

Textile Crisis

A SYMPTOM OF ECONOMIC CHANGE

"Easter, for many towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire, will be a grim and unnatural holiday. On Tuesday, when most people are back at work, the mills will still be closed, the machines idle, the workers anxious. How many more of us, they will be wondering, will be out by the end of the month?"

"Unemployment last month among textile workers was double that of the month before. Not far off a hundred thousand men and women in the cotton, wool and rayon industries are now unemployed, and there is still no visible sign of a turn for the better."

THESE were the opening words of the leading article in *The Observer* last Sunday, which went on to ask what the future of the British textile industry is to be.

The cotton industry first rose and thrived by supplying the needs of the economies overseas, in return for cheap food and cheap raw materials. For a long time all went well, but now the whole foundation of this international division of labour is disappearing. . . . Witness, for example, the dramatic recent development of this form of manufacture in countries such as Canada, Australia, Turkey, Mexico, Chile or Egypt. Remember that India, which before the war was a large exporter of raw cotton, is now a large importer, and that whole mills have actually been moved there from Lancashire. World trade in textiles is shrinking, while production grows.

"Even in Japan, some of the leading men in the cotton industry are now saying that although their spinning capacity is not yet back to pre-war, it is too large for the world market, and that Japan should divert some of her resources to exporting engineering goods and chemicals."

Is not this even more true of Britain? asks *The Observer*, and it concludes:

"Very little attempt has yet been made to work out the right economic pattern for Britain generally, in the light of world prospects. All the signs are that radical departures from the existing pattern will be required. We shall have to

produce more food at home, so as to become less dependent on buying imports with exports, and we shall have to equip ourselves to export mainly—apart from coal—those specialised goods for which a demand is likely to persist. Like Switzerland and Sweden—small countries which contrive to prosper although they are poorer in resources than we are—we shall have to aim at selling abroad the high-value products of technical skill, rather than vast quantities of cheap, mass-produced articles."

These remarks have a vaguely familiar sound to us, and the reason is because they are very like arguments which have been used in FREEDOM for years, without claiming any special originality for them. For instance, in an article on the "Economics of Disaster" in our issue of 14/7/45, discussing the fallacies of the "export drive", we remarked that: "Britain's dominant position in the past was due to her early start in the industrial and empire-building race. We exported manufactured goods all over the world, and in return imported raw materials for foodstuffs and manufacture, the first causing the decline of our own agriculture, and the second giving the impetus for more industry." Pointing out that the industrialisation of the importing countries had been hastened and intensified by the war so that the overseas markets would be more and more tightly closed against Britain, we declared that "the British workers' only hope of peace, full employment and a high standard of life is in a world in which each country or economic region achieves a balance of industry and agriculture to supply as many as possible of its own people's basic needs, and a surplus to exchange with others for those things with which it cannot provide itself."

This is a very simple economic doctrine and it seems self-evident, but *The Observer* has only just discovered it and the government like its predecessor, still hasn't.

Socialist International Agrees on Spain

THE only resolution passed unanimously at the recently held London meeting of the Council of the Socialist International was in regard to Franco's Spain. The meeting protested against the political persecutions in Spain. Member parties were asked to unite in continuing their action against any collaboration, even for military purposes, between Western countries and Spain. The resolution added: "The defence of freedom and the struggle against Stalinist tyranny cannot receive the help of Franco without defiling the noble cause of world democracy."

In his very thoughtful book which we have often mentioned, *Britain Can Feed Herself*, Col. G. P. Pollitt wrote:

"With the spread of industrial knowledge, all the food-producing countries are establishing their own secondary industries and will not take in future to the same extent our manufactured goods in exchange for food. The standard of living in some of the countries whence we obtain part of our 'cheap' food is rising. The underpaid peon in the Argentine, the Chinese coolie, the Negro in the West Indies, will inevitably in time have to be paid a wage consistent with a decent living standard. When this occurs, there can be no more cheap food from these sources so far as its cheapness derives from sweated labour conditions, as it has done in the past."

Col. Pollitt saw the solution to the new economic situation in much the same way as *The Observer*, though with a greater emphasis on the expansion of agriculture. He saw, too, that such necessary changes in the balance of industry and agriculture would be resisted by many strongly established and very vocal vested interests, for instance, the City of London, including banks, insurance companies, merchant houses, Stock Exchange, shipping, etc. These changes would also be resisted by both sides of industry. In the present textile crisis, the only way out the employers suggest is the removal of purchase tax and the trade unions demand more contracts for military uniforms, etc., from the government.

The changes necessary in the economic structure of this country, amount, as *The Observer* says, to "an economic revolution". We agree, but we believe that this revolution implies very much more than *The Observer* suggests.

Templer's First Step was Group Punishment—Now it's CHEMICAL WARFARE IN MALAYA

NEWSPAPER reports that chemical warfare was to be launched from the air on Communist food-growing areas in the Malayan jungle and that poison would be used, has been only in part denied by the Defence Secretary, Mr. David, in a statement he made in Kuala Lumpur last week. The Government, he said, had no intention of spraying poisonous chemicals injurious to men or animals anywhere in Malaya in its campaign to deny food and cover to "Communist terrorists". But he added that the Government was experimenting with non-toxic chemicals suitable for killing undergrowth and other vegetation which could give cover to terrorists. It was hoped that these chemicals could also be used to destroy terrorist food crops, either by ground forces or possible spraying from the air. But the tests were still "very much in the experimental stage," he said.

"There has never been any question of spraying with poison (Mr. David declared). Spraying with poison implied that you are trying to poison a crop so that anyone eating it would be killed. We are merely aiming to kill plants. . . . No spraying from the air has yet been attempted. But we may do so, depending on the outcome of these experiments."

Here, in a sentence or two, you have the whole essence of "democracy". Spraying with poison implies that you are trying to poison a crop so that any "Communist terrorist" eating it (as those who would attempt to eat these crops are "Communists" since the spraying would be carried out only on "terrorist food crops") would be killed. Spraying

it with chemicals will not poison the terrorist, but will only kill him by starvation; a distinction which the "Communist terrorist" will be the first to appreciate.

Major-General Templer has already received many replies to his letter to the people of Tangong Malim, calling on them to turn informers for the Government—so we are told by official sources. At least, we are informed that more than a thousand forms have been collected, which does not necessarily mean that they contained information which is of much use. However, thirty arrests have been made—mostly "prosperous-looking" Chinese shopkeepers—and Templer can now back out of the impossible situation he created with a show of dignity. The 22-hour curfew order, ration cutting and the closing of schools imposed on the township of Tangong Malim have now been withdrawn after being in operation a fortnight and the inhabitants are now back to the modified curfew arrangements of September 1951, which includes an 11-hour curfew! That Major-General Templer is at present unconcerned at the protests voiced in this country against group punishment—including one by 124 Labour M.P.s—is shown by the fact that he has now issued a new punishment warning to some two thousand Chinese and Malays in a resettlement area near Kuala Lumpur, who were suspected of withholding information about the terrorists. It was delivered by civil, military, and police officials after the discovery of a recently evacuated camp with accommodation for sixty in a nearby rubber plantation, in which the Chinese and Malays were working as tappers.

HOUSING IN ASIA

A MISSION of experts from various countries made a survey at the beginning of this year of the housing problem in India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Thailand, Malaya and Singapore. Their report, *Low Cost Housing in South and South East Asia* (Department of Social Affairs, United Nations, New York), says the magnitude of the problem is immense. The mission was informed that more than 100,000,000 Asian families (perhaps as many as 150,000,000) at present live in crowded, insanitary, sub-standard quarters. In many areas, humans and animals are housed together within the same walls. In India, Pakistan, Malaya and elsewhere in Asia, millions of refugee families are living in makeshift shacks at a sub-human level.

About 85 per cent. of the population of the countries and territories visited live in little villages and rural districts. In general, it appears that a great many of the villages are slums.

The threats made and statements issued by the Government reveal that the resistance movement in Malaya, far from being the activity of a tiny minority of desperate Moscov (via China) directed fanatics, is in fact a growing movement. Group punishment, chemical warfare, and the encouragement of such mean totalitarian demands that people should turn informers against their neighbours, are tactics which will serve to strengthen this resistance movement. We repeatedly point this out, not because we deplore the fact—quite the contrary—but simply to show how stupid Government officials can be and, what is more important, for it explains so much, what a low opinion they have of their fellow beings in thinking that by punishment, by humiliation and degradation, they can force them into passive submission. They have learned nothing of man's struggle through the ages!

LIBERTARIAN.

London's Crawling Buses

THERE are few more frustrating experiences than to be on one of London's crawling buses. Few situations can be so certainly guaranteed to set up a neurosis as to be a passenger on a bus ahead of

For London buses are all capable of the same speed. There are no ancient models still left among the gleaming modern monsters, so that you can tell when it arrives at your stop that it is not capable of getting you swiftly to your destination.

Oh no. Unless you can observe it approaching from a long way off, there is no indication whether or not it is a crawler. For it is all a matter of schedule. It is all because the bus services are so arranged that the vehicles leave their starting points at certain intervals and are expected to arrive at their destinations at the same intervals at a certain time later. And the time between departure and arrival is a fixed time, based, if it is based on anything at all but guesswork, on an average run for the journey.

But there is nothing more deceptive than the average. The average man is a very rare specimen. The average number of children per family (2.2) even more difficult to find in fact. And the average time for a journey on a London bus can, it seems, hardly ever be made

every possible space—and some that seem impossible—in order to gain an inch or two, a minute or two, will feel the strain.

But when it is ahead of time! Oh the nail-biting and black looks among the passengers. And when the charges for this mental cruelty were recently increased, Londoners' resentment boiled over. All the press, it seems have been bombarded with letters, not only protesting against the increases, but complaining at the waste of time for which, after all, they have to pay.

Letters quoting numbers of empty buses crawling on certain routes began to appear. And it is perfectly true that in the quieter hours between the morning, lunch-time and evening rush hours, many buses are travelling practically empty, wasting petrol and man-hours.

But what is the alternative, within existing conditions? Only garaging the buses, standing off the crews and running no more buses than are necessary, bringing back the others during rush hours. But this would mean loss of work and hence of wages for thousands of busmen.

Already they have a legitimate grumble over "spread-over" shifts which operate in two four-hour turns with perhaps a three-hour wait between, making virtually an eleven-hour day for eight-hour pay. This does not happen all the time, but enough to be resented. But if they were stood off and worked only at rush hours, a skeleton staff running services at off-peak times, they would be even worse off.

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Communists Exploit Textile Slump

THE Communist Party Congress held over Easter week-end exploited to the full the textile slump in Lancashire. It also made clear that the Trade Conference in Moscow served immediate propaganda aims.

The Communists demand trade, especially in textiles, with Russia, China and Eastern European countries. They denounce America for favouring low wages in the Japanese textile industries and call on the Lancashire textile workers to co-operate with the Stalinist dominated World Federation of Trade Unions to raise Japanese wages—and so defeat Japanese competition. The Japanese Communist Party can then deal with the slump in the Japanese textile industry which will ensue. . . .

The Communists also demand higher wages all round, reduced profits, etc., etc. In fact, their programme is to make maximum capital out of the textile unemployment by demanding everything and by giving the impression that Russia is ready to be fairy godmother.

It will be interesting to see what the actual results of the Moscow Economic Conference will be. If Russia really does need to import such vast amounts of consumer goods, one wonders what has happened to their home production of such commodities. It seems likely, as was suggested in the last issue of FREEDOM, that the whole issue is solely a propaganda one.

New Paintings in London

THE exhibition of recent works of Wilfredo Lam, at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in Dover Street is curiously disappointing. There are fifteen fairly recent works, mostly dated about 1950, so in that respect we are more or less up-to-date, and yet they all seem to have a pre-war flavour.

According to the catalogue, "Wilfredo Lam encloses in a framework of Western classicism, the attributes of ancestral Voodoo magic, luxuriant tropical vegetation and the animal life of the Negro world with its symbols and totems." Nevertheless, with all this exciting material for picture making, the resultant works are rather too trusting and mildly persuasive of the idea that here are works in the manner of Picasso. Mention is made of the influence on Wilfredo Lam of Picasso, and I think that it is here we may find the reason for this feeling of anti-climax.

The effect on Picasso's work following his discovery of African negro sculpture was certainly dramatic for it immediately preceded the creation and development of Cubism by Picasso and Braque—it provided just that stimulus which which Cubism needed to become perhaps the most influential of all the schools of modern painting. Almost any one of Picasso's paintings of that period (1907-1912) was fundamentally revolutionary. A tremendous restlessness vibrates in all these works, and it is precisely this restlessness which is the essence of Picasso's Negro period.

Now, Wilfredo Lam's paintings have none of this lively and exciting sense of quest. His pictures are still and quietly painted, for the main part in warm grays with occasional marks in vivid red or some other violent colour. His shapes seldom rise above the ordinary, and in general, there is an uncomfortable sensation of the artist having "settled down". This becomes more pronounced the more

one finds oneself reminded, by some familiar shape, of Picasso's manner. The essential difference is, of course, that Picasso took from Negro sculpture those elements he could develop and which finally grew into Cubism, whereas the "attributes of ancestral Voodoo magic" etc., seem quite as effectively to have led Wilfredo Lam into the bog of a de-vitalized modernism.

Some of these works, however, are very enjoyable and give evidence of a more individual approach, and on that account I recommend a visit. This is an exhibition which although disappointing in so many ways, nevertheless is also stimulating and provocative.

R.S.

"The usual objection: 'What is one to do with the evil-doers? surely not let them go unpunished?' might have a meaning if it were proved that punishment lessened crime or improved the criminal; but since the contrary is proved, and it is evident that it is not in the power of some to reform others, the only reasonable thing to do is to cease doing what is not only useless, but harmful immoral and cruel.

"For many centuries people considered to be criminals have been executed. And have they been exterminated? Far from being exterminated, their numbers have been increased, both by criminals corrupted by punishments, and also by those lawful criminals—judges, lawyers, magistrates and jailers—who judge and punish men."

TOLSTOY.

"All are not free who mock their chains."

—German Proverb

Birth Control Facilities in Britain

FREEDOM has often discussed the rôle of Birth Control in improving the social conditions of countries as wide apart as Italy and India. Now comes a very interesting memorandum prepared by the Family Planning Committee of the Medical Women's Federation, which sheds some light on the extent to which contraceptive facilities are available in Britain.*

Of course, some kind of contraceptive devices—sheaths, for example—are readily available, but this report was concerned with the best kind of advice on Family Planning, and it includes under this heading the advice on involuntary infertility.

197 Local Authorities were asked whether facilities existed in their areas for giving advice on family planning, and, if so, do they give contraceptive advice only or do they cover also infertility and marital difficulties? According to the memorandum, "the most striking fact that emerges is that in well over 50% of all areas no clinics or special hospital out-patient facilities were available."

Out of 27 medical schools, only 4 gave special lectures on family planning and contraception. Only 2 teaching hospitals held special sessions for out-patients where contraceptive advice was given, but a number held fertility clinics.

Two main facts are held to emerge from this enquiry. "First, that the facilities for family planning . . . are totally inadequate for the needs of the community"—especially as regards contraception. Secondly, doctors do not receive as students "an adequate introduction to all aspects of family planning and cannot therefore be expected to give authoritative advice to their patients."

Among its recommendations, the Medical Women's Federation submitted that:

"The provision of facilities for family planning must be regarded as an integral part of the National Health Service. All local authorities should be required to provide clinics for family planning."

The report also discussed the practical problems of providing such a service and shows a very welcome interest in an important but very much neglected subject. There is still a tendency to continue to divide women requiring contraceptive advice into two classes: those whose health demands that they should avoid pregnancy, and those who "merely" want to decide themselves when they shall conceive and when they shall not. The memorandum says: "It is questionable whether the giving of contraceptive advice on purely social grounds, in the absence of any medical necessity, may be considered as coming under the heading of general medical services . . ." Surely it is time this unreal distinction was done away with. Freedom from fear in the conduct of one's sexual life is a fundamentally

important ingredient of health. Fear and anxiety about possible pregnancy is still a major obstacle to sexual fulfilment, and it is the easiest one to remove.

*Printed in *British Medical Journal*, 15/3/52.

DISILLUSION

When Dr. Edith Summerskill was Minister of National Insurance, she insisted, with her hand on her heart, that, much as the Labour Government would like to increase old-age pensions commensurate with the rise in the cost of living, the country simply could not afford it.

It seems that our lady doctor has now had a change of heart. Now she isn't in a position to do anything at all about it, she is all in favour of substantial increases to pensioners. No wonder politics is often regarded as a squalid farce!

Socialist Leader, 22/3/52.

ZAPATA & HISTORY

WHEN I was about ten or eleven, I saw the film *Viva Villa*, in which that fine actor Wallace Beery played the part of Pancho Villa. Consequently, for years I had the impression of Villa as a Mexican Robin Hood roving the country robbing and pillaging the rich land-owners for the benefit of the poor peons. Later, after a superficial acquaintance with the events of Mexican history, I thought this point of view all wrong and believed Pancho Villa to be a great revolutionary sweeping through the country inciting the peasants to free themselves from feudalism.

To-day I think there is something to be said for both points of view. I believe it to be true that Villa behaved to his opponents with a brutality which would sicken those who are enamoured with revolutionary violence—from a distance. I am equally certain that a similar brutality was systematically practised by the people he fought against, and the recently-published novel by Traven, *The Rebellion of the Yucatán*, gives a historically accurate picture of life in the last years of the long dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz.

In his review of the new film *Viva Zapata!* in this week's FREEDOM, S. E. Parker quotes the reception the film got from the newspaper critics who suddenly become authorities on the Mexican revolution, although no detailed and authoritative account of it has been published in our language. (Two enlightening articles in this paper were those of Ricardo Flores Magón, *A Great Mexican Revolution* by Charles Humana, and *Magón and the Mexican Revolution* by Willy Fulano, in FREEDOM for 26/11/49 and 7/1/50 respectively.) It seems to me that, quite apart from its qualities as a film, *Viva Zapata!* is a much more serious attempt at presenting a truthful picture than what I remember of *Viva Villa*. The one big omission is that of reference to the considerable part played by the commercial imperialism of the United States in Mexico or that Huerta was in fact, as Willy Fulano says, "a tool of Wall Street." In the film he appears simply as a military man of the Prussian school.

The critics who suggested that Zapata was white washed should also have mentioned that Porfirio Díaz is shown as a stern patriarchal figure with Franz Joseph whiskers, who addresses the peons as "my children" was in fact a most ruthless tyrant. On the other hand, Madera, the wealthy liberal-minded idealist whose vacillations made him a puppet of the generals and who was unable to take the step from political to economic revolution, is most skilfully portrayed, while the "liquidation" of Madera by Huerta's army, after he has served their purposes, has a terrible veracity. In some scenes the film is scrupulously accurate (I have a photograph taken in 1913 of the meeting of Pancho Villa, in a splendid uniform, and Emiliano Zapata a dour figure slouching in a chair beside the presidential throne which the film reproduces in every detail); in others there is an obvious fictional licence—it is hardly likely that Zapata was a member of any peon delegation to Díaz, since he was a stableman and not a peasant—it is still less likely that his wife taught him to read on his nuptial night from the Bible!

"The Zapatistas," wrote the hostile correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in 1914, "demand the repatriation of the land, and where they occupy the country they put this into practice. They burn the archives and try to destroy all signs of the old order; they give the land to the people and do everything to affirm the new society of which they dream, where none of the old proprietors shall exist . . ." I think that this is the impression that the film gives, and the conversation which Sidney Parker quoted last week indicates that the script contains much that is relevant to our point of view. There is one scene where the Zapatistas are being urged by Madera to lay down their arms now that they have seized the land. When they protest that, if they do, the land will be taken away from them, Madera says that the federal army will protect them. "But we've been fighting them for years," the Zapatistas protest, and when the interview is over and the generals come menacingly into the room, Madera gets an inkling of the real situation.

The bits and pieces of history that this dramatisation contains, makes us long for a sober and analytical account of revolutionary Mexico, but in view of "the academic historian's helplessness when dealing with spontaneous revolutionary upsurges which do not provide a mass of documents," which we called attention to in introducing FREEDOM's recent article on Max Hölz, we shall probably have to wait a long time. History, too, depends on your point of view. One book we consulted dismissed Zapata as "an illiterate bandillero", without mentioning that he was an illiterate bandillero who said to his literate *aid-de-camp*, "Read me some more of that nice Kropotkin," while another account tells us that "if you saw him in a drawing-room in his dress suit, you would find him as much at home there as he is in camp," but this account also tells us that Pancho Villa was "a tender-hearted Socialist," which is too much, even for us!

WHO WILL CLEAN OUT THE SEWERS?

A RECENT article in FREEDOM* brought up that old bugbear of anarchist speakers, "But in a social condition of anarchy, who will clean out the sewers?" As the writer noted, the questioner may concern himself with asking who will do the "dirty work", but in my experience the sewers are generally mentioned specifically. I am delighted to hear that some American towns have had their sewers mechanized (whatever that means) for the last fifteen years, and will store this information up for my next lecture on anarchist theory. But I doubt if this will help me much; they will simply ask, "But in a social condition of anarchy, who will go down the sewers to repair the mechanism when it breaks down?"

For many years I have evaded this sewer-question when speaking to public audiences, for I am convinced that the real motive that prompts it must be left to the psychoanalysts. They could tell us quite a lot about the basis of this sewer-dread in the unconscious mind, I am sure. When faced with it, I feel that sense of embarrassment that we all feel when we are in danger of exposing someone else's pet neurosis naked to the public view. However, I am now prepared to treat the question, in print, as though it were a rational one.

Before considering who, in fact, will clean out the sewers and do other work that is generally considered "dirty", in a free society, let us first consider who does it now. Let us also enquire into the nature of "dirty work". The people who are now concerned with "dirty work" are sewer-cleaners, dustmen, surgeons, housewives, slaughter-house men, hospital nurses, lawyers, soldiers, farmers, politicians, tannery workers, gutter-journalists, etc., etc. The first main distinction we may make is between those who can wash off the dirt of their trade at the end of the day's work, and those who cannot. Dirty work is not to everyone's taste. The smells of the sewer or tannery would revolt some people; others would be revolted by the things a surgeon, nurse or slaughter-house man does; others would prefer to do either of these things than touch the filth that lies in the province of the lawyer, politician and gutter-journalist. Our tastes vary.

What is notable about these different occupations is that some are highly paid and some poorly paid. This makes a great difference in our money-conscious society, but perhaps the social prestige attached to the job carries even more weight with many people. A great number of men would rather slave away at an underpaid clerking job with no hope of advancement than undertake the healthier and better paid work of dock-worker. Many girls will work 10 hours a day toting bed-pans and dressing wounds rather than take work as a bar-maid. The question of pay and of the "dirtiness" of the work does not always override considerations of social esteem (often called snobbery).

For a short while I happened to be cleaning the streets of Cardiff for my living, while attending an intellectual gathering a lady asked me what my work was. I told her. Perhaps she was right in thinking that I wished to be rude to her by telling her the truth. Had I wished to play up to the occasion and avoid paining her, I would have vaguely replied that I worked in an important occupation for the benefit of the municipality.

I have read with interest of the shift of social prestige connected with work in the newly organized state of Israel. There, owing to the peculiar nature of the immigrants, there is a huge surplus of professional men. Lawyers, doctors, professors, architects, etc., are far too numerous and there is no living to be made by the majority of them, but bricklayers, navvies, agricultural workers, etc., are in huge demand. Manual work therefore commands a high wage, and the professional men are taking to it, but the important shift of emphasis is that now jobs that make your hands dirty are socially approved in Israel, in contrast to the social contempt in which such

*The Dirty Work Question, FREEDOM, 22/3/52.

work is held in other capitalist countries. No doubt if capitalism persists in Israel the situation will deteriorate to match other countries, but while it lasts it is an interesting exposition of how a social attitude can quickly change towards "dirty work".

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IT has been pointed out time and again that in a sanely organized society there would be no problem of work which is intrinsically dirty, revolting and degrading to the average man. Such things as garbage collection, sewage disposal, rag picking, furnace stoking, etc., are unpleasant operations in contemporary society only because the men employed in them have not the power to alter their conditions of work. If there were not powerless and exploited beings who must accept filthy and unpleasant conditions of work, as there are to-day, these operations would have priority for the best scientific research and technical skill to be applied to them to make them not merely acceptable as occupations, but congenial. For the key to social harmony lies in the relation of human beings to their work. I would define a free society (that is a healthy society) as one in which there is no social coercion compelling the individual to work.

This definition of anarchy may call forth considerable protest from some anarchists, but I mean it in its most literal sense. Superficially, such an idea seems completely unrealistic, and to be dismissed out of hand as foolish idealism by those who have some experience of life. Let me disassociate myself from all idealism. I have had practical experience of idealists who had such faith in and love of "Man" that they would let themselves be exploited by work-shy layabouts rather than face the fact that they were supporting parasites to no good purpose. But I also want to make it clear that there is no freedom, nor stability, nor health in any community of people, large or small, where the socially necessary work is carried out merely from a sense of social duty which is imposed upon the individual. The only justification for work is the fact that we enjoy it. Any society which relies upon political, economic or moral coercion as the mainspring of its productive process is doomed to unhealth and some form of servitude.

Work may be defined as the expenditure of energy in a productive process, as distinct from play which is the expenditure of energy without productive result. Work is characteristic of the healthy adult being, play of the healthy child whose energies are occupied in developing his own capacities. Significantly enough, the play of the children of humans, and of other mammals, is generally a rehearsal of adult work-activities.

It is generally realized that work is a necessity for every adult. Those people who have no economic need to work, by reason of their wealth, have to seek work-substitutes to preserve their mental and physical health. They remain, as it were, permanent children, playing at fishing, hunting, sailing boats, gardening and farming, and often find satisfaction in quite strenuous work-play. The lower mammals are no different from humans; they need to work when they are adult. Being less troubled by intellectual doubt, they pursue their occupations with wholehearted satisfaction. In studying creatures simpler than ourselves there can be no doubt as to what gives them pleasure: the otter likes to fish, the beaver to build dams, the squirrel to collect nuts, the rabbit to burrow. Some people may point to their domestic Pussy, "corrupted by a thousand years of unnatural living", who prefers to lap milk by the fireside than to hunt mice in the cellar, and draw the analogy that modern man is an unnatural animal and needs to be kicked before he will work. In this common analogy there is a biological fallacy. Neither Pussy, nor you, nor I, is a thousand years old: we are not instinctually conditioned by the experiences of our ancestors. We have a certain instinctual endowment which is pretty

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OPTIMISM

RECENT newspaper reports on the general world situation have been more than usually optimistic. It is said that progress has been made towards a truce in Korea, since there has been some agreement on the question of the exchange of prisoners. It is perhaps an irony that one can speak of optimism when there is a favourable turn in truce talks which will soon be marking the first anniversary of their inception. . . .

This mood of optimism—it is really a relaxing of newspaper-induced tension—is expressed in the vague generalisation that the war danger has receded somewhat. FREEDOM has often pointed out a relationship between a government's need to carry through some unpopular or unpalatable measure and the kind of anxious tension which the national newspapers engender. If it is a question of conscription, or of tightening the belt, the public must be made to feel that overriding necessity demands such measures. The fear of war is shamelessly exploited as a means of chivvying a population into acceptance of this or that measure.

Now with the prevailing economic system, it is true that wars are inevitable. But that does not mean that the likelihood of war at any particular moment depends on chance or immediate factors of a kind that blow up into a war scare in the manner suggested by the daily press. And similarly with a mood of "optimism", war does not recede because of what Mr. Truman, or Mr. Stalin, or Mr. Churchill, says or writes. Indeed, war will not actually recede until the prevailing mode of economy is changed for one to which war cannot make any useful contribution.

But when one has said all this about the newspapers' manufacture of "scares" or "optimism" what is one to say of the consumers, those at the receiving end of propaganda's loud voice? How can one, in fact, speak of optimism while there is a full-scale war going on in Korea, in Siam, in Malaya. While political terrorism is "normal" not merely in China and Russia and the Iron Curtain countries, but also in Spain, Greece, Argentine, Tunisia? When reaction is so palpably on the march in South Africa?

It becomes plain that the "recession of the war clouds," the "optimism", serve only to give us the illusion of rest, the dream that the world will be mended without our struggle, without our active participation.

We have spoken so far of the political aspects of our prevailing economy: wars, the threat of wars, and political dictatorship or persecution. But the world is also beginning to show other seasonal disasters, treated by the press as natural disasters, but in reality just as inevitable consequences of our mode of economy as wars and political misery. In India, the famine threatens again (reports from China also mention famine in some districts). In America the flooding of the Missouri, Mississippi basin has begun again, and thousands are homeless.

These are the realities of the world which our method of economy, our way of social organisation have made. Moods of optimism or of transient anxiety are scarcely applicable to these questions. They demand a revolutionary answer.

POLITICAL TRIALS THIS SIDE OF THE CURTAIN

FOUR Greeks, condemned as "Communist spies" were executed by a firing squad in Athens last month. They were four of 29 people tried by military court. Another four condemned to death had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment.

A few days later, a *Reuter* report from Athens states that: "Two thousand people sentenced to death by military courts before November 1951 will have their sentences commuted to life imprisonment under the terms of a 'Pacification' Bill adopted by Parliament to-day. The Bill also provides for the paroling of detainees now in prison—except for people serving life sentences—by a special committee."

Whatever one may think of the régimes behind the iron curtain (and we are the first to protest against the contempt shown by the ruling-class cliques in those countries, for the rights and freedoms of the people), the record of the Greek Government hardly commends it as being any better.

By its Pacification Bill the Greek Government will have 2,000 living-dead instead of 2,000 corpses on its conscience. Are we to take this to be a democratic gesture on their part? Certainly where there is life there is hope, and one cannot bear to think that the existing régime in Greece will continue in power for any length of time, except with the backing of American and British guns and butter.

Six "second rank" Communists have this month been sentenced to prison terms of two to five years and each fined \$1,000 for "conspiring to overthrow the United States Government by violence."

According to the meagre press reports of the three-weeks' trial, the Government presented ten witnesses, nine of them former Communists, basing much of the case on books and pamphlets. The pro-

secution said that Frankfeld, the chief defendant, who was sentenced to the maximum sentence of five years, had taken a year's course at the Lenin Institute in Moscow about 1930 and was taught to use small arms and the art of guerrilla warfare. This was not disputed.

"Conspiring to overthrow the Government" is the standard excuse all Governments use for suppressing their political opponents. Franco uses it, so does Goettwald and Tito. As Bertrand Russell pointed out a short time ago (quoted in "Is America a Democracy?" FREEDOM, 19/1/52) in the present mood in America

"if by some misfortune you were to quote with approval some remark by Jefferson, you would probably lose your job and perhaps find yourself behind bars . . ."

There is no further news of the case of forty-three people, among them five women, who were charged before a military court at Corunna, with aiding and abetting local bandits in the neighbourhood and distributing Communist literature among the workers at the naval base of Ferrol.

R.

American Floods Again

JUST as the famines in India have become a cyclical event, with death rolls predictable in advance, so the floods in America have become regular and expected disasters.

In the valleys of the Mississippi and the Missouri, 70,000 people are said (as we go to press) to be homeless because of the floods. And the peak is yet to be expected. The American federal government has organised methods of flood control, and votes funds for the relief of the victims. But little is done to strike at the root of the problem.

The floods are the result of the dustbowls, for the loss of vegetation allows the topsoils to be blown off and affects the ability of the land to absorb water. The loss of vegeta-

tion is itself the direct result of several generations of exploiting the soil to exhaustion and then moving on to other virgin territory. The floods are part of the problem of soil erosion, and soil erosion is a result of the profit motive in agriculture, appearing in those parts of the world where it is not necessary to keep one's land in good heart because it is more profitable to move on and exploit new terrain rather than to conserve the old. It could not happen where production itself and not profit was the primary need in agriculture.

Meanwhile the remedies are vast and costly. And many years are required to overcome the ravages of soil exhaustion.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

THE THIRD FORCE

AFTER correctly blasting "lesser evil" advocates who support Truman against Stalin, Willy Fritzenkoetter's letter in the March 1st FREEDOM criticises the Third Force or Third Front idea, too.

Although some groups like the French Socialist Party use "Third Force" just to describe their opposition to De Gaulle and Stalinist "extremes", the idea of a genuine Third Force or Third Camp—opposed to both the Stalinist and American capitalist camps—seems to me the best alternative to the "lesser evil" idea.

Comrade Fritzenkoetter criticises the French anarchist paper, *Le Libertaire*, for supporting the Third Camp of revolutionary workers, because, says Comrade Fritzenkoetter, the Third Camp is supported by non-anarchists, including "Cominformists". I never yet have heard of a Cominformist who opposes the Stalinist camp—as do all genuine Third Camp supporters.

As for other non-anarchists supporting the Third Camp, so what? If non-anarchists support a good, basically anarchist idea, then are we supposed to oppose the idea? Instead of being sectarian toward non-anarchists who oppose some of our libertarian ideas, let's get them to adopt still more of our principles. And the Third Camp is basically libertarian.

Regardless of whether the revolutionary Third Camp opposes both capitalism and Stalinism with violence or non-violent resistance tactics like the General Strike, workers in every country will have to resist war and capitalism and totalitarianism to survive.

So, Comrade Fritzenkoetter's apparent objection to the Third Camp being revolutionary, and possibly "violent", seems invalid.

And Comrade Fritzenkoetter objects to some Third Camp advocates who want to "fight the agents of Truman on the social platform" because the phrase is nebulous. It is, but that's no criticism of the Third Camp itself.

Comrade Fritzenkoetter says French workers who support the Third Camp can't oppose the American secret police State and American rearmament. But actually French workers and workers everywhere can oppose their own nation's arms drive—and by a big struggle—inspire American workers to do likewise.

The whole idea of the Third Camp is simply international working-class solidarity against all exploiters—against both capitalist and Stalinist exploiters.

The Third Camp is that part of the international working-class, and the colonial peoples, which opposes both imperialist camps.

The entire world working-class is potentially the Third Camp—since those workers who now oppose both war camps can persuade their fellow workers to join in combating both imperialist power camps, and thus to join the Third Camp.

According to this definition of Third Camp, I think Comrade Fritzenkoetter is in the Third Camp, since he's against both imperialist camps and has so well criticised the "lesser evil" theory.

JOHN LOEB.

HUNGRY ROMANS

Police led Christians from the arena of the Roman Colosseum here to-night. The Christians had arrived for a service held every year for two centuries on the same day—but to-day they found the arena occupied by two thousand food and metal workers who were demonstrating for more pay. *Reuter*, 4/4/52.

TAPPING THE WIRES

THE remarks in FREEDOM for 29/3/52 on the tapping of telephone calls, are amplified by an article by Sydney Jacobson in the *Sunday Pictorial* (3/3/52). He says:

"Last week, the borough councillors of Slough, Bucks, visited the local telephone exchange. A Slough newspaper reported that they were shown how, if authorised, private calls could be overheard by the police. G.P.O. Headquarters deny that any such facilities are provided at Slough or elsewhere. Yet police officers privately admit that, after permission has been granted at high level, telephone calls have been listened-in to and information obtained about criminal suspects. Telephone tapping has been resorted to in divorce cases. Moreover, there is reason to believe that it has also been employed for political surveillance.

"Of five M.P.s I questioned three said they had no reason to believe their telephones had ever been tapped. But two said they assumed that when they received telephone calls from certain people, the conversations would be over-

heard by M.I.5. The system of tapping telephones is simple, secret and silent. If a call already connected is to be monitored, a witness sitting next to the telephone operator and using a parallel plug can listen-in. In this case, a faint click might be heard. G.P.O. investigators use this method to trace obscene calls. When a line is to be permanently tapped, it is done from behind the switchboard. A line leads from the connection to secret premises. Every time the receiver is used, a light called an opal flashes on the observer's switchboard. And there is no warning click.

"A third method needs more preparation. A metal wire is hidden in the cloth covering of the cable on the suspect's telephone. This acts like a microphone inside the room, and is alive whether the phone is in use or not. Every word spoken near the telephone can be heard. Has the Postmaster-General the right to authorise anyone to tap lines? Some legal experts believe that he has not, and that he would be breaking the law under the Telegraph Acts and the Post Office (Protection) Act were he to do so."

Are you helping to increase the number of readers of FREEDOM each week by sending copies to your friends?

HUMAN REACTIONS

THE HUNTER HUNTED

"The Colonel called on the captain yesterday and told him, 'You have broken the rules of hunting. There is only one thing you can do' . . . last night he took the Colonel's advice. . . ."

"This is the biggest punishment I have ever had," he told a *News Chronicle* reporter.

"The only thing I live for is hunting. Now my hunting days are over. I shall never go back. I am done for life!"

News Chronicle, 26/3/52.

SENSITIVE SOLES

"The Pope has ordered the edges of the paths to be sprayed with insecticide before he walks to keep ants away. He cannot bear to think his feet may kill them."

News Chronicle, 1/4/52.

THE WRONG BRAND OF CHRISTIANITY

Leaders of Italian Catholic Action told their members to-day that they must regard the Young Men's or Young Women's Christian Associations "as forbidden organisations" under Roman Catholic canon law. *A.P.*, 1/4/52.

FOOD AND POPULATION

A Food and Agricultural Organisation report published in Rome last January states that only 10 per cent of the world's land surface is under cultivation. North America, with only two per cent of the world's agricultural population and 15 per cent of the farm land, feeds its own people and is an important exporter of foodstuffs. Asia, with 63 per cent agricultural population and 17 per cent of the farm land, is under-nourished.

—*Unesco Courier*, March 1952.

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MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

OPEN AIR MEETINGS
Weather Permitting
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

will be resumed at the
CLASSIC RESTAURANT,
Baker Street, W.1
(near Classic Cinema)
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
APRIL 20th—Roy Bowers on
COBS & STIRABOUT

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS
IN EAST HAM
Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30

APRIL 30—Mary Canipa
THE PROBLEM OF FREEDOM

WEST LONDON

A Group has been formed in West London and any comrades interested in working with it are invited to contact—
C. Brasnett, 79 Warwick Ave., W.9

LIVERPOOL

DISCUSSION MEETINGS at
101 Upper Parliament Street,
Liverpool, 8
Every Sunday at 8 p.m.

GLASGOW

OUTDOOR MEETINGS
Begin again at
MAXWELL STREET
Sunday, 20th April at 7 p.m.
With John Gaffney, Frank Leech,
Jane Strachan, Eddie Shaw
Frank Carlin

MIDDLESBROUGH

Anyone interested in forming a group in this area is asked to communicate with D. C. WILSON, 3 Norman Terrace, South Bank, Middlesbrough.

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ROAD TRANSPORT: Back to Free Enterprise?

MR. Churchill has announced in the House of Commons that the Conservatives' plans for "denationalising" road transport will be made soon after Easter.

In all the planning that takes place in the official mind for this large and essential industry, there is one factor which is completely ignored: the labour force necessary to run it. The question of State control or free enterprise is made a subject for the phoney political battles which are supposed to denote the democratic character of our society, but the last people to be consulted are the workers concerned.

Oh, certainly there was an election last year—and we are told by some socialists who ought to know better that the ballot is the only means of discovering what the people want. But on the issue of road transport, the parsons and the professional soldiers were no doubt able to out-vote the road transport workers, just as in the elections which Labour won, it was the minority of floating voters who decided that road transport should be run by the State. There is no means of telling under our Parliamentary democracy what the road transport workers themselves want.

As for the Tories, what are you to do with people who preach the evils of monopoly and the virtues of the free enterprise, and then withdraw the licences of free enterprise coach services because they compete "unfairly" with the State's railways?

A coach service from Melton Mowbray to Llandudno has been banned by the Minister of Transport, and the London to Glasgow and Edinburgh coach service has been ordered to stop operating next autumn. These coaches run at about one-half the cost of the railways. The London-Scotland return fare, for example, is £5 9s. 0d. by train, £3 by coach. But by no means all those who will be prevented from going by coach will be able to go by train. £3 is

enough; £5 9s. is too much.

Well, we suppose that one way to ensure that we all economise is to make everything so impossibly dear that we cannot afford to do anything else.

THE COTTON SLUMP

OVER 100,000 workers are either completely idle or on short-time in Lancashire's cotton mills. But apparently it is not enough merely to blame Japanese competition, for Japanese workers are also facing discharge by the thousands. In India, too, 30,000 textile workers are being stood off.

The reasons in all cases are given as "accumulation of stocks". And stocks are accumulating because consumers are just not buying at to-day's prices. The wool industry is in the same position; the public are sitting tight on their shrinking purses, in the knowledge that prices are coming down and will soon, they hope, reach a level they can afford.

In an article earlier this year called "Why Work Harder," we pointed out that "more productivity", which the leaders claim is the answer to all our troubles, is in fact not our trouble at all. The warehouses of Yorkshire and Lancashire are bursting as a result of our productivity. But the markets of the world are contracting, and that makes a dangerous situation.

The *News Chronicle* (8/4/52) admits: "What has to be faced ultimately is that our overseas markets for textiles have been shrinking for years. This shrinkage has been masked by a post-war boom, prolonged by the war in Korea. . . . Asian countries which formerly bought from us would now like to sell to us."

The *Chronicle's* answer, believe it or not, is that the "British cotton industry has got to be more efficient and more inventive than its foreign rivals".

When what should be obvious to everybody is that it is not our inventiveness or productivity which is at fault, but

the stupid economic system which does not know how to use them—except in capitalism's answer to slump—war.

MINERS STILL BAN SATURDAY

THE Press has been proudly announcing that the miners have signed a new agreement to work Saturday mornings. This seems, however, by no means the case all over the country. For as late as the middle of last month, delegates from 25,000 miners in South Wales reaffirmed their opposition to Saturday work, and on April 7th, Scottish miners voted against it.

The bans, readers will remember, have been started in protest against the Tories' economy cuts.

PLANTING SEEDS OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

WE commented a year or two ago upon the sensible action of a local Council which found that as quickly as it planted trees, the children came and uprooted them. Instead of giving up in disgust or calling in the police, this Council appointed the children to plant and look after the trees, a policy which proved very successful.

It is pleasing to learn that another Council with the same problem has adopted the same solution. Two hundred trees have been destroyed in the last two years at Leek (Staffs), and the Urban Council has made eighteen schoolboys aged between 11 and 15 its "guardians" of a hundred five-year-old almond and double cherry trees which are being planted on the new estate at Compton. Last week, the boys planted the first 21 trees, and later a plate will be fixed to each bearing the name of the boy who planted it.

What a pity that actions of this sort, "the devolution of civic responsibility," as sociologists would call it, are sufficiently rare to make news!

London's Crawling Buses

Continued from p. 1

For the weekly wage is based upon a fixed number of hours' work. And they have to be roughly the same for all workers or the wage system as a whole would become unbalanced. It would not work to have piece-work, or a "stint" of so many journeys and then finish, for then London's streets would become an arena for modern chariot races as buses hurtled over the routes to get finished. It would become too complicated, and other unions would object if busmen took part-time work in other trades, in between rush-hours.

No; within the wage-system there is no solution. But abolish that system and the thing begins immediately to look much easier. Crews could come on when they were needed and knock-off when they were not, working on a rota the reduced services for the quiet periods. Instead of being tied to something like eight hours' work a day (and it is dangerous for drivers to work much longer than that, for a bus with a tired driver is a lethal object), it would mean that for many weeks crews would be

coming on only for 3 or 4 hours' work a day. But so what?

To suggest now that some workers (or all workers) should only work that number of hours a day seems to cause heart failure in some circles, but obviously, since buses cover only 9½ miles to a gallon, it is expensive and wasteful to run them when they are not needed.

In fact, it can be seen that things could be simpler still. For the wage system for bus workers could only be abolished if the money system as a whole were abolished. This would mean that conductors would be largely redundant, since their main function is the collection of fares. They may be necessary for the safe operation of the bus, but some bus services operate without them, and the further point emerges that with the abolition of the money system, great centralised cities like London—built on business and money interests—would decentralise and the mad scramble for transport, rush hours and the need to shepherd irritable people on to packed buses would all disappear.

Least any busmen unacquainted with our ideas suspect all this to be a plot against their livelihood, may we assure them that loss of wages through the creation of a free, moneyless society would not mean loss of livelihood. On the contrary, the limitation which a wage packet imposes on every worker would be lifted. Busmen, like everybody else, would have free access to all they need—and all society would ask is that busmen as a whole run the public transport system as efficiently as possible—without those awful crawling buses.

But until then, our nerves will continue to be frayed, and busmen will continue to be blamed for something that is not their fault. Except that it is the fault of all of us that the stupid system continues to plague us.

P.S.

Special Appeal

April 4th to 8th:

Llanely: L.W.* 2/6; Denver: R.B.* 8/6; Preswick: V.M. 2/6; Salford: H.F. 8/2; Anon* 2/6; Essex: L.W. 9/-; London: A.M. 5/-; London: F.E.D.* 5/-; Colchester: W.M. 3/-; Liverpool: H.H.J. 11/-; San Francisco Group: (part proceeds Social) £17/10/0; Los Angeles: per Libertario Group (part proceeds Social) £17/10/0; Miami: Tony 14/-; London: W.S. 2/6; Smethwick: E.W. 3/-.

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Who will clean out the Sewers?

Continued from p. 1

much the same as when our species first originated, and our behaviour is conditioned by the environment we encounter in our own life span. Turn pampered Pussy loose in the woods and she will revert to a natural feline way of life; remove the pressure of neurotic 20th century civilization from you and I and we will have the chance of reverting to a natural human way of life which, I contend, includes as spontaneous a wish for and enjoyment of work as the way of life of any other animal species. At present, many of the civilized varieties of our species appear to be unique in the animal kingdom in that their productive process expresses no joy of life. The position is even worse than this: we take it for granted that all animals enjoy the procreative process, but among many of our species even this function has lost its pleasure.

Do we have to look further for the roots of all the social disharmony and individual misery of our time? With us, work is generally regarded as a regrettable necessity, an activity to be endured only for the sake of the material goods produced, or rather for the wage packet which bears no obvious relationship to the work done. The best that the reformers, social planners and even social revolutionaries can suggest is that we may make the working day shorter and shorter, so that there will be less pain (work) and more pleasure (idleness) in our lives. I have even heard an anarchist in the great and glorious by-and-by we should have to do three hours work a day or three hours work a week. This is strictly comparable to the following extract from an American sex-instruction manual:

"Question. How long does the penis have to stay in the vagina?"

Answer. Only a few minutes."

Another regrettable necessity!

I do not care if in a social state of anarchy we work a great deal longer than we do to-day under capitalism. What I am concerned about is that the work itself shall be intrinsically satisfying. I see no other way of ensuring this than the abandonment of coercion as the mainspring of production.

★

IT is obvious that if the wages-system, which is the chief coercive force compelling men to work at their present jobs to-day, were to break down, the following situation would arise. A large number of people would be liberated but disorientated, and they would immediately take the attitude of, "From now on it's spiv and live for me—only mugs work!" This is to be expected. Domesticated Pussy when first turned loose in the woods looks around for another house to sponge off; she does not immediately take on a natural feline way of life. It is this situation that most social revolutionaries are afraid of, and they seek to set up authoritarian machinery to substitute political coercion for the economic coercion of capitalism. It is true that political coercion is not always easy to apply to the productive processes; under Lenin's dictatorship it was largely abandoned for the economic coercion of the N.E.P. However, if coercion is still resorted to after the breakdown of capitalism in order that men will still work, the "spiv and live" attitude will be preserved as a permanent social attitude.

The problem is not one of "faith" in human nature, it is one of understanding. Either one realizes that human beings are social animals with basically sound animal instincts for self-preservation, or one does not. Those who do not realize the potential animal health of their own kind are generally idealists who have some idealized concept of Man, and take it for granted that Tom, Dick and Harry must be bludgeoned into working, eating, sleeping, bedding with their wives, and cleaning their teeth in the approved manner or they will die from lack of knowing what Man should

be. Tom, Dick and Harry are not always pretty creatures, but they are generally better social specimens than the do-gooders, the dangerous fools who would accept the responsibility for organizing their lives for them.

It is my purpose to draw particular attention to the anti-social nature of conscientious administrators. We all know about the harmful nature of conscious exploiters and racketeers under so-called *laissez-faire* capitalism, but it is the prophets of planned economy and super-government who are the harbingers of famine, war and desolation for the future.

★

IF through a revolutionary breakdown of capitalist society, the compulsion to go to the accustomed place of wage-slavery is no longer operative, then the disorientated people will have the chance to turn to production for use to satisfy their own needs for work. It is usually assumed that the great problem is what ulterior incentives or compulsions to work must be instituted to satisfy the demands of the consumers. We tend to forget that it is as natural for men to produce as to consume. In any society where the producers of wealth are not subject to coercion, the demands of the consumers must follow what it is the nature of that society to produce, every adult being both producer and consumer. That this is hard for many people to realize, I know, for we are accustomed to think of there being a class of "workers" in society, whose function it is to do as they are told. If the "consumers" demand televisions, battleships, Coca-Cola and coal, then the "workers" have no say in the matter—they must produce them. It is time we tried to conceive a society without the coercion of worker by consumer, for as long as we have this picture engraved on our minds it is impossible to think in terms of practical anarchy.

Anarchist writers have dealt at length with the fact that only a very small percentage of the people in this country are really producing anything useful or performing any socially useful function whatever, in spite of the vast degree of unpleasant activity around us. A gross dislocation of our industry would not therefore be a calamity at all. We need a breakdown of the present industrial system; we need revolution and real anarchy in which to reorganize our productive processes with workers in control of their work and motivated by their own need to work, instead of their need of a pay-packet.

The worst calamity that can take place after the breakdown of capitalism is the replacement of economic coercion by political coercion. We are already experiencing the thin edge of the wedge. Those workers who are no longer on the economic border of destitution sometimes choose to stay away from work. As the economic bludgeon fails to intimidate them, the State has recourse to the political bludgeon, and criminal proceedings are taken. How else would you coerce men to work? Either, the individual must be free to go to work or stay away, and Society can lump it, or Society must preserve its coercive machinery, the State. Anarchism is based on the recognition of the fact that, in freedom, men will choose to work.

"But surely some workers, the workers concerned with essential services—cleaning the sewers for instance—must be made to carry out their work, even under anarchy!"

Will you go down and clean out those sewers for the sake of Society, Madam? No? Then, Madam, you may have to use the yard. Or perhaps you will find that many people are less squeamish than you, and will take delight, yes, delight, in tackling difficult projects, and they will take more interest in disposing of your sewage efficiently, hygienically and usefully than you do yourself. They may even send it back to you in the form of properly grown vegetables.

G.

NEITHER EAST NOR WEST

by Marie Louise Berneri

NEITHER EAST NOR WEST is the title given by the editor to this volume of selections from the political writings of the late Marie Louise Berneri. Written between 1940 and 1948, these articles deal with the political motives which inspired the allies during the recent war; the price of "liberation" for those countries freed from the Nazi yoke; and finally, the post-war struggle for power between the erstwhile allies.

This volume is more than an interpretation of recent history. It is a plea for real internationalism among ordinary men and women and for a humanism and sense of human dignity as the guiding principle in our lives. And in a world in which political witch-hunts and political trials, regimentation and the concentration camp are becoming the rule rather than the exception, the stand Marie Louise Berneri takes in refusing to choose between the lesser or greater evils is the only one. That is, if one does not just pay lip-service to the cause of human freedom but believes in it and defends it as man's most precious heritage.

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TO READERS ABROAD . . .

WE apologise to readers outside the British Isles who received their copies of last week's issue of FREEDOM a few days later than usual. Our quota of newsprint which was due to arrive at the printers on the day we went to press was destroyed in a fire at the Paper Mills, and our stocks were only sufficient to print half our requirements. It was only possible to complete our printing order after the Easter holidays when a new supply of newsprint was received.