

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"There is much to be said for a planned economy when everyone joins in the planning. If every man is to enjoy the sense of having an individual task, every man must play his part in finding out what that task shall be."

—Prof. A. C. MACE

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Threepence

The Street, the Palace and the Canal

Farouk Plays Safe

THE outbreak in Cairo over the week-end is something not unexpected; indeed, it is the ever-present theme behind Egyptian politics. The excited crowds that rioted in the "West End" of Cairo—the European quarter where the well-to-do Egyptians and foreign residents were quite well aware that the number of British there is comparatively small, and were under no mistake when they looted and burned shops, offices and hotels owned and frequented by all nationalities, including Egyptian. It is true that the slogans were anti-British, but that the British action in Ismailia was the direct cause of the riots.

The result, however, was exactly the same as happened over ostentatious anti-Jewish riots during the same crisis, and as with all Cairo riots, it was directed against the Egyptian Egyptians and the foreign commercial colony of Cairo. It also shows that a new factor crept into the picture: the Egyptian Army—led out for the first time in the "Liberation Struggle," to fight not British but the Egyptian poor—to stop the rioters marching on the Abdin Palace.

This direct affront to King Farouk is more aware than anybody else of the uneasy crown he wears, and the danger that one day the "street" will topple it off—is obviously the reason why Nahas Pasha was sacked

and his opponent Aly Maher Pasha steps in with semi-dictatorial powers, including martial law. Nahas Pasha is regarded as the idol of the "street"; he is the most popular demagogue, whose triumph at the elections was a blow to Farouk, who resented his pro-British policy during the war-time crisis of 1942. Some British papers have suggested that Maher Pasha is more pro-British: this is wishful thinking, of course—they have forgotten his imprisonment during the war on charges (later withdrawn) of being pro-Axis (although at the present time, having been pro-Axis in 1942 is by no means a bar to being the best of pals to-day)—but it is extremely unlikely that the change of Premiership means any change in the policy of the Egyptian Government.

The point is not whether Nahas Pasha or Maher Pasha or Farouk or any of the others are pro-British or anti-British; in actual fact they are all extremely Westernised, with considerably more sympathy for English customs than for the fellaheen of their own country. Nobody in practice could have been more an appeaser of England than Nahas Pasha. But the primary task facing an Egyptian Government is not whether or not it will keep on friendly terms with the British occupying force in the Canal Zone; it is whether or not it can control the "street". It is absolutely vital that they yield something to popular clamour, and when there is a riot (whose motives are so plainly,

fairly and squarely economic and—however tub-thumping it may sound—that of the "have-nots" versus the "haves", as anyone wearing Western dress in Cairo may discover for themselves any day they choose to) they must seek to run in front of it, claiming to lead it, giving nationalistic slogans lest something more dangerous to them appears.

Divisions are very much plainer in Egypt than here; and, moreover, the Egyptian Pashas have not yet learned the peculiarly English method of ruling. The sacking of Nahas was something that is not quite Albion's modern way of doing things. Farouk dismissed the "popular" statesman to show the mob he meant business, and put in Maher, a man regarded as more typically representative of the Effendi class, with unlimited powers of military law. Here, of course, it would have been recognised that Nahas was the man for the job, and it is quite certain that he would have undertaken it!

Whatever the outcome of the present unrest, however, one cannot see in them revolutionary possibilities, since there is not a revolutionary movement and the revolutionary minority is smaller than it is here. Those who profess to see Russian influence (as a few years ago it was fashionable to see German influence) are romancing. There may be some sympathy for Russia (in complete ignorance as to what it is, except a country hostile to America and Britain) but there is no appreciable communist movement. When a few years ago the Communist leaders were arrested, they were all wealthy foreign business-men, with connections with Greece but none with the Arab world. To-day there are a few Arab Communists, refugees from Palestine or Syria. But so far there is no Communist movement of im-

portance any more than there is a revolutionary movement. The influence of Mohammedanism is still too strong.

In this respect we might bear in mind that the Moslem "respect for womanhood" was seen in many incidents, and not one case of a woman being attacked was reported—until we heard of the one nun in Ismailia who was killed. The story that she was deliberately killed by a group of armed Egyptians has now been dropped like a hot potato.

In Ismailia there has been fought a pitched battle between the British Army and official Egypt—not the Army, which was reserved to deal with the Egyptians, but the Police. Be it noted that in the Canal Zone the fighting between British soldiers and Egyptians does not come into the same category as the struggle in Cairo between the Palace and the Street. To keep up the pretence that Farouk is leading the Liberation Struggle, armed

Egyptians have been fighting British soldiers. Supposing they were trained in Russia and armed by Russians, what a hullabaloo there would be! And supposing they were trained in England by a secret body, how readily would the Press leap in to demand satisfaction! Well—they were. Everybody knows that the Egyptian police have been sent to Scotland Yard for training. Nobody can be ignorant of the fact that they obtained their arms here, too—the supporters of Zionism in this country did at least (if for interested motives) make it widely enough known. We look forward to M.I.5 making some interesting swoops—without much confidence. For the downfall of the small-time traitors like Fuchs and Nunn May is that they give a potential enemy so little—a few plans and the like. If they had only been in a position to hand him the whole of Eastern Europe they would now be sitting in Downing Street telling us all to work harder. INTERNATIONALIST.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Land Hunger in Kenya

THE delegation from the Kenya African Union who were refused an interview by both the Colonial Secretary and the Minister of State held a press conference a fortnight ago, at which they announced the petition which they are to submit to Parliament. The petition calls attention to the "grievous wrong being suffered by the people of Kenya through the alienation of 16,700 square miles of the most fertile land in Kenya, and its transference to European settlers without the consent of the people of Kenya and without compensation for the value of the land". It refers to overcrowding in native reserves, and calls for Africans to be allowed immediately to occupy and farm the large unused areas in the territories reserved to Europeans.

Mr. Mbiyu Koinange said that less than 50,000 square miles, most of it arid and tsetse-ridden land was left for over 5 million Africans. When criticised for not referring to the benefits brought in by Europeans, he replied, "If we have benefited from medicine it should surely be so that we can live better. We cannot live at all without land. Our object is this: friendship on a basis of exchanging what the people of Kenya produce. But we cannot have that unless we have land."

"The Africans," he said, "are knocking in a peaceful way at the door of co-operation, and that door is not even ajar."

The President of the Kenya African Union, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta (whom some of our readers may remember), pointed out last year that with the population increasing rapidly and over 90 per cent. of it is dependent upon agriculture, Africans find that their "Jim Crow" reserves are inadequate for providing work and food for all. The fear of Government turning over the more fertile portions of the reserves—as in the case of the Kenya highlands—to the European settlers is a damper on their interest in better cultivation. Consequently, productivity in African-cultivated lands has fallen to a third of its normal level. "Thousands of African males," says the *Times of India* correspondent, "are deserting the reserves to take up jobs in towns and on estates. In towns, racial discrimination keeps the African people in the 'lower state' of society. The exclusion of the Africans from social activities has chilled their enthusiasm for 'western civilisation'."

This Indian correspondent also comments upon educational developments. "African political leaders believe that literacy will banish the superstitions prevalent among the tribes. They have started a number of schools in the 'reserves' with little or no state aid and intensified the campaign for education funds. The campaign of 'native' education has impressed even the settler-dominated Kenya Government. The administration's recent education review declared, 'The willingness of local Native Councils to make heavy expenditure on primary education, sometimes to the detriment of their other responsibilities, is noteworthy.'"

When the Colonial Secretary in the Labour Government visited Kenya last summer, he was told by the Africans, "An economic disaster faces Kenya unless more land is provided."

Some idea of the White settlers' point of view can be gained from an article in *The Spectator* (2/11/51) by Mr. Cleland Scott, who blandly says: "Some

of the native reserves are overcrowded, but as the tsetse fly is exterminated, inoculations improve and watering facilities grow better there is no reason why part of these populations should not migrate to the at present entirely deserted areas."

Mr. Cleland Scott continues his account of life in Kenya (from his angle) with these remarks:

"Horses can be kept at negligible cost, while the trout-fishing is not only good, as is the bird-shooting in parts, but evenly distributed. The future of game in Kenya is rosy for three main reasons: the establishment of National Parks just after the last war, and enlightened public opinion, and sound game laws which do not allow anyone, Africans or others, to butcher game for profit... Food itself is on the whole good, plentiful and reasonable in price, as is alcohol. There may be great satisfaction in doing your own chores, but personally I would much rather let an African clean that greasy frying-pan; I prefer to have service. To-day it is not always with a grin, but I still appreciate my early tea brought to be in bed; I do one or three hours' work, and then call for bacon and eggs and coffee. The African cook steals and is often maddening, but if unexpected guests arrive he usually rises to the occasion."

NIGERIA

THE long, drawn-out elections in the three regions of Nigeria are now over, and in the regional Houses of Assembly in the North, East and West, the representatives for the Central Legislature have been chosen. The country is so vast and its peoples so varied that it is impossible from this distance to interpret any general tendencies from the elections. As Mr. Patrick O'Donovan said during the voting, "The voters, who vary from graduates of the London School of Economics to grave theocentric Muslims, to tribesmen running as free and wild as birds in the forest, have chosen a collection of local leaders, traders, schoolmasters and Government servants. The labels have been of secondary importance. The professional politicians have had no outstanding success. Many of the new members are only now deciding which party to support."

We find more interesting, and more heartening from many points of view, a Nigerian experiment in communal living which the editor of the journal *Nigeria* described in an account quoted this month in the *Manchester Guardian*. This wholly African community is at Aiyetoro, a remote fishing place a hundred miles east of Lagos. It is based upon the teachings of the New Testament but we would be foolish to sneer at it simply because its days begin at six o'clock with a two-hour service (however distasteful that seems to us!)

The *Guardian* says: "The attempt began as a rebellion, in the 1940s, against the miserable conditions of the fisherman's life, which offered little prospect of change while each man was fighting a single-handed battle for the existence of himself and his family. Under the guidance of three fishermen, a community was formed called 'The Holy Apostles', which proposed to follow the New Testament teaching of working for the community and putting the profits into a common purse."

THE 'THIN' GENERATION

Plan for Apprentices

DURING the dark depression years of the hungry thirties, it was by no means unusual for a youngster to leave school and simply join his father in the queue at the Labour Exchange. He might grow up, marry and become a father himself without ever having had a job.

But the population as a whole were not having children. "I wouldn't bring a child into this rotten world," were the bitter sentiments of thousands of working class couples, with the result that the birthrate fell to the lowest for more than a century.

To-day, our labour-hungry masters are reaping the results of those wasted lives and the lives that never existed. The boys who were not born sixteen years ago, would to-day have been entering industry, taking up apprenticeships and providing the new generation of skilled workers. The employers who, then, were shrugging their shoulders and saying, "Sorry, no work," are to-day sorry for themselves as they find no workers to take the places of those retiring or moving up the ladder.

Whereas then, two-and-a-half million workers could rot on the dole, now the State is faced with the task of finding half a million more workers to man the expanding armaments industries, in a situation where labour is already short.

We have already dealt with Sir Walter Monckton's scheme for "steering" workers into these "essential" industries,

and at a conference last week between representatives of employers and unions, formal approval was given to the Government Order making it compulsory for all jobs to be obtained through the Labour Exchanges. By the time this issue of *Freedom* is in print, the Order will probably have been discussed in Parliament.

The aspect in which we are particularly interested at this moment, however, is that in which schemes are put forward to make apprenticeship to skilled jobs easier. The Minister of Labour has been concerned to close the gaps in the "thin" generation of young people, and to speed-up wherever possible the production of skilled workers.

Apart from anything else, one of the most important factors governing a boy's approach to his choice of job on leaving school is, of course, his National Service. Whatever work he has so far chosen to do, it is interrupted for two years while he goes and learns how to be a soldier, and the knowledge of this impending interruption at a vital time in his life has demoralised many a youngster who sees no point in undertaking a course of work which is going to be so abruptly and ruthlessly interfered with.

Becoming an apprentice means starting at the bottom at a low wage, being attached to a craftsman or team of craftsmen and gradually learning the skills and techniques as you go along. Such a process inevitably entails that the youngster is also tea-boy and errand-boy, and does all sorts of odd-jobs which cannot be said to be teaching him much, but which are more cheaply done by him than by anyone else. In two or three years, however, he is leaving this behind and is just beginning to acquire the skills of the craft when—the buff forms begin to arrive and off he goes to the Army.

He does his two years there—and for all the patter about learning a skilled job in the Army, these are two wasted years (for only regular soldiers are taught proper trades and those are not recognised in civilian life!)—and then comes back to his job at an age when he should have completed his training—still untrained. In fact, with some of his skill forgotten.

But he is a man now. He has lived a man's life—swaggering out with the girls, getting drunk, been abroad, maybe—how can he go back to what he thinks of as "a boy's job"? In the words of the song: "How can we keep 'em down on the farm, now that they've seen Paree?"

And so, to avoid the inevitable conflicts from the very beginning, on leaving school many boys go into the blind-alley jobs, deliberately marking time until

Continued on p. 4

Continued on p. 3

THE LEGAL BASIS OF THE GARRISON STATE

An American View

SLOWLY yet relentlessly the United States is being transformed into the Garrison State. In full bloom (or decay) the Garrison State is governed by the specialists in violence. These, of course, include the military, but since modern warfare is an extremely complex technological phenomenon, we must add to them the engineers, the physical scientists, and the social scientists also. The latter have the task of manipulation: the human beings who happen to inhabit the Garrison State must be moulded into conformity, accommodation, and allegiance; and those within the rival state must be moulded contrariwise. No profession or skill escapes transformation; each becomes specialised in those aspects directly pertaining to violence.

The Garrison State is characterised by a distinctive form of economic organisation, the permanent war economy. Stability of this economy is predicated upon the continuance of a level of crisis high enough to justify great expenditure on rapidly outmoded equipment for inflicting (or "protection from") violence, and on the continuous stockpiling of materials for strategic reserves rather than for use. Given the full development of the permanent war economy, it is possible that plant and equipment will be drafted in the same manner as manpower has been in the past.

Initially only males will be conscripted into military service. However, we may anticipate an eventual extension of such conscription to females. They have, of course, served on a voluntary basis so far, but in Great Britain conscription of women has occurred.

Eventually, individuals will be conscripted for service in the traditional military services but also for varieties of employment related to the institution of war. As H. D. Lasswell has expressed it:

"In the Garrison State there must be work—and the duty to work for all. Since all work becomes public work, all who do not accept employment flout military discipline."

Given the Garrison State and compulsory labour on behalf of it, it is extremely likely that conscientious objection will continue to exist as a social problem. As compulsory labour will encompass far larger numbers of citizens than did the draft for military service in the past, and as it is to be anticipated that women will be drafted for compulsory labour in the same manner as men, the state may well have to deal with a larger number of conscientious objectors than it did in the last war. Thus, the problem of the conscientious objector becomes one of peculiar significance to our society, and for more reasons than are immediately apparent.

First, the manner in which the problem of the conscientious objector is handled will afford an index of the extent to which the State still acknowledges a respect for the individual and his right of conscience. If the State is willing to tolerate a challenge to the institution of war—and in the Garrison State war is, indeed, the health of the State—it is extremely likely that the State will grant some rights in spheres not so important to it. Thus, to the extent to which those concerned with democratic values are able to maintain recognition of the right of conscientious objection, to that extent they are likely to be able to maintain other liberties highly prized by them.

It follows from this that in the early stages of the Garrison State not only should, and will, those who have a belief in democratic values be concerned with

Freedom Bookshop

The Young Shelley K. N. Cameron 21/-

"This is absolutely the best book published in 1951. It deals with Shelley the radical thinker. As the author intimates throughout his work, Shelley, contrary to the assertions of his detractors, was not naive, but was indeed profound." — *Industrial Worker* (Chicago).

The Idiot Teacher Gerald Holmes 12/6

The educational theories of Edward F. O'Neill and their successful application at Prestolee School in Lismore.

The Mistaken Land Michael Ardizzone 8/6

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the problem of conscientious objection, but also the administrators of the Garrison will give the problem considerable attention. Since the conscientious objector will not have been completely eradicated in the early stages of the Garrison State, the administrators will face a sizeable morale problem arising out of the fact that in the garrisoned United States will have evolved from a democratic state whose ideology contained broad assertions concerning inalienable rights of the individual. Thus, there will exist individuals who have "internalised" the ethic of the earlier democratic era and who feel considerable concern about the invasion of civil liberties. These individuals, the atavistic democrats, will be using the problem of conscientious objection as a prime index of the extent to which liberties are being maintained. The garrison administrators may well decide to secure the support, or tolerance, of these atavists, and thereby facilitate the functioning of their state, by continuing to recognise the conscientious objectors. The question is one of price. If there are only a few conscientious objectors, their recognition is a cheap price to pay in order to reassure the atavists. But, at that point where the administrators feel that too many individuals will become conscientious objectors, the category will be abandoned and conscientious objectors will become "traitors" and "enemies of the state", to be dealt with accordingly. Hence, the problem of the conscientious objector is of importance, not only to the objectors themselves, but also to the garrison administrators and the atavistic democrats.

NUREMBURG DECISION

Another reason for the peculiar significance of the treatment of the conscientious objector is that the manner in

Paintings by Francis Bacon

UNTIL the 9th February there is, at the Hanover Gallery in George Street, an exhibition of paintings by Francis Bacon. Paintings which, with two exceptions, are based upon a portrait of Pope Innocent X by Velasquez. The two exceptions are a portrait of Lucien Freud and a painting of a figure crouched before a curtain.

The critical consideration of works by Francis Bacon usually calls for the recurrent use of the more chilling words and phrases, as though the artist's intention was primarily to horrify as an end in itself, and I think that because of this shallow approach the paintings of Francis Bacon have tended to become, for many people, some alarming mystery, only to be comprehended by the initiates.

There is not much mystery about these works they are startlingly direct. This shouting man enclosed within his glass case communicates his special unease with an intensity that leaves little to chance. There is a disturbing familiarity about these paintings, and I feel that, but for the intervention of the painter's instinct, that here is propaganda, and the point being made with such disquieting effect is a criticism as trenchant as any being made to-day that on the contemporary scene there lurks behind every appearance of normal organised society something incredibly dreadful, something that cannot bring other than terror and fear into our lives.

Nor is there any lack of ability on Bacon's part to state with subtlety and dignity together with exquisite colour, such a uniquely penetrating point of view, for he is, probably more than any other contemporary English painter, more concerned to paint in a socially responsible way than to produce works that look "nice" on the drawing-room wall.

He has an uncomfortable way of confronting us with phantoms, but with a certain knowledge that they are not strangers to us. However much we may wish to ignore these grim reminders and escape towards some experience less distressingly urgent, we find that we cannot, for Francis Bacon has a technique that has no regard for the squeamish. For there is painting here—considered without concern for the subject matter—that makes this exhibition more exciting and rewarding than any other in London to-day. It is an exhibition that should not be missed.

ROY SACKMAN.

COMMUNITY OF WORK BOIMONDAU

INTERESTED readers may like to know that Boimonda's anniversary booklet (in French) written by members of the Community, can be obtained by sending eight shillings to Mrs. Thelma Edge, 134, Goldsworth Road, Woking, Surrey.

which this problem is handled will be indicative of the extent to which the jurisprudential principle of individual responsibility in war, perhaps the most important legal principal evolved in World War II, is regarded as an operative legal principal to be applied not only in those states which lose wars but also in those which are victorious. This results from the fact, as Justice Jackson asserts, that the Charter of the Nuremberg trials recognises that the doctrines of superior orders, and acts of state will no longer protect individuals who commit criminal acts during the conduct of a war. Indeed, membership in an organisation which is found guilty of crimes indictable under the Nuremberg Charter may of itself make the individual guilty because of his abdication of moral responsibility. In the words of Justice Jackson:

The Nazi Party, under the "Führerprinzip," was bound by an iron discipline into a pyramid, with the Führer . . . at the top and broadening into a numerous Leadership Corps, composed

BOOK REVIEW

Child of Light

CHILD OF LIGHT: A Reassessment of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, by Muriel Spark. (Tower Bridge Publications, 12/6d.)

MARY SHELLEY will always have a certain indirect interest for anarchists because of her relationship with Godwin and Shelley. Whether her own work entitles her to a consideration beyond that rather adventitious one is another question, and one on which Muriel Spark's new book provides all the material we need.

As far as its biographical part—a little more than half the book—is concerned, *Child of Light* gives a sufficient account of Mary Shelley's life, and Muriel Spark has written with fairness and balance. The Godwin-Shelley relationship, so often distorted by the Shelleyan enthusiasts, is here treated in a manner which does justice to both sides without unnecessarily smearing either. The duality of Mary Shelley's character, the struggle of an essentially emotional nature to break away from the extreme rationalism of Godwin's upbringing, and never quite succeeding are very well portrayed, and we can at least understand if we cannot applaud, the conservative tendencies which dominated Mary Shelley's later life and caused her, among other things, to suppress Godwin's posthumous attack on religion, *The Genius of Christianity Unveiled*.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

ECCE HOMO - WOZZECK

Alban Berg's Opera at Covent Garden

AT the age of 21, three years before his untimely death in 1837, Georg Büchner wrote these words:

"The life of the rich is one long Sunday, the people lie before them like dung upon the fields. The life of the poor man is one long workday: strangers devour his fields before his eyes, his body is a bruise, his sweat is the salt on the table of the rich."

Thus, in 1834. Needless to say, Büchner was not popular with the authorities. He was in fact a political exile for practically the whole of his short adult life. One hundred years later, Büchner is again in trouble. His words, coupled with the music of Alban Berg, are being banned once more in his native land; this time by a megalomaniac watercolourist who calls himself Hitler. Every copy of an opera called "Wozzeck," music and libretto by Alban Berg from a play "Woyzeck" by Georg Büchner, was ordered, by Hitler, to be destroyed and publicly burnt. This inquisitorial iniquity was very nearly carried out, and but for the courage and integrity of Erich Kleiber, a close friend of Berg's who smuggled the score out of Germany, a great masterpiece might have been lost to the world.

It is therefore very fitting that Herr Kleiber should be in charge of the first performance to take place in England.

The work is scored for a very large orchestra (at Covent Garden it spilled itself over into the boxes) and is written in what is called the twelve tone or atonal system. As I am not a professional musician, I am not going to concern myself with this, or pretend to explain it. I am merely concerned with the effect the work has had upon me as a theatregoer who loves both music and acting.

"Wozzeck" is fundamentally a story of human suffering. The hopeless struggle of the individual against the system. There have been several references lately in the Press about this opera, and the central character, Wozzeck, is invariably described as "half-crazed" or "a semi-

of overlords of a very extensive Party membership at the base. By no means all of those who may have supported the movement in one way or another were actual Party members. The membership took the Party oath which in effect, amounted to an abdication of personal intelligence and moral responsibility. This was the oath: "I vow absolute obedience to him and to the leaders he designated for me." The membership in daily practice followed its leaders with an idolatry and self-surrender more Oriental than Western.

The question may well be asked as to how far this matter of individual responsibility can be carried. Also, it must be noted that a wide variety of activities may bring one within the proscriptions of the Nuremberg Charter. Thus, statesmen, military leaders, diplomats, and businessmen may all be guilty of participating in the planning of aggressive war. Similarly, medical men and members of the judiciary may be guilty of war crimes. There would appear to be no reason why the principle enunciated would not be applicable to all varieties of scientists and planners who work for a war effort which, by *ex post facto* determination, proves to have been aggressive or unjustified. However, there is a suggestion of some limitation of the principle of individual responsibility. It has been said that it

would not apply to a mere conscripted private in a firing squad; he, Justice Jackson asserts, could hardly be expected to hold an inquest into the validity of the execution. With this possible exception, the conclusion seems inescapably that the individual must be constantly on his guard lest change in the administrative structure of the state change, in turn, his position from one of innocence to guilt. For example, many civil servants and administrative officials in Germany were transferred into the security police, found at Nuremberg to be a proscribed organisation. Such individuals were liable to be found guilty of membership in an organisation declared by the Tribunal to be criminal.

DILEMMA OF THE INDIVIDUAL

From this discussion it should be clear that the principle of individual responsibility has been firmly implanted in the international law of war and that the individual has a legal duty not to participate in criminal acts relating to war. The individual acts at his own peril when he participates in any war undertaken by his nation. It is his responsibility to determine whether the war is justified or aggressive, and to operate or oppose accordingly.

It remains to be seen whether the principle will be held to be operative in our domestic community, as it is in the world community, whether the state will permit the individual to do as he insists he must. Of course, it is possible that references to this principle of international law as binding upon members of the domestic community will be brushed aside, as have been, for example, reference to treaties renouncing conscription to act in conformity with unannounced principles of policy of the United States.

It can be asserted with confidence that if these principles are to be regarded as operative within the United States, some of the assertions made by members of our judiciary regarding conscientious objectors will, of necessity, cease to be good law. One can hardly proclaim the duty of every individual to assume responsibility for his own actions in war and, at the same time castigate individual who would assume such responsibility. Yet this is exactly what has been done on innumerable occasions during the last war.

Many examples could be cited. In one case, an objector was so shocked by the dropping of atomic bombs in Japan that he felt it his duty to cease to operate with a state which used such devices. Accordingly, he left the country for conscientious objectors to which he had been assigned. For this exercise of personal responsibility the objector was imprisoned. One may wonder what becomes of personal responsibility when objectors are referred to in the following manner:

Continued on p. 4

middle register of his enormous voice has a strange bovine quality which he uses in this part to great effect. Suddenly we realise that Wozzeck is a Man. He sleeps with a woman. He is a Father. A Breadwinner. Hath he not hands, organs, dimensions, senses, passions? If you prick him, will he not bleed? If you tickle him, will he not laugh? If you wrong him, will he not—Ah, no! You're safe enough there. He will not be revenged. At least, not upon his oppressors. The poor wretch, turned ever more and more inward, in desperation, strikes blindly and kills the thing he loves.

Marie is played by Christel Goltz. The possessor of a beautiful voice, she sings with dramatic force and feeling. But she makes Marie a brazen, prurient slut, treading a little too eagerly the downward path. Surely Marie's tragedy is the same as Wozzeck's; she is a victim of circumstance. The Drum-major is merely a symbol of the glittering world whose delights are beyond her reach, and whose ruthless power crushes her when she tries to snatch at them. There are also good performances from Michael Langdon as a drunken peasant and from Edgar Evans as Andres, Wozzeck's friend. The décor (screen sets against varying backcloths) are worthy of being regarded as an integral part of the drama. Together with the lighting of Louis Yudkin and the production of Sumner Austin, they produce an effect which concentrates the attention on the work in hand. But why, oh why is the curtain allowed to fall at the end of each scene? The impact of the piece is, literally, cut off every time this happens, and its cumulative effect suffers in consequence. Surely Covent Garden can afford enough scene changers to change these very simple sets swiftly and silently in a blackout, during the orchestral interludes?

Berg epitomises this wonderfully in an orchestral postlude after the scene. At one moment in this, every instrument in the orchestra plays in unison on one note, rising in a long crescendo to a tremendous fortissimo. Then silence. *Ecce Homo*.

There have also been references in the Press lately describing the opera as sordid, and in the next sentence calling it a masterpiece. How can a masterpiece be sordid? Such a contradiction in terms implies a naive rare even among journalists. It is not the opera which is sordid. It is the conditions which moved Büchner and Berg to write as they did which are sordid. The opera is a searing masterpiece of insight and sensitivity. In the part of Wozzeck, Marko Rothmüller is great. He has that golden gift that all great actors must possess; without which no actor will ever be anything more than good, or clever, or brilliant, or what you will. I mean the quality of repose. He doesn't try to convince us. He convinces us. The

J.S.

GADARENE SLOPE

THE president of the Liberal Party, Mr. Philip Fothergill, spoke recently in commendable indignation over the treatment of Rev. Michael Scott, the spokesman of so many otherwise unrepresented Africans. "The rôle of successive British Governments," declared Mr. Fothergill, "to our shame and discredit, had been to make things as difficult as possible for Mr. Scott and to prevent him from making any report to the United Nations of his grievances. Two years ago the Socialist government of Great Britain had joined in the attempt to stop him. During the past few years the Tories had made a similar attempt to prevent a second report to the United Nations."

Liberal Party's president draws attention to the identity of the behaviour of the rival political parties when it comes to governmental practice, however loudly they profess their theoretical differences. In this issue of Freedom we publish an account of the attitude which indicates, almost as a shock, how very far the concept of liberty has gone. Is it to recall that the first great step in the progress of civil liberty was the Defence of the Realm Act (D.R.A.) of the 1914-18 war—an act brought in while the Liberal Party was at the height of its power? Was this not so much to suggest that Mr. Fothergill's indignation is mere, but to show that when it comes to governmental practice, to the actual exercise of power, there is no difference not only between Labour and Tory but with the Liberals as well. Whatever a man may profess to believe, his actions, when he comes to administer the lives of millions of his fellow men, are strikingly uniform—and on a far lower ethical plane.

The decline in practice is, paradoxically, accompanied by an advance in theory. We have given prominence to the statements of the Unesco scientists on race, which leave very little loopholes for prejudice. Mr. Fothergill went on to remark that "there was a time when Britain would have been aflame over this (Michael Scott's) case; what had happened to Britain? Was one Government after another to be hypnotized by Dr. Malan? Had we reached such a low ebb that no iniquity or injustice could move us? If anybody believed that the price of peace in Africa was our acquiescence in the exploitation of native populations, the sooner the utterly foolish and dangerous impression was dispelled the better."

But who to-day but the most ignorant and the most reactionary do hold this notion? Yet while few defend it, it is the practice not only of Dr. Malan, but of British Administration also.

Yet a third factor emerges in the above quotation: "There was a time when Britain would have been aflame over this case; what had happened to Britain?" What, too, has happened to America, when statements emanate from academic institutions and eminent judges such as those Richard Rabinowitch quotes on the opposite page?

Stated briefly, there is an advance of knowledge which increasingly supports progressive attitudes (Unesco scientists, etc.) there is increasingly retrogressive administrative practice (Malan, British Governmental acquiescence, American juridical pronouncements); and the decay, down to vanishing point, of liberal indignation, or of protest.

Expressed historically, there is the hatred of totalitarianism to the point of making it the spur of war feeling; and the practical intro-

duction of totalitarian measures in supposedly democratic régimes. With this goes apathy and acquiescence on the part of the people in general. There is little need to reiterate the economic paradox of ever-increasing potential abundance, ever-increasing practical frustration in work.

These paradoxes represent the turning of the tide of apparent progress. In the face of them we can scarcely be surprised if our generation has lost the feeling of security given by the "inevitability of progress" idea that dominated the nineteenth century ever since the French Revolution.

It is not difficult to see economic factors underlying such trends of our time. But the explanation of the third factor, the acquiescence and apathy, and the intellectual paradox is more difficult. In the face of the American juridical quotations, humanism is seen to be in retreat. But humanism can only flourish where human aspirations are expanding and their fulfilment on the increase. We are right, we believe, in the columns of FREEDOM, to study the nature of some of the frustrations of human fulfilment. To understand these, we believe, will go far to explaining the paralyzing apathy, the acquiescence in ghastly paradox which increasingly characterises the age of 1984.

The indignation and oratory of the Liberal Party's president are welcome indeed. But we must look deeper and with more sympathy and penetration and understanding if we are to resolve the psychological contradiction of our time.

THE "LIBERAL" ANGLE ON WAR WITH CHINA

DURING the two wars with Germany we had constantly at the heels of official militaristic opinion the "liberal" and "socialist" attitude to the war, which—while backing the former in all that was essential—sought to give it an ideological twist, so as to make old-fashioned militarism more palatable to the modern taste. The theme was at first that we were democratic and our opponents were not. Needless to say, it would have made no difference to their support of the war had it been the other way around—as witness the attitude to Russia when she came in (in both wars). One is, however, bewildered to find that there can really be people who swallow this propaganda: that there were some who were really disappointed that there was, after all, no "European revolution," no better time after the war. . . . On the contrary, all that arises out of it is the next war (which we were assured could never happen but which in most of the essentials has already happened).

The wishy-washy propaganda of world government (it was still federal union last time, and a League of Nations the time before) is apparently still going ahead, as strong as a cup of diluted railway tea. I do not know if bewilderment at the apologies is peculiar to myself, but I must confess myself naive enough to have been staggered when I read in a Sunday newspaper, amongst the letters in response to that ever-popular topic—the British soldier's pay—the suggestion that the United Nations should take the responsibility for seeing that all soldiers fighting in Korea for the U.N. cause got equal pay by a levy on each of the member nations! The idea of Russia coughing up her roubles to implement the pay of the soldiers in Korea could only be passed in fantasy if Nehru's desire to bring Red China into the fold had been met. Nobody seems to know very much what the Korean war is about but there is no doubt whatever that if the United Nations is anything at all, it is something that does incorporate the Soviet Union.

U.N.O. might fairly be described as a thieves' kitchen that sets out to abolish crime; the card-sharps are denouncing blackmail while the blackmailers are crying to heaven against breaches of confidence. The war-cry that we are going to fight for the "United Nations"—in other words, not only for Washington but also for the Kremlin—must become one of the most amusing periods of history for posterity to look back on—if the joke does not go a little too far and leave no posterity to look back on it.

Another version that is going the rounds is the story that we are going to "do something" for the people of Asia. This is a very high ideal, although a little reminiscent of all we were going to do for everyone before. "Poverty breeds communism"—although it was said to breed fascism last time, and German agents caused the trouble in exactly the same places where Russian agents cause it now! This as instanced in Indo-China and Malaya is palpably untrue. The masses there are certainly poverty-stricken and with nothing to lose and only their chains to retain whichever side wins, but they are most certainly not actively pro-Communist any more than they are pro-European. The solid Communist support comes from Chinese communities which are substantial, prosperous trading communities, typically bourgeois, middle-class and with everything to lose. How is it that these bourgeois Chinese support Peking? Precisely because it is Peking, and just as they supported Chiang Kai Shek they now support Mao Tse Tung, the new warlord who is the new idol of the Chinese middle-class. They do not support "communism" in the abstract sense; they are property-owners who intend to remain such, often with a considerable contempt for the native working populations amongst whom they trade, but they are anti-European out of sheer necessity. The heavy arm of militarism falls upon them out of old-fashioned nationalist motives; they fight back.

In China itself the negative attitude of the Chinese masses worries the leaders of the "new" China. The political lethargy that Mao Tse Tung finds is the proof positive that one day the great Chinese contempt for government as such will engulf his régime as it has engulfed other despotic régimes, including the Japanese. This anti-authoritarian attitude of the Chinese is represented amongst many Chinese communities abroad; but the reason why there are middle-class Chinese communities of Indo-China and Malaya keeping alive the struggle on behalf of Mao Tse Tung (as they did the anti-Japanese struggle under Chiang Kai Shek) is due to the fact that as against American and European middle-class domination and their own trading monopolies, they are holding on to their own.

It may suit the Soviet bloc to represent the struggle in the East as one between starving peasants and European soldiers, there is a little truth in it, and so it may serve the slightly more enlightened British apologists for the American bloc to speak of all that is "going to be done after the war" for the starving peasants. But the truth is still the same: rival imperialisms and commercial interests have clashed, and the underdogs will get no satisfaction whichever wins—and in the case of the Far East it is extremely unlikely that they expect it.

INTERNATIONALIST.

CONNUBIAL BLISS

The picture is a drab one: the casual meeting by chance, the long-drawn courting which ripens into an understanding; the difficulties of housing and the intended avoidance of parenthood; the general dislike of sex; the poverty and uncertainty of the years between-the-wars; a general pattern of resentful submission to "a world I never made," where "they" are the government and "we" are the victims.

—Review in *The Listener* of *Patterns of Marriage*, by Eliot Slater & Moya Woodside (Cassell, 17/6).

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

Third Degree Methods in Italy

HOW much lip service is paid to such noble ideas as "freedom of the individual", of "thought", of "movement", and so on, and yet how often does one come across examples where these rights are either flagrantly trampled on, or by some legal trickery, or moral bullying, suspended.

The most stupid examples of this interference occur in cases where books are banned on the grounds of alleged obscenity. Some time ago, Australia banned that classic, the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius in the Penguin edition, and only revoked their decision as a result of world-wide publicity and scorn. Now we see that the State-owned Australian Broadcasting Commission has banned four songs from "Kiss Me, Kate." The general manager said that the songs banned were: "I hate man," "Too darn hot," "Always true to you in my fashion," and "Brush up your Shakespeare."

Commercial radio stations have also been asked by the commission not to play the tunes. The Melbourne station 3UZ has already banned the same songs, which one producer described as "rougher than most."

And if one thought that Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was now accepted everywhere as a classic, it is a mistaken view, for in Tokyo this month, a Court ruled that a Japanese translation of this work was "obscene" and the kind of book which might tend to "uproot society"—whatever that may mean. The Japanese publisher in this case was fined about £250.

LESS stupid, but much more horrible—and an indication that in Italy (as we are always pointing out with regard to all countries), régimes come and go, but police just carry on. The particular case we are referring to occurred in Rome. Some fifteen months ago, a thirty-four years old unemployed soldier, Lionello Egidi, who lived in one of the poorest slums in the suburbs of Rome, was arrested and charged with the rape and murder of a thirteen-year-old girl whose body was found in a well in the area. It appears that these child murders provoke a sordid interest and give rise to a mass hysteria even greater than in this country. No less than 200,000 people followed the little girl's coffin.

Meanwhile, Egidi spent 15 months in prison awaiting trial (what does the United Nations Human Rights Commission think of this quite commonplace procedure, so far as Italy is concerned?) and when eventually he stood trial the case was "not proven" and he was acquitted "for insufficiency of evidence". Before we proceed to the particularly interesting aspect of this case, we must

again stress the fact that this man actually spent fifteen months in prison without trial. This, in a country whose politicians are falling over one another to assure the world that the past has been buried, that Italy is a "democracy", etc.

The reason Egidi was acquitted was that at the last moment two informers engaged by the Rome police to make him confess in his cell when he was first arrested, withdrew their evidence and stated in Court that their faces had been pasted over with coloured wax by the public security officers to give Egidi the impression that they had been beaten. They said they had terrified Egidi (under orders) by coming into his cell moaning and urging him to confess.

The police have not denied this disclosure, and the Head of the Rome "flying squad" has offered his resignation. Obviously, this tacit admission by the police of the methods they used to obtain a confession has now given substance to Egidi's statement in court in explaining his confession to the crime when in prison and his withdrawal of it in court. He said that he had "continually been forced to eat handfuls of salt" and had "the soles of his feet beaten by the police" to hasten confession.

According to the *Manchester Guardian's* Rome correspondent, the disclosures in the Egidi case has caused a great stir in Rome, where "for the last few nights little circles of angrily debating citizens, such as have not been seen here for a long time now, were gathered all over Rome to inveigh against Roman police methods and against the Government." And apparently almost the entire Italian Press is up in arms about police abuses.

Will something be done as a result of the publicity aroused by this case? Somehow the visitor to France and Italy has always the feeling that the cities are teeming with police and there is always a jeep or van-load of police hooting and screeching its way along the boulevards. To-day in Italy there are 66,649 police officers and men, compared with 25,000 under Mussolini in 1942. One never hears a good word for the police; they are universally hated (remember that incident in *Bicycle Thieves?*) everyone knows of the abuses for their are too many victims who end up in the public hospitals as a result of their treatment at the hands of the police.

Yet, when one asks: "Well, why isn't something done about it?" one receives always the same reply: that you can't do anything, that no prominent writers, scientists and artists nor the workers' organisations will lend their names to a demand for a clean-up of the police.

AND from the turbulent manifestations in Rome (which one can only hope will not be another flash in the pan) we end this Commentary with a storm in a teacup in the sleepy Amman valley in Carmarthenshire where the Nonconformist ministers have ordered the two thousand members of their churches to boycott the Amman Valley Amateur Operatic Society's production of "The Vagabond King" next March unless the Society alters its decision to hold rehearsals on Sundays! The Society is resisting the boycott call by these religious blimps and reports that bookings for the performances are already coming in in satisfactory numbers.

What a lot of busy-bodies, bullies, nose parkers, and do-gooders-whether-you-like-it-or-not there are still about in the world!

LIBERTARIAN.

African Affairs

Continued from p. 1

"The community's fishing fleet consists of thirty large canoes, carved from cottonwood, each taking a crew of eight men. The canoes go six miles out to sea and fish for bonga, which have a ready market and are cured over a quick fire. Visiting traders and attendance at local markets dispose of the catches. Aiyetoro salesmen are equipped with khaki tunics and shorts, notebooks and fountain pens, and the day's money is all paid over to the community's treasurer, who is responsible to the community's committee of sixteen elders, men and women.

"As there is no individual ownership of money any member needing clothes, shoes, or personal requisites applies to the appropriate subcommittee, and nearly always gets what he wants. Each house usually has a large central sitting-room with a well-polished floor, chairs, and table made by the community carpenters, and two bedrooms with mattress beds, mosquito nets, and sheets. The community is very proud of its housing standards and is now planning to install electric light. A communal laundry washes, irons, packs, and delivers each household's weekly washing.

"In the centre of the town is a dining hall where those who find it more convenient to eat in a group rather than cook at home are fed by a well-organised catering committee of Aiyetoro girls. Schooling for the children is linked with practical work, as the community has decided that, while it wants a literate population, it also must have competent fishermen, farmers, weavers, and carpenters—the four realms of life which form the basis of the community's economy."

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Firemen's Pay

THE Ministry of Labour Arbitration Board last week announced its decision on firemen's pay—the issue on which firemen all over the country staged a 48-hour "spit-and-polish" boycott, which resulted in victimisation and bad feeling all round.

The firemen, readers will remember, were claiming parity of pay with the police—the traditional equality promised firemen on joining the service and maintained for fifty years until the recent recruiting drive for the police boosted their wages higher than the fire-fighters'.

In response to the Fire Brigade Union's first claim, months ago, the local authorities, who control them, offered an increase of 15/- a week. But since the disparity between the police pay was about 35/- a week, the firemen turned the offer down flat—and launched their boycott.

Negotiations followed, and the Arbitration Board, under its chairman, Sir David Ross, has now recommended an increase of 16s. 6d. a week—1s. 6d. more than the previous offer.

It is difficult to believe that the Board really thought the firemen would accept this cheese-paring addition to the original offer, which was so unanimously rejected. Protest meetings have already been held at the London Fire Brigade H.Q. in Lambeth and at Beaver Hall, London, while resolutions to "reject the recommendation as an insult" are coming in from other areas. On first hearing the award, John Horner, union secretary, said that it "would surely be rejected by the Service" and that it was hard to conceive anything more likely to "inflamm[e] feeling among firemen once again."

We wait with interest the men's next move in this struggle. From an Acton fire station came the suggestion that, instead of working their present 60-hour week, firemen should go on to 48 hours, the same as the police. The feeling among the Fire Service at the time of the suspensions and fines last December and the resentment felt at the Discipline Code being used in a trade dispute, rather indicated that many firemen might well "vote with their feet" against this award and simply leave the Service.

As for the local authorities' attitude—we wonder whether they are hoping that in the present recruiting drive for Civil Defence, which includes the Fire Service, they will find enough part-time unpaid firemen to maintain the Service without paying the regulars any more?

If this is so, it is certainly a despicable attitude and one to which the firemen should find a prompt answer. It should not be too difficult.

METER-READERS' STRIKE COLLAPSES

IT was fairly obvious, when support could not rise much above 50%, that the strike of the electric meter-readers was going to fail. Of the 700 employed in the London area, there was never more than 362 on strike, and this half-hearted support from their own ranks,

OUR ECONOMIC LUNACY

"On the whole, the machine-tool industry is responding well to the demand for increased production, despite the fact that there is little assurance that increased capacity can be kept employed after the emergency . . ."

It is true that the expansion in output of machine tools between 1938 and 1942 took place with surprisingly little expansion of capacity . . .

The output of the machine-tool industry in the U.S. contracted severely after the war."

—Engineering (London), 18/1/52.

MAY we then expect a considerable reluctance to abandon the rearmament drive at its scheduled date of a few years hence? And may not the reason then advanced be on the lines of the following?—

"Relatively few, less than a thousand, in the strategic reserve of machine tools held over by the Ministry of Supply from the last war were suitable for use in the present programme." If machine-tools go out-of-date and become unusable in a matter of five years (and with them the things they are used to make), the entire output of arms in 1956, leaving us, as the Generals will then cry, naked in the face of potential aggression. "More arms! We are not safe yet!"

No doubt the textile unions will then demand, as they did recently, increased Government contracts for military textiles and uniforms to soak up their unemployment. This is the Keynesian placebo with a vengeance! Dear reader, do you know where your willing feet are taking you? V.M.

plus the positive hostility of public opinion, was sufficient to render any strike hopeless.

The men have now gone back without having gained a thing.

Full agreement was reached at a talk between representatives of the London Electricity Board and Sir Robert Gould, the Industrial Commissioner. The meeting recognised the Board's right to appoint supervisors for the meter-readers and the question of non-victimisation of the strikers was "implicit throughout the talks". (It is usually safer for such matters to be explicit!) The meeting issued a joint statement:

"The trade unions have undertaken to consider data to be supplied by the London Electricity Board supporting the board's conclusion that there is considerable redundancy among meter-readers in London.

"It was agreed that the selection of any men found to be redundant will be upon the usual formula of 'last in, first out' over the L.E.B. area and that the arrangements for discharge will be such as to avoid hardship to individual men as much as possible. Both sides will co-operate in an endeavour to find suitable alternative employment in the industry."

LABOUR PARTY DISCIPLINE

FIVE members of the Salford (Lancs) Labour Party have been punished by the Party for taking part in the unofficial dock strike in Manchester last May.

Disciplinary action was taken against the men, and three were expelled, two were suspended from office. Last December they appealed against the decision, but last week the Party's National Executive rejected their appeals.

As everybody knows, Labour Party discipline must come before the interests of the workers. P.S.

Port Sunlight Apprentices' Training Workshop

THE training workshop recently opened at Port Sunlight, is, we believe, something completely new in industrial training.

The Manchester Guardian reports it thus:

"The workshop is a combined enterprise by five concerns in the Lever group in the North-west—Lever Brothers at Port Sunlight; the British Extracting Company Ltd., Bromborough; Joseph Crosfield and Sons, Ltd., Warrington; Prices (Bromborough), Ltd.; and Van den Berghs and Jurgens, Ltd., Bromborough.

"Every boy apprenticed to any one of these companies in any of eight trades—boilermaker, electrician, fitter and machinist, sheet metalworker, bricklayer, joiner, painter and plumber—will come to the new training centre for six months. If his home is away from Port Sunlight, he will live in a hostel maintained by the participating companies.

"The six months' course at the training centre is designed not only to give a boy a start in his own trade but to give him a general apprenticeship to industrial life. He will learn something about the other man's job as well as his own—the joiners will have a spell with metal-working tools, and the fitters will spend

their call-up, and seeking the best pay while they do it. Which is now reducing even more the present "thin" generation of apprentices.

It is a situation which can really only be solved by the ending of conscription, or at least by wholesale deferments. But military necessity makes that obviously very unlikely, so Sir Walter Monckton has been discussing with T.U. and employer's representatives the possibility of changes in the conditions governing apprenticeship to make it easier to fit in with military training and serve the interests of the State.

First measure suggested is to cut short the period of training. In most trades this is five or six years—in some, seven. If this were cut to three or four it could be fitted in before call-up and the apprentice would then actually be a fully-fledged craftsman before going into the Forces. The second approach is to make more flexible the age at which apprenticeship can begin.

At the moment this is rigidly fixed—at before 16 in most cases. Now the move may be to enable anyone at a later age to become a craft apprentice, but on this of course the matter of wages arises. Can an older man exist on apprentice's money? Shall apprentices' rates of pay vary according to the age of the apprentice?

These very important considerations will no doubt be settled amicably by the trade unions and the employers, under the benign influence of the Minister of Labour.

Meanwhile, some employers are developing their own schemes for more efficient training of young workers. A new apprentices' training workshop was opened at Port Sunlight last week by Sir Geoffrey Heyworth, chairman of Lever Brothers and Unilever Ltd., and undoubtedly, if it is seen to be a success, from the firm's point of view, the idea will be taken up by other concerns. We

some weeks working in wood. If a boy shows some particular aptitude for a craft that was not originally his chosen one he will be encouraged to make a new choice. One day a week is set aside for technical studies.

"After six months at the centre the boys will go to one or other factory in the group to spend the rest of their apprenticeship in the workshop. But throughout the whole period of apprenticeship the regional apprentice training manager will keep in personal touch with every apprentice to try to see that he makes the most of his training and to encourage him if he shows ability to go on to get professional qualifications in some branch of engineering.

"All apprentices in the region are advised to defer their National Service until they have completed their industrial training.

"If the north-western scheme of regional apprenticeship works well, the Unilever group will try to promote similar schemes in other regions. Sir Geoffrey Heyworth said to-day that expenditure on industrial education, like expenditure on research, might seem to show no immediate return, but he was convinced that it was essential if industrial society was to progress."

A Reader writes . . .

BEWARE OF IDEALISM

FROM time to time lively and stimulating articles appear in FREEDOM, and these receive comment from readers in letters which also display these characteristics. To mention but three, there have been the discussions on the use of violence in revolutions, the pronouncements of the Pope, and the purpose of marriage. In some of the articles and in many of the letters, can be detected a tendency that is quite un-anarchistic: in fact, the bright halo of idealism can almost be seen shining. Regarding the articles, there is no good reason why any person should not state his views on a subject (and this includes non-anarchists) but the nature of the presentation will always show whether it is the work of an idealist or if the writer has accepted a dogma with regard to the matter in hand. In such a case the words are invariably headlong, the writing 'heady', and often a touch of acrimony creeps in. But, as I have said, to express these views is in order: some good can be gleaned from them if those who read them are not inclined to a narrow outlook and can recognise the writing for what it is, can see the point which idealism has made the writer overlook, and appreciate the truths that this has made evident.

When we come to the readers' letters about the articles, we get perhaps, a further insight. Many letters show that their authors are suffering from what I call imposition-phobia. Taking an

article as the given view of one person and debating its merits is one thing, but many readers seem to assume immediately that a New Order is on the way and one of the tenets of it will be the idea expressed in the article to which they take exception. Is this the explanation for the almost passionate nature of letters that attack an article; letters that stamp their writer as much an idealist as the one they attack? Having lived their lives under political systems that are imposed from above, the letter-writers have developed imposition-phobia; their minds expect any view expressed (especially in print), to become part of a creed to which they may be forced to adhere. As they dash into the fray, they remind me of the people who study capitalist economics. The very ingenuity of the complex arrangements within this system distracts their attention from the vital question: is the thing as a whole worth considering?

And all dogmatic assertions about a part within a whole are, in my opinion, anathema to an anarchist view of life. Anarchism by its nature repudiates all dogma and has no prescribed body of truths; but recognises that for each persons some truths are self-evident. Anarchism is, I think, a philosophy, an outlook, or method of approach to life and to fellow-men: it is, too, the most satisfying of all philosophies.

Hitchin, Heris. H. E. HUTSON.

APPRENTICES

Continued from p. 1

refer to the Unilever scheme elsewhere.

The happiness and stability of a society depends upon the social relationship within it. The material standard of well-being depends upon the degree of technical knowledge and skill possessed by the productive workers; whether those workers are in industry, agriculture, medicine, education, pure science, or whatever productive process.

The full realisation, however, of the material wealth of a society, also depends upon the social relationships within it, and while we approve of the highest possible development of skill and craftsmanship, it is, we maintain, the social ends for which they are used that assess their social value.

Sir Walter Monckton, the industrialists and the trade unions leaders, are going all out to spread skill and technical knowledge. But for what end?

THE GARRISON STATE

Continued from p. 2

If half the young men would decide to violate some law or refuse to abide by some rule of law of which they disapprove, we would have anarchy. The purpose and effect of such an attitude would be so plain that it would be impossible not to conclude that such citizens are at heart traitors to their country. (Hopkins, J., Ex parte Billings, 46 F. Supp. 663, 668; Kan. 1941. Isfuch & Kan, 1942.)

THE LEGAL APPARATUS FOR AUTHORITARIANISM

If these "traitors," "flaunters of the law," and "deserters" are not permitted to persist in their position as a matter of right, we may, indeed, conclude that the war crimes trials were rites for the exculpation of tribal guilt rather than serious attempts to enunciate new principles of law to apply in the world community.

From this cursory survey of the problem it should be apparent that the problem of conscientious objection is no mere matter of some few thousand individuals who manifest a particular form of deviant behaviour. Its significance is heightened when we examine it in connection with the treatment received by the American citizens of Japanese extraction in the last war. Examining these two problems together we are driven to the conclusion that in the United States to-day we have a respectable body of legal authority upon which to base a full-blown authoritarian order.

In speaking of the implications of the Japanese exclusion cases, Professor Rostow of Yale Law School has stated:

(1) Protective custody, extending over three or four years, is a permitted form of imprisonment in the United States; (2) political opinions, not criminal acts, may contain enough clear and present danger to justify such imprisonment; (3) men, women and children of a given ethnic group, both Americans and resident aliens, can be presumed to possess the kind of dangerous ideas which require their imprisonment; (4) in time of war or emergency the military, perhaps without even the concurrence of the legislature, can decide what political opinions require imprisonment, and which ethnic groups are infected with them; and (5) the decision of the military can be carried out without indictment, trial, examination, jury, the confrontation of witnesses, counsel for the defence, the privilege against self-incrimination or any of the other safeguards of the Bill of Rights.

Add to these the principles which have emerged in the law of conscientious objection: the fact that the state may discriminate among its citizens on the basis of religious belief; that civilians may be ordered to work in labour camps from which they have no right to leave; that civilians may be required to work without compensation; that the military may control civilians in such labour camps. One discerns a frightening fact: American jurisprudence has imbedded in it to-day principles of law suitable only for a totalitarian state. Certainly in the face of the emergence of such principles in the permanent crisis state, citizens of this democracy can no longer afford to view the problem of conscientious objection with equanimity. In essence, the problem of conscientious objection is the problem of the survival of freedom in these United States.

RICHARD RABINOWITZ.

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Resistance in Spain

ON December 14th, 1951, a military tribunal at Seville, held in camera the trial of seventy-five members of the Syndicalist National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.). The accused, who included six women, were charged with secret association and with giving aid to anti-Franco militants. They had organised in 1949-50 a secret escape route from Cadiz to Tangiers for opponents of the régime whose life and liberty was in danger.

Dionisio Ruda, accused of having been secretary of the regional Syndicalist organisation at Cazalla de la Sierra, and Antonio Nunez Perez, charged with being a guerrilla, were sentenced to death. Other sentences ranged from eight years for one of the women to thirty years.

Although the news has only now percolated through to the outside world the original arrests were made in 1949. That alone should throw into sharp relief the strength and ruthlessness of the oppressing machine.

There are many different political groups in the Spanish underground, it seems that those most active in the organisation of secret societies, clandestine newspapers and sabotage have members of the National Confederation of Labour. This view is supported by the fact that the recent disturbances, most widespread and frequent in Catalonia, the Basque Provinces and Asturias, the traditional stronghold of the Syndicalist movement in the Franco era.

If Franco declared that the strikes in Barcelona were Communist, he said so not because this was the truth, but because he knew that the American Government would not be against the measures taken to put down the strikes as long as they felt the Communists were behind them, who have left Spain since they attest to the fact that these strikes are spontaneous protests against the conditions and the immediate increase in transport fares in the city. Even ruthless Fascist police were used about the measures used to deal with the strikes.

—Tribune, 25/1/52

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