

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

## MALAN RETURNS TO POWER

DR. MALAN'S victory in the South African elections can only mean that the political struggle between the White and the Coloured population will continue to be intense. In voting for the continuance of a small White minority's domination over the enormously larger African population, the electorate exposes its complete lack of democratic foundation, for such a result could only occur where the franchise, for practical purposes, extends only to the whites.

It also shows clearly that the United Party's "opposition" does not extend to the "apartheid" policy of Dr. Malan. The speeches of Mr. N. Strauss, the United Party's leader, made it quite clear that no one could expect nothing from the party even if it was voted in. The political attitude shows more clearly than anything the general outlook of the white voter. If there had been substantial opposition to Malan's racial policy the opposition would have wooed it. If the United Party had any principles about racialism they could hardly do this, and they deserve to lose the election. The victory of Malan in this country should learn at least this lesson, that on this crucial issue there is no official Opposition.

The Opposition having shown itself so weak on this point, it is not surprising that Dr. Malan now seeks to crush it altogether by securing the two-thirds majority he needs for unlimited control. His call to members of the Opposition to cross the floor and join with his party may well be successful since politicians are not unconcerned about jumping the bandwagon.

### Repercussions in Other Parts of Africa

Malan's success will almost certainly encourage him to try and incorporate other South African terri-

### AFRICAN SCENE DARKENS

tories into the Union. He will appeal to all those Europeans whose fear of the coloured population has the same pathological character as the South African Nationalists'. In such circumstances the resistance of the Africans can only be sharpened, and feeling between the European minority and the African majority will increase in temperature.

The British government, by their conduct of the Seretse Khama case, and in Central African Federation, have shown that, if they are aware of the dangers, they are not willing or able to do anything practical about it. Some ghastly outbreak of hostility seems therefore inevitable in the long run, and it does not seem likely that it will be so long.

### Kenya

British handling of the Kenya

situation points in the same direction. The appointment of General Hindle, with open instructions to follow General Templer's Malayan footsteps in Kenya, has been applauded, even demanded, not only by the reactionary press but also by those very liberal papers which professed hesitancy at General Templer's Malayan methods. However, in politics, nothing allays scruples so effectively as success, and General Templer's apparent success has turned his critics into admirers,

The total effect of military measures against Kenya's nationalism, of Central African Federation whether the Africans like it or not, and of Malan's victory at the polls, is to darken the African future considerably.

## The Pope and Politics

THE Pope gave an audience a few days ago to 500 Catholic Action Activists specially picked and brought from the Private College of Professor Gedda at Casale where they have been undergoing "intense political propaganda courses" in preparation for the forthcoming Italian elections. The *Manchester Guardian* reports that they go into the country as paid professional propagandists.

The interest that the Catholic Church displays in politics from time to time was given some prominence last year during the elections in Central & Southern Italy. An article in *FREEDOM* at that time, quotes from a collective episcopal letter circulated among Catholics . . . "that anyone who fails to vote is committing a mortal sin and is a deserter, for the vote is the most effective means of defending rights . . . especially of the Church most gravely menaced by the foes of Christianity". The faithful were then instructed for whom they must vote with a warning that a vote for any party with a materialistic-atheistic programme would constitute another mortal sin. (Note the use of the word materialist

with atheistic so that any party concerned with even the mildest of economic reforms can be interpreted as atheistic).

The Catholic Church has always displayed a very 'materialistic' interest in politics, but its enthusiasm and support has varied according to the degree of co-operation the different political parties have been prepared to extend to the Church. Only a few years ago in Italy the same people who, to-day, are being forced to vote through spiritual coercion, were being forbidden to take any part in politics whatsoever. *Catholic Action*, for example, at its inception was strictly forbidden to participate in any political activity and was ostensibly formed "for the diffusion and exercise of Catholic principles among any political party". Thus in Mussolini's Italy it was allowed to flourish unmolested.

### Ban on Catholics to Vote

Up until after the first World War Catholics were forbidden to vote under penalty of ex-communication. The reason for this was not that their souls would be sullied, but that the Vatican could not come to terms with the Italian

Continued on p. 2

### FOREIGN COMMENTARY

## McCarthy's Bloodhounds at Large in Europe

THE vocal hostility in this country to Senator McCarthy's two Investigator's during their lightning tour of Europe seems to have been based on false rumours: that included in their "probe" was the British Broadcasting Corporation. The Inquisitors have found it quite easy to demonstrate that this was not their intention, pointing out that their "mission" is to investigate American personnel in Europe. And with this reassurance, the man-in-the-street will turn his attention to some other rumour until that too is exploded. It is sad to observe the way much of what is called public indignation is the result of the spreading of rumours by word of mouth, while the real facts, over which there is

every cause to feel indignation, are allowed to pass unnoticed. This seems to us to be the case in the present investigation being conducted by Messrs. Cohn and Schine, McCarthy's bloodhounds in Europe. Now that we are assured that they have no intention of interfering in British affairs, there is no cause to be alarmed at their mission since they are only concerned with their fellow-nationals. This all too common attitude to-day is to our minds a wrong and harmful one. Where civil liberties and the freedom of the individual are concerned there are no frontiers, for apart from the fact that man's struggle for freedom has never been confined by national frontiers, witch-hunts and book-burnings, like contagious diseases, are not respecters of frontiers. And to allow what is at present happening in America, and among American personnel in Europe and Asia to pass without protest, is a virtual invitation to the McCarthys in our midst (and they lurk in all countries waiting for the opportune moment to strike) to apply similar methods in the name of democracy.

One of the most sinister jobs entrusted to the two young Inquisitors was the inspection of the huge American libraries in Berlin, Frankfurt and elsewhere and the weeding out of volumes "written by Communists". This is a matter on which Senator McCarthy has strong feelings. Earlier this month, the Senator called on Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to find the State Department officials responsible for putting Communist-written books in United States libraries overseas.

He also asked that Mr. Dulles should assign someone to "run down" the purchase orders for Communist books or, if they were accepted as gifts, "the names of the individuals who accepted them". In an earlier letter to Mr. Dulles, which McCarthy made public, he alleges that books of "some 75 different Communist authors like William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Agnes Smedley, etc., were purchased by the Acheson administration and stocked in our libraries throughout the world". Once such a policy is put into effect (and we do not doubt that in many libraries in America this has already been done without wait-

ing for official orders) it means the end of free, independent thinking, and there will be very little to choose between the new situation in America and the book-burning rituals under Hitler.

Already these attacks on the mind which are the result of the anti-Communist nationalistic policies developed in American life since the end of the war are producing these results. According to Devere Allen, editor of *Worldover Press* (the American News Agency): "New surveys reveal a frightening lack of thought on anything, among high school seniors, along with an absence of any efforts in school curricula to stimulate thinking. Whether we have reached rock-bottom or not, no one can say".

But apparently there are signs of reaction to this situation. According to the same source:

"The FORD FOUNDATION has set up the Fund for the Republic with a grant of \$15,000,000 to inquire into assaults on academic freedom, censorship, the use of guilt by association. It has organized a competent committee to guide the work. It will move slowly, as so large a body must. But when it gets going, it should be heard from. And if it fails to cut the McCarthys down to their right size, it will be recreant to its trust. It is high time. For McCarthy and his crowd are not out merely to save the world, or to ride the tiger of their own intolerance and ignorance; they are out to dominate the foreign policy of the free world. Until they are halted, there can be no free world to save."

We do not doubt that with its \$15 million backing the Foundation will discover quite a lot about assaults on academic freedom. But we already know quite enough! As to how "McCarthy and his crowd" can be halted is not a matter for research and legislation. We do not believe that it is possible to halt a process such as this until there is a fundamental change in attitude to the whole problem of investigation of "loyalties". Such progressively minded people as the editor of *Worldover Press* are themselves partly responsible for "McCarthy and his crowd" because they do in fact believe in some kind of loyalty tests. Let us quote further from Devere Allen's dispatch where he writes: "As promised under the McCarthy dispensation, college teachers are being investigated. With that, in a

different mood, there could be no real quarrel. But if professors are to be probed because they are felt to be possibly 'unreliable', how about professors known to be so? How about that ex-Communist Professor Louis Budenz, whose word is now gospel to the McCarthy committee, but who says to-day that Owen Lattimore is a Communist, though he testified in 1947 and 1949 to the contrary? In the sight of the present writer, it is difficult to trust a professional anti-Communist who makes \$70,000 out of his conversion."

"In a different mood, there could be no quarrel". That sums up the attitude of American liberal opinion to the Inquisition. Yet is it not obvious to these people that once fetters are placed on thought no matter how judiciously and in whatever "mood" it is the beginning of a process which will eventually develop into a thoroughgoing Inquisition? It is an admission that one believes there are standards of what is right thinking and wrong thinking and that some machinery can be created, some standard can be established, just like that for weights and measures, against which one's thinking shall be tested. Who will establish what is the standard of right thinking? Our American liberals strongly resent that in Russia such standards have been established by the ruling class (the Communist hierarchy) because to their minds it is wrong thinking. But why assume that the standards that will be established by ruling classes—even in America or Britain—will necessarily be right thinking? Right thinking can only emerge from freedom of thought, and, however old-fashioned such an idea may appear in this streamlined world of ours, it is the only bulwark against wrong thinking.

Such ideas have not completely disappeared, even in America. For instance, the National Council of Jewish Women awarded first prize in a college senior contest to Stanley Wolpert, who in the course of his essay declared:

"Unless the teacher is free to question and dissent, the student's mind will emerge from school, not strong with wisdom, but at best heavy with information."

LIBERTARIAN.

## More People Eat Less

DEFERENCE to the "Vatican bloc" of member states makes it unusual for United Nations' experts to do more than hint at the danger of population pressure. When courageous Dr. Karl Evang, Norwegian delegate to the Fifth World Health Organization Assembly, did propose one obvious remedy, government promotion of contraception, the issue was tabled "in the interests of harmony." Such enforced "harmony" within the U.N. contributes nothing to the "harmony" of hungry peoples. U.N. reticence on realities partly conceals, but does not obliterate the fact that we increase by about 30,000,000 stomachs each year.

This rate soon will be exceeded and with the greatest increase in the areas of most desperate hunger. In the Far East, where approximately half the world lives, "seven spoonfuls of food out of every ten contain rice. But rice production in the Far East is two and one-half per cent. below pre-war levels." Yet the post-war population has so increased "that to-day eleven people take their places at the table for every ten before the war." Thus warns the front page of the *United Nations Reporter*, N.Y., Feb., 1953. The second "World Food Survey" of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization paints a picture of increasing hunger, indeed sombre.

"The proportion of the world's population with inadequate food supplies has grown appreciably larger. World food production has indeed expanded since the end of the war, when it fell to a low point, but much of this achievement represents merely a recovery from wartime devastation and dislocation." Furthermore, where this expansion is achieved

without the use of adequate fertilizer, we are borrowing from a hungrier tomorrow. Even though for many areas nutritive value has been lowered by diverting seed-grains for livestock to the kitchen, eating products (such as oil seeds) normally used for industry, mixing coarse grains with wheat for bread, and substituting cereals and starch for animal protein, the Survey cautions that the quantity consumed is still less year by year for many members of the human family. "It is important to note that for some of the worst fed areas . . . the decline has been greater than for the world as a whole." To depend on surplus areas, which have shipped thousands of tons of food to hungrier regions, also would not meet the problem: "They, too, have rising populations."

Four millions in India face death by famine, "even though heavy imports from the U.S. in 1952 enabled her to start the year with 1,880,008 tons of food grains." (Reuters, New Delhi, Feb. 6). But 5,000,000 more mouths to be fed appear each year. Mr. B. G. Kher, High Commissioner for India, believes that the rate of population increase will require over six million tons of additional food supplies at the end of the five-year period, even to maintain the present standard of food allocation. Fortunately the Indian Government, unlike the timid United Nations, is facing squarely the over-population problem by adopting voluntary parenthood as one measure towards solution.

(This very moderate statement is taken from the April Bulletin of the International Planned Parenthood Committee, New York.—Eds.)



## THE BUDGET

OF recent years successive British governments have tended to make the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his Budget, with its slightly musical comedy Gladstone bag, into a kind of publicity stunt. Budgets themselves are treated to more preliminary speculation and more headlines than ever before. As with other stunts, the shouting quickly dies down and the budget in a week or so is forgotten. Indeed in writing about it in a weekly paper nearly ten days after the Chancellor made his announcements one is conscious that it is no longer news.

All this underlines a contention that anarchists have made over many years: that the Budget is not in fact of any great interest to the vast majority of the population. The hard economic facts of our social organization are still that a man sells his labour for what he can get for and that does not leave much margin for any real changes in his way of life. Budgets and Chancellors may come and go but the divisions between rulers and ruled, between those who earn wages and those who pay them remain. No Budget whether Conservative or Labour (or, in dim history, Liberal) alters that.

Another fact of governmental economy is that ultimately the vast bulk of the money dealt with in the Budget must come from the workers, because numerically, they are in an enormous majority. Of course, in a more fundamental sense all governmental wealth, whether obtained by taxing the rich or the poor comes ultimately from the workers. Since all wealth is only created by applying labour power to natural resources. Hence, in taxing the rich the government are only "robbing the robbers", and not helping the workers. One should beware of re-

garding this economic approach as entirely fundamental however. For if carried to an extreme of political publicity, a government may strip the rich of practically everything in order to pose as protectors of the workers. Where this has happened as part of Communist technique, the workers, far from being helped, have been ground down still further and government has been even more despotic.

"Taking from the rich to help the poor", or "equalizing sacrifice" or "redressing economic injustice" or whatever fancy name is used for budgetary propaganda gestures, when it is not more or less meaningless superficial vote catching, as usually with the Labour Party, may be regarded as an aspect of the "war" between private and State capitalism, the gradual absorption of private undertakings into nationalized organizations. Budgets may reflect this procedure but they do not alter the general situation of the workers.

It is not surprising therefore to read in a more or less independent Sunday paper's editorial that "it seems unfortunate that so very little has been done to help the poorest of all. Old age pensioners and many other people struggling to live on small fixed incomes have been severely hit by rising prices, and they will obtain very little relief from Mr. Butler's proposals."

Finally, it is as well to keep a sense of proportion. The budget to-day is one means of adjusting a national economy to the changing face of world economy. Mr. Butler's budget foresees a trade recession (as slumps are now called) and seeks to combat it by increasing purchasing power a little. But the increases in purchasing power are a small matter compared with the total figures of the budget. Basically, therefore, we are faced with the same conception in the end: that the budget is determined by the economic needs of British capitalism, and this goes for whichever government is in power. In the nature of things it cannot "help the worker" very much.

## COMMENT:

**SIR DAVID MAXWELL FYFE** was sorry but "an honest mistake by witnesses does not warrant compensation." This is what Edward Penfold of Southwark was told after spending three weeks in jail for an offence which he did not commit.

After protesting his innocence Mr. Penfold agreed to take part in an identification parade and was picked out by witnesses as one of the men who participated in a raid on a Wapping public-house.

Later another man described as "not unlike Mr. Penfold in general appearance" made a written confession that he had been concerned in the robbery and the witnesses agreed that they had made a mistake when a second identification parade was held.

"If there had been any fault or negli-

## Sir David is Sorry But ...

gence on the part of the police in bringing this charge against Mr. Penfold I should certainly have been ready to consider the question of making some *ex-gratia* payment to him," said Sir David.

"But I can find no reason for thinking the police to blame."

There is no reason whatsoever to doubt the integrity of the witnesses in this case but even the most conservative-minded will find cause for misgivings about a legal system which enables such outrages to be committed.

Amongst the cases tried at Great Marlborough Street Court recently was that of a middle-aged woman accused of stealing a £1 note from the till at a multiple store in which she was employed. She was divorced and living in a single room and it is not difficult to imagine the reason which caused her to transfer the £1 note from the till to her handbag. But the law is by nature unfeeling and unimaginative, she is now spending one month in Holloway.

The magistrate, Paul Bennett, V.C., told her: "I have a duty to perform to the public and to employers. They are at the mercy of their employees."

Mr. Bennett was also the magistrate before whom our comrade, Philip Sansom appeared last October (see *FREEDOM* 1/11/52) following his arrest on a charge of obstruction at an Anarchist meeting in Manette Street. In order to satisfy the curiosity of Mr. Bennett our comrade explained that it was not law and order that Anarchists objected to—only law! Mr. Bennett should ponder on this distinction.

To send this unfortunate woman to jail may as Mr. Bennett states, serve to protect the employing class but quite where the duty to the public comes into this case it is hard to imagine.

Whilst on the subject of the protection of the public it is pertinent to examine the wide-spread idea that the murderer is a public enemy. In some ways the murderer may be said to be a public benefactor.

When a murder is committed it is undeniably a great misfortune for the victim and for his relatives and friends. But the victims and those near to them form a very small part of the public; what of the remainder?

The morbid enjoyment shown by so

many people in the details of the crime, the revelations and technicalities of the trial and execution have often enough been commented upon in these columns. Even a National Lottery would not suffice to compensate for the excitement of the murder trial. The people might become very discontented if the circus provided by the Old Bailey and the other Assize Courts should be taken from them.

Week after week the Sunday newspapers re-hash their stories of rape, murder, the 'criminal offence' of homosexuality and so on. Almost invariably they are the same old tales, told in the same suggestive (not so clearly defined as to offend the more 'sensitive' palates and not quite vague enough to fail to stimulate the less imaginative) quasi-legal jargon familiar to the regular reader. Only the dates, the names of those involved and the scene of the crime seem to vary in these accounts of human misery but, despite the intrinsic monotony of his writings the popular crime reporter is sure of a larger readership than any more intelligent writer on another matter of public importance.

'Crime does not pay' is a platitude which may apply to the convicted criminal. But to the proprietors of the national press, the middle-men of crime, it never fails to bring big dividends.

The one-minute appearance of Christie, alleged to have been involved in the Notting Hill Gate murders which have recently been in the headlines was merely a legal formality and yet it sufficed to fill the major part of the front page in all three popular London evening papers on that day.

If, whether by Act of Parliament or by Act of God, crime became a feature of an era now past the number of unemployed in this country would show a considerable increase—unless, that is, the resultant 'surplus labour' could be utilised in armament production! C.Q.

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## EVOLUTION - 2

The dissemination of this entirely false and politically biased view is due in no small measure to certain popular scientific writers, who have taken upon themselves the task of providing capitalist philosophy with a certain "scientific" sanction. Thus H. G. Wells in his popular and very widely read *Short History of the World*† makes the statement that "True" (Cro-Magnon) men "ousted the Neanderthal man by competing successfully for the same food; they probably made war upon their grisly predecessors and killed them off." (p.31).

In this short passage, Wells implies three propositions for which there is no evidence at all. (1) That true men ousted Neanderthal men by successful competition for the same food supply. The assumption therefore is that the food supply was limited and could not sustain the existing population. This is Malthus' idea once more. (2) That true men made war on Neanderthal men. (3) That Neanderthal men were "grisly", that is, presumably, savage and addicted to horrible practices. Now there is no evidence whatever to support any of these loose assumptions. In all of them lies implicit the idea of internal strife, for which observation provides no vestige of proof. Indeed, it is evident, that the assumption that men did fight among themselves is the basis for Wells' picture of prehistoric human life. This conception appears again later on when he declares:

"Probably the earliest human societies, in the opening stages of the true human story, were small family groups. Just as flocks and herds of the earlier mammals arose out of families which had remained together and multiplied, so did the earliest tribes. But before this could happen a certain restraint upon the primitive egotisms of the individual had to be established."

We have seen that this runs counter to the facts regarding the social development of tribes and families. Wells' last sentence is significant because this argument has been made the justification of governmentalism and coercive authority. Kropotkin demolished this viewpoint in his book and his arguments will be cited later.

Wells goes on to speak of the fear and jealousy and respect inspired by the "old Man" who ruled over the family according to these unfounded assumptions. A similar view of early society was taken by Sigmund Freud in his book *Totem and Taboo*, in which he also speaks of the "primal horde" dominated by an "old Man" as though there were solid evidence for such a conception.‡ This book, one of the most widely read of his works, has been vigorously attacked by anthropologists.

† Circulated in large cheap editions both by the Rationalist and Socialist publishing organisations, and also as a Penguin.

‡ Freud took his ideas about the "primal horde" from a highly speculative book *Primal Law* by J. J. Atkinson, published in 1903.

Morgan, among many others, had already shown at the time when Kropotkin wrote that the monogamous family grew up only gradually out of group marriage in which sexual affairs were wholly communistic and promiscuous; family organisation was thus a later rather than an earlier development of man's social life.

### EVIDENCE FROM PRIMITIVE GROUPS TO-DAY

Since Kropotkin wrote *Mutual Aid*, many primitive tribes in all parts of the world have been studied, and a great deal of information bearing on the subject of social organisation has been derived from them. It is necessary, however, in order to avoid confusion, to make a distinction between truly primitive societies which have never known agriculture, and those 'savage' cultures which prove to be degenerated remnants of more advanced cultures of the past. The former are the modern representatives of the 'ancient hunters' of the stone age, before the discovery of agriculture. It is these latter who are misrepresented by the Huxleys, and H. G. Wells's and other unconscious ideologists of capitalism as savage hordes addicted to grisly practices.

Primitive food-gatherers have been observed in widely differing parts of the world, by various observers ranging from travellers and missionaries to anthropologists and ethnologists. In spite of this, the accounts of these primitive societies are surprisingly uniform. Everywhere they are found to be characterised by sociability, mutual trust, and absence of violence and strife within the group. Thus the African pygmies never steal or kill, no such act having occurred within the memory of their oldest member (Van den Bergh). Another writer speaks of the Mambuti Pygmies of the Congo in similar terms. They never kill or steal among themselves, are very gentle and hospitable, show great courage in hunting, and have no social aspirations. The Kalahari Bushmen were exterminated by the Dutch; yet they are described as being entirely free from cruelty and vindictiveness, upright and faithful in their dealings, kindly and lighthearted and care-less of the morrow. They were as innocent of tribal organisation, chieftainship or central authority as of criminality in their deeds (Dornan).

The Veddahs of Ceylon are "as peaceable as it is possible to be. They are proverbially truthful and honest" (Bailey). The Semang of Malaya have no form of government. "Freedom, but not licence, is the principle of the Semang group, and the characteristic of each individual." They eat in common and share all their food; drunkenness and theft are absolutely unknown (Schebesta). The Negritos of the Philippine Islands are wholly pacific, any member of any other tribe being welcomed in each others' homes. To the question of a missionary (Vanoverbergh) as to whether they would allow Negritos from further off to hunt in their forests, the answer was, "Yes, we cannot forbid them. If they like to come here and hunt in our forests, they are allowed to do so—why not?"

Similarly, Eskimos cannot understand the profession of

soldiering, and have no words for murder or theft. Their practices, however, become more like "civilised" man's in the districts where their territories come in contact with the white man, and where they have learned to trade with them. It was the same with the North American Indian. Verrill declares that the usually accepted ideas about their cruelty are quite erroneous, and where degradation has occurred he attributes it to the influence of white men. Not even primitive men were prepared to be massacred by the extermination policy of early colonisers without putting up some resistance! Verrill notes, "I have seen Indians change the site selected for their camp in order not to disturb a nesting bird." And H. J. Massingham comments: "We might almost call such delicacy an act of imaginative piety and it is a singular comment upon civilised attitudes of mind that such an act would be regarded as purely childish." It is worth remembering that it was the character of the Red Indian which so profoundly influenced the French humanitarian thinkers of the eighteenth century and their conception of the 'noble savage', so often ridiculed to-day by the ignorant.

As a final example in this necessarily brief selection, I will quote what two observers say of the Punan of Borneo, a people who have no social classes and no private property, everything being communal. The Punan himself "is a likeable person, rich in good qualities and innocent of vices. He never slays or attacks men of other tribes wantonly. But he will defend himself and his family pluckily if he is attacked and has no choice of flight. Fighting between Punan whether of the same or different communities is very rare ...

"Public opinion and tradition seem to be the sole and sufficient sanctions of conduct among these Arcadian bands of wanderers ... Harmony and mutual help are the rule within the family circle, as well as throughout the larger community ... each shares with all members of the group whatever food, whether vegetable or animal, he may procure by skill or good fortune."

They are described as being "rich in imagination" and possessing "a fine sense of pictorial art and craftsmanship". Elliot Smith speaks of them as "exempt from the exasperations and the greed which civilisation creates" and "the very antithesis of what is usually understood by the term savage".\*

It becomes apparent therefore that natural man, unhampered by social institutions and inequality, is neither savage nor quarrelsome, but lives in harmony and freedom with his fellows. These modern observations, derived from many sources and widely separated parts of the world, provide no confirmation whatever for the capitalistic conception of "the Hobbesian war of each against all." On the contrary they strengthen at every point the arguments put forward by Kropotkin with so much charm and skill in his great book.

\* For a fuller account of primitive food-gathering communities, see Elliot Smith, *Human History* 1930.

(To be continued)

ANARCHISM is frequently sneered at by Marxists as being "alright for peasant countries, but no good for modern industrial societies."

Anarchism and Syndicalism - 3

between an industrial worker and the industrial means of production is not fundamentally different from that of a landless peasant.

level Anarcho-syndicalism offers the only libertarian alternative to capitalism.

of the Anarchist ethic. Anarcho-syndicalism has built a form of industrial organisation that conforms to the needs of industrial workers to-day.

But as Anarchists we are not interested in "ownership". This is a legalistic conception which has meaning only in a legalistic society.

And these two conceptions must go hand in hand. It is impossible to be emancipated socially without a revolutionary change in the economic structure of our society.

The Small Unit

On the structural level Anarchism has one lesson to offer Syndicalism which I should like to stress. It is the use of the small group as a working unit.

Two Fields of Action To achieve this we have to think along two lines—social and economic. On the social plane, Anarchist communism presents the only libertarian alternative to bourgeois authority.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS GIVE TITO A HAND?

I FIND the negative attitude of FREEDOM towards the recent visit of Marshal Tito most disappointing and indeed perplexing. It would appear that so far as our purists are concerned Anti-Clericalism, and Anti-Muscovism, like Socialism or bourgeois "Patriotism"—is not enough.

What other possible stage of development could there be in Jugo-Slavia at this very moment? The people of that country have not shown themselves ready for anything else—and neither would Anglo-American aid be forthcoming if they were.

a time when all progressive-minded anti-clericals and 'Left-Oppositionists' are looking to the Marshal as their champion.

I seem to remember that the Anarchist Movement on the Continent has not always remained so exclusively hidden and imprisoned within its own ivory tower, as when our Spanish comrades voted in elections and sent their own members to the Cortes in Barcelona.

And who might one ask, are the "persecuted" in Jugo-Slavia and the closely watched in Britain? Cardinal Stepinac the war-criminal, Russo-Balkan spies and saboteurs, royalist emigrés, or unreliable officers and public servants?

We need not go here into the reasons for the failures of these revolutions, but it is worth noting that it was in Marx's own country, Germany, a highly industrialised State with a dispossessed proletariat and an uncertain bourgeoisie...

Peasants and Workers When, therefore, Marxists maintain that Anarchism is alright only in peasant countries, we can point out that Marxism isn't alright anywhere, and that since two-thirds of the world are peasants anyway, Anarchism would seem to suit the majority.

Production and the Technical Revolution

THERE are fresh cries for more production. The T.U.C. tries to beat one of its members into submission. A Fabian professor—with the support of all right-minded Fabians—insists on the necessity for Labour taking, if it is to get in at the next election...

every word 'overproduction' shows what a meaningless set of symbols capitalism relies on, for in a rational world exchange, such a word could not exist, it would be replaced by the word plenty.

Thus, it is clear that to increase production will only exacerbate this nation's malady and indeed the same will apply to every nation which relies on industrial produce for a living.

All the 'now' agricultural nations require is the electrical power and the 'know-how'. Kropotkin stated, several wars ago, in Fields, Factories and Workshops that such agricultural nations will be able to produce industrially more cheaply than those industrial nations forced to buy their food.

A Reply:

IT is not often that letters such as the one from Mr. McCarthy escape the waste-paper basket. Not that we are afraid of criticism (most of the letters we publish are critical) but because we have all too little space as it is without wasting it on this adolescent populist-frontist-reformism...

What has he discovered in Tito? That he has suppressed the Church and broken off diplomatic relations with Moscow. By approving the suppression of the Church in Yugoslavia Mr. McCarthy does not convince us that Tito is a lover of freedom—or Mr. McCarthy for that matter.

chill and other as recently as 1946. Does Mr. McCarthy not take this into account in assessing Tito's probity.

Anarchists have never taken the "All or nothing" attitude. They have always encouraged the working people to engage in struggle against employers and governments alike to improve their material conditions and to achieve greater freedom from governmental control.

We fail to understand why, if Mr. McCarthy does not advocate a repetition of the Spanish Anarchists and syndicalist governmentalism, (they did not enter the Cortes by the way) and the alliance of the Italian anarchists with the Catholic "Left" (the first we have heard of it) he should bother to raise the point...

May we suggest he has rung the wrong bell?—EDITORS.

In Witchhunt Land

I SIT here in Boston watching with a somewhat fishy eye the antics of the "red probers" who just closed down hearings. Resentment is growing, witness the protests of the clergy and a much more objective treatment by the newspapers.

I enclose some clippings which will amuse you in a sordid sort of way. Quincy, Mass. R.L.

Special Appeal

Stockton-on-Tees: R.H.M. 4/-; Edinburgh: T.O.M. 5/-; Preston: W.A.L. 1/6; London: J.B. 10/-; Glasgow: S.M. 1/6; Glasgow: A.McD. 4/-; Philadelphia: R.N. £1/8/0; London: F.E.D. 5/-; Australia: Anon 3/-; London: W.E.D. 15/-; Edinburgh: T.O.M. 5/-; London: Anon 5/-; Mitchem: F.H. 6/6; London: W.S. 6/9.

Table with columns for Total (£5 0 3), Previously acknowledged (104 12 6), 1953 TOTAL TO DATE (£109 12 9), GIFTS OF BOOKS: Rochdale: J.R. C.C.; Purley: A.U.; Readers who have undertaken to send regular monthly contributions.

for the individual not to be submerged, for decisions to be arrived at, not by counting votes, but by the patient discussion of points of view and the maintaining of common interest and individual responsibility.

This means, as I see it, regarding each syndicate not as an industrial union, but as itself a federation of workshop committees, local industrial councils, or whatever co-ordinating units arise.

The dignity of man is continually affronted by the economic prostitution of capitalism and the irresponsibility of government. The achievement of a free society without either is not only desirable, it is a necessity if humanity is not to sink under fearful tyrannies to a level of barbarism intolerable in an age which should offer both leisure and abundance.

And the most effective means to achieve that free society is presented in Anarchist syndicalism. P.S.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP OPEN AIR MEETINGS Weather Permitting HYDE PARK Every Sunday at 4.30 p.m.

INDOOR MEETINGS At 9, Fitzroy Square, Warren Street, London, W.1.

APRIL 28—Bonar Thompson on OSCAR WILDE THE ROAD TO READING GAL MAY 5—Albert Grace on THE TRADE UNIONS. The meetings will be held on TUESDAYS at 7.30 p.m.

NORTH-EAST LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM MAY 6—Ron Wheeler. "THE COMMUNITIES IN PALESTINE". Alternate Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m.

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

GLASGOW INDOOR MEETINGS at CENTRAL HALLS, 25 Bath Street Every Sunday at 7 p.m. With John Gaffney, Frank Carlin Jane Strachan, Eddie Shaw.

MANCHESTER LIBERTARIAN GROUP A Libertarian Group has been formed in Manchester. All those interested are invited to meetings at LAND O' CAKES HOTEL Gt. Ancoats Street, (by Daily Express) at 7 p.m. on 2nd & 4th Sundays in every month. April 26, May 10, 24 June 14, 28, etc. Enquiries to: J. Pinkerton, 12 Alt Road, Ashton-Under-Lyne, Lancs.

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