for the Young. Ill-Health, Poverty and the State. cloth 2s. 6d., paper 1s.
- M. L. BERNERI:**
Workers in Stalin's Russia. 1s.
- GEORGE WOODCOCK:**
Anarchy or Chaos. 2s. 6d.
New Life to the Land. 6d.
Railways and Society. 3d.
Homes orhovels? 6d.
What is Anarchism? 1d.
The Basis of Communal Living. 1s.
- WILLIAM GODWIN:**
Selections from Political Justice. 3d.
On Law. 1d.
- F. A. RIDLEY:**
The Roman Catholic Church and the Modern Age. 2d.
- ★
Marie Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications:
Marie Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A Tribute. cloth 5s.
Journey Through Utopia. cloth 16s. (U.S.A. \$2.50)
- ★
K. J. KENAFICK:
Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx. Paper 6s.
- 27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.**

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENT

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

- OPEN AIR MEETINGS**
HYDE PARK
Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m.
TOWER HILL
Every Friday at 12.45 p.m.
MANETTE STREET
(by Foyle's, Charing Cross Road)
Every Saturday at 4.30 p.m.

INDOOR MEETINGS

- at the
PORCUPINE, Charing Cross Rd.
(next Leicester Sq. Underground Station)
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
DEC. 16—BRAINS TRUST on OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM
DEC. 23—NO MEETING
DEC. 30—F. A. RIDLEY on WHITHER MANKIND?
DISCUSSION & SOCIAL MEETINGS
Every Wednesday at 7.30 at the BIRD IN HAND
Long Acre, W.C.
Everybody welcome

NORTH-EAST LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

- IN EAST HAM
at 7.30
DEC. 26—No Meeting
JAN. 9—SOCIAL EVENING
Enquiries c/o Freedom Press

LIVERPOOL

- DISCUSSION MEETINGS** at 101 Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool, 8
Every Sunday at 8 p.m.
DEC. 16—By P.R.
REICH
DEC. 23—XMAS SOCIAL

GLASGOW

- INDOOR MEETINGS** at Central Halls, Bath Street
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.
With John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Jimmy Raeside, Eddie Shaw

FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly

Postal Subscription Rates
12 months 17/- (U.S.A. \$3.00)
6 months 8/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50)
3 months 4/6 (U.S.A. \$0.75)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies
12 months 27/- (U.S.A. \$4.50)
6 months 13/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payne, and addressed to the publishers.

FREEDOM PRESS
27 Red Lion Street
London, W.C.1 England
Tel.: Chancery 8364