

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

LAW AND ORDER AT A PRICE!

IF one were to ask the average man-in-the-street what he thought anarchists and governments stood for, respectively, he would almost certainly reply that anarchists stood for chaos and violence and governments for law and order. And yet if one had to try and substantiate these popular concepts one would find very few examples of anarchist violence, (and then generally such violence could be shown to have been provoked by the organised violence of governments). As to the "chaos" attached to the name of anarchy it simply originates in the belief that government stands for "order" and therefore any society without government must also be without order! The fallacy in this argument is to assume that "government" is synonymous with order.

Of course governments believe in "law and order"; in laws which they make and to which they adhere so long as they suit their purposes but which they break or change when they no longer suit them; in order which is based on organised force and only incidentally on the will of the people.

Let us see how governments have been solving some problems of "law and order" during the past week.

Purging Congress in Costa Rica —by Law

THE *New York Times* special correspondent in San José, Costa Rica reports (15/7/53) that:

"The Communists' last chance of participating in the elections, July 26, vanished to-night when Congress gave a favourable third reading to a bill denying the Popular Independent party its right to registration.

The party, whose figurehead was Joaquín García Monge, a writer and publisher, was run by former Communist leaders and had registered a full list of Congressional candidates but no Presidential aspirant.

Although the party's registration had been accepted by the Election Tribunal, supporters of the former Junta President, José Figueres—himself running for President as head of the National Liberation party—had urged that this violated the constitutional provision that prohibits Communist affiliates or "subversive" organizations from contesting elections."

The exclusion of Communist candidates is legal and above board, for they are banned by the Constitution and this has now been confirmed by Congress. The law is vindicated. But the same people who would approve this measure will certainly object to the one party system in Russia even though Article 141 of

They Are Catching Up

WHAT anarchists have been saying for decades on the problem of "crime" is slowly being realised and admitted by the experts. At the week-end Conference of the British Federation of Psychologists, Dr. H. S. Bryan, psychiatrist, of Alder Hey Children's Hospital, Liverpool, suggested that by practising mental hygiene, the community might prevent happenings instead of deploring them afterwards.

Referring to the Christie case he said: "The community which hanged him was probably responsible for the horrible conditions which affected him when he was very young and lead him to that state of mind."

When psychologists investigated criminals they usually found that things went wrong in the first five years of their lives. This emphasised the importance of the mother-child relationship, which should not be disturbed until a certain stage had been reached.

Pointing out that rickets had practically disappeared as a physical disease, Dr. Bryan said that we might be able to deal with warped minds as we had learned to deal with warped bodies.

the Constitution of the Soviet Union makes it quite clear that only certain specified organizations will be allowed to submit candidates for election! Where's the difference?

Demonstrators Killed in India —in the Name of Order

A SHORT time ago Mr. Nehru, Premier of India, remarked that to interrupt train services in support of any agitation was "fantastic nonsense". From his point of view obviously it was but for the demonstrators it equally obviously was not or they would not have resorted to such action. And last week several hundred of them belonging to the Dravidian Progressive Federation held a demonstration in protest at Mr. Nehru's "fantastic nonsense" remarks.

According to a *Reuter* report: "The police opened fire when the demonstrators had fired a bridge, persisted in stone-throwing, and refused to move away from the railway track. Other stations south of Madras reported that demonstrators interrupted train services by pulling communication cords and squatting on the line. Railway police arrested about 180."

And in restoring Mr. Nehru's order the police killed four demonstrators and injured more than fifteen.

... and in Paris on July 14

IN Paris, July 14, a day of festivities, symbolising liberation from

despotism was unsymbolically commemorated by a vast military march past in one part of the city and by a Communist procession in the Place de la Nation, the working class district of Paris. The Communist demonstration which included a large number of Algerians, ended in a battle with the forces of law and order, in which seven men were killed and 18 policemen and 44 demonstrators are in hospital. It is generally agreed that the "riot" was not planned in advance. It would seem that the police, as a result of the refusal by the 2,000 Algerians to disperse as did the other marchers after passing the grandstand, were unable to "control" the crowds. According to a *Reuter* report (14.7.53):

"Between two and three thousand police reinforcements were moved into the square in lorries and opened fire to disperse the demonstrators. There was fierce hand-to-hand fighting, in which the demonstrators used heavy clubs, roofing slates, paving stones, café chairs, and bottles."

1,300 Victims to Law and Order in Kenya

IN the House of Commons last week the Colonial Secretary was asked a few pointed questions on how "law and order" was working in Kenya since the order was made permitting the armed forces, the police and civilian officials to shoot

to kill in the case of those resisting arrest or attempting to escape. Mr. Lyttleton refused to appoint a commission to report on the consequences of the order though he revealed that in the ten months since the emergency was declared 1,300 Africans were believed to have been killed by the security forces, 514 wounded and 2,673 taken prisoner; and conceded that "it is impossible for anyone to tell when someone is resisting arrest whether he is an ordinary criminal or a member of a terrorist gang"—or neither, Mr. Lyttleton! Yet the Colonial Secretary "by and large" considered that all these Africans who had been shot were terrorists!

To Mr. Silverman who asked: "How do you account for the fact that for every prisoner taken alive some four or five are shot? Would you say how, before arrest, it is possible to say whether the person proposed to be arrested is a terrorist, ordinary criminal, or law-abiding citizen?" Mr. Lyttleton replied that Mr. Silverman's arithmetic was wrong. "Those who resist arrest in those areas were naturally taken to be breaking the law". In other words our "law and order" in Kenya has reached the stage where an innocent man who resists wrongful arrest automatically becomes guilty and liable to be shot dead by his would-be arrester. *Pace* law and order!

Then there is the case of a Mr. Sidney Davidson who is a Kenya Government officer seconded to the police force and who is reported,

"No man can emancipate himself unless at the same time he emancipates those around him."
—BAKUNIN.

according to Mr. Paget, M.P. for Northampton, with having killed 33 'terrorists' "which he has notched on his automatic rifle and .45 revolver". (Mr. Davidson, incidentally, is not reported as being an anarchist). Mr. Lyttleton's reply states that the "only engagement in which he is known to have shot any person was on February 27 this year when, with an inspector of police, he killed three terrorists who were wanted for murder and who failed to stop when challenged."

This was all the information he had and was "derived from official quarters". Perhaps "official quarters" have closed an eye so far as the letter of the law in concerned and have let Mr. Davidson do a little private shooting to keep in practise, and there is no shortage of "nigger" targets, and dead men can tell no tales. In any case it can always be said that they were "suspects resisting arrest".

THE above is only a small detail from the vast canvas depicting disorder and violence which bears the title: "Law and Order". And because language and thinking have been in the process completely distorted, the natural order and harmony of anarchy becomes in the public mind chaos and violence.

Brainwashing in Kenya

Mr. Lyttleton, Colonial Secretary, stated in a written reply that between the beginning of the emergency in Kenya and June 30, 112,529 persons were taken into custody in connection with the disturbances. Of these 15,834 were released immediately on proving their identity, 53,308 were released after screening, 42,356 had been tried, and 1,031 are on remand. Those not considered to be badly indoctrinated were restricted to their location in the reserve, where contact with the growing resistance to Mau Mau was having the desired effect. Those Mau Mau adherents who were deeply committed would pass through special rehabilitation centres before their release.

A VIEWPOINT ON THE EVANS REPORT

THE publication of the Report by Mr. J. Scott Henderson, Q.C. "of an enquiry into certain matters arising out of the deaths of Mrs. Beryl Evans and of Geraldine Evans and out of the conviction of Timothy John Evans of the murder of Geraldine Evans" has been hailed by most sections of the Press in this country as a vindication of British Justice. We do not share this view.

Mr. Scott Henderson summarises his findings as follows:

- (1) The case for the prosecution against Evans as presented to the jury at his trial was an overwhelming one;
- (2) Having considered all the material now available relating to the deaths of Mrs. Evans and Geraldine Evans, I am satisfied that there can be no doubt that Evans was responsible for both;
- (3) Christie's statement that he was responsible for the death of Mrs. Evans was not only unreliable but was untrue.

From a reading of the evidence produced in this report we can only conclude that for Mr. Scott Henderson to be so definite he must either possess information not included in the report, or what is perhaps more likely, has chosen to discount as unreliable all the evidence which might be in Evans' favour, and accepted as fact all that tended to incriminate him.

For instance he quotes Evans' mother as telling the police on December 1, 1949: "I know my son has a very vivid imagination and he is a terrible liar". Evans made three statements in all. In the first two he denied killing his wife; in the third he confessed to strangling both his wife and child. Mr. Scott Henderson chooses to accept the third statement and reject the first two in spite of the fact that he points out in his report that:

"I was told that there were consultations with Counsel in Brixton prison and I am satisfied that at these consultations the prisoner [Evans] maintained that the statement in which he blamed Christie [that is, the second] was the true account."

Again, when Evans gave himself up

he stated at the police station that he "had disposed of his wife". In answer to questions he said: "I put her down the drain". That same evening the police officer to whom Evans had made his statement told him: "I don't think that your wife's body has ever been in the drain". Evans then said: "No, I said that to protect a man named Christie..." It was then that he made his second statement which was similar to the first except for minor details and the fact that Christie's name was brought into it. No mention of the baby's death was made at the time, Evans stating that the Christie's were looking after her until a couple from East Acton came to take her with them.

Mr. Scott Henderson admits (para 17) that: "at the trial of Evans the prosecution relied on the evidence of Mr. and Mrs. Christie, who at that time were the only persons living at 10 Rillington Place, other than Evans and his wife and child" to prove eight points regarding the movements of the Evans' during the period when the murders took place. Mr. Scott Henderson accepts the evidence given by Christie when he appeared as a Crown witness but rejects as "unreliable and untrue" the statements he made when, following his own arrest in March 1953, he admitted to killing Mrs. Evans but denied killing the child. At his trial he explained that the reason for having denied at the Evans trial being responsible for the deaths of Mrs. Evans and Geraldine was because he had been accused of both deaths whereas he was responsible only for the death of Mrs. Evans.

Mr. Scott Henderson accepts without question that the police gave no information to Evans as to how his wife and child were killed and the way their bodies were disposed of, and that Evans' third statement in which he gives all the details correctly is a clear indication of his guilt. It should be noted that Evans modified his first statement when the police officer told him that his wife had not been found "down the drain". His third statement was made after he had been brought down to London.

The Chief Inspector of Notting Hill Police Station said to him (among other things): "... at 11.50 a.m. to-day I found the dead body of your wife, Beryl Evans, concealed in a washhouse at 10, Rillington Place, Notting Hill; also the body of your baby daughter, Geraldine in the same outbuilding... Later to-day I was present at Kensington Mortuary when it was established that the cause

Continued on p. 4

E. A. GUTKIND The Expanding Environment The End of Cities—The Rise of Communities

In this essay Dr. Gutkind endeavours to show why life in cities and in the country as we experience it to-day has become meaningless. A short historical survey—illustrated by more than 20 striking photographs—demonstrates the development of cities during the last two thousand years. This leads to the conclusion that we are to-day at a decisive turning point where mere reforms however well intentioned cannot solve the overriding problem of finding a new social relationship between man and group and between group and environment.

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Rowlandson & Gillray at Whitechapel

BERTRAND RUSSELL-NOVELIST

A HUNDRED years after the general public have stopped looking at strip cartoons, intellectual snobs will delight in them, and the best of them will probably be shown in exhibitions at all the best Art Galleries. That, anyhow, is what has happened to an earlier equivalent of strip cartoons, the Popular Print. It is a little over a hundred years since the general public stopped buying and hiring light pictorial reading from printshops, and now the Whitechapel Art Gallery, supported and abetted by highly cultured people who would not soil their eyes with popular art of their own time, is holding an exhibition of prints by the two most popular of Popular Print designers, Rowlandson and Gillray.

The printshop artists all worked with

bold, vigorous lines and expressive silhouettes, and, because their work was designed for reading rather than for decoration, they crammed their pictures with incidental detail, consisting largely of figures in different attitudes, usually with humorous intent. The popular print was, in fact, a fairly rigid art form, if not quite as rigid as the strip cartoon.

But restrictions on technique cannot restrict the self expression of first-class artists, and the chief impression one gets from the Rowlandson Gillray exhibition is not that the two artists were somewhat similar in technique, but that they were widely different in temperament and attitude.

Rowlandson's appeal is his optimism. He offers pleasant escape from the hard world. His trees are always in full leaf, his young women curvaceous pin-up girls (rather plumper than modern pin-up girls), his young men strong and handsome. Even his toothless, bloated, gouty, old men are healthy enough to be lecherous, and comic rather than repulsive, and his urchins, tough ragged and scant enough in their dress, plump and lively in their persons.

Except for a few studies and one caricature (that of the singer Catalani, "Madame Catsquawlani at full stretch") all the Rowlandson exhibits are water-colour drawings of scenes with figures. These range from tranquil landscapes like "Maidenhead Bridge" to noisy crowd scenes like "The Quack Doctor" and slapstick like "Coach upsetting on a bridge" (with the passengers on the roof falling in the river). They are all illustrations of life, done with a wholly amiable and optimistic sense of humour, and without any attempt to point a moral.

Gillray's appeal, on the other hand, is to hatred and sadism. Many of his cartoons are more lurid, brutal and blood-thirsty than the worst of the horrific "comic" picture magazines which moralists of our time so roundly condemn, and his excuse is that of our more sordid

Sunday press, that he is himself a moralist. Antiquity does not, to my mind, make his work any less unpleasant; nor does it make those who praised it and collected it "because it was edifying" any less hypocritical.

Gillray hated, among others, Thomas Paine, Napoleon, Lady Hamilton, the London Corresponding Society, Frenchmen, Trades Unions, Countrymen, Cockneys and Whigs; and the objects of his hate are depicted, with explicit detail, torturing and murdering innocent children, whipping the skin off a half-starved horse, murderously and drunkenly brawling, or being dealt with by higher powers as depraved as themselves. One of his less bloodthirsty engravings depicts a tree labelled "Opposition" and "Rights of Man," rooted in "Envy," "Ambition" and "Disappointment", bearing rotten apples inscribed with such legends as "Treason", "Slavery", "Democracy", "Atheism", "Deism", "Impiety", "Whig Club" and "Age of Reason". Round the tree is coiled a serpent, doubtless a caricature of some reformist politician, issuing from a cap labelled "Liberty" and offering a rotten apple labelled "Reform" to John Bull, who points out (in a balloon) that his "pockets are filled with pippins from the other tree". In another an ogre carrying a crown in one hand and a cross in the other, and bearing on his head a copy of Burke's *Inquiry concerning the activities of certain London societies* is surprising a Dr. Price, who has written a treatise *On the Ill Effect of Government in Society and the Absurdity of Serving God and Honouring the King*; and is writing another *On the Benefits of Anarchy, Regicide and Atheism*...

One gathers that the artist is on the side of the ogre. Rowlandson might have drawn the Whitechapel Art Gallery, with the picturesque denizens of East London either snoozing in the easy chairs or peering at his own drawings, Mr. Gillray's prints and Henry Moore's statues (part of the permanent exhibition, presumably left

SATAN IN THE SUBURBS, by Bertrand Russell. (The Bodley Head, 9/6d.)

BERTRAND RUSSELL has sometimes been compared to Voltaire, partly because of some physical resemblance and partly because of a certain similarity of outlook and temperament. He has now, at the age of eighty, ventured into the realms of fiction, and although he maintains that he does not know what induced him to try his hand at this craft it is interesting to speculate that he may have wanted to complete the supposed resemblance.

The five stories in this volume do not fit easily into any of the familiar classifications. They do not attempt the realism of De Maupassant's *Contes* or the modern "short stories" that stem from them. Their style invites comparison with the Eighteenth Century, but there is not much similarity to the short novels and stories of Voltaire, which the author might have been expected to take as models. That they owe something to Max Beerbohm is admitted in the case of one story by the author, and one may also detect the influence of such romantics as R. L. Stevenson. A dash of Gothic gives them spice. They are the sort of stories one would expect from a mathematician: they are formal and somewhat intricate; they move towards their dénouements with the inevitability

because they are difficult to move and good decoration anyhow). Gillray could not have drawn anything so placid, sane and good humoured.

The exhibition is free, and well worth a visit if you are in London and have the time between now and the closing date, August 2 (the gallery is next door to Aldgate East station). There is an exceptionally good illustrated catalogue (which, however, costs two shillings) and some of the Gillray prints are on sale. D.R.

of a theorem; and they are as artificial as a cartoon film.

In "The Infra-Redioscope", a story about a conspiracy to obtain control of the world by creating panic fear of an imaginary invasion from Mars, we learn that "the anarchists argued that Martians would dissolve all government and would therefore bring the millennium". Along with other pro-Martians, the anarchists get short shrift.

"The Corsican Ordeal of Miss X" results from this over-curious young woman's discovery of a plot by a group of Corsican noblemen, who, having concluded that "the human race is suffering from an appalling malady and that the name of this malady is GOVERNMENT," decide that if man is to recover the happiness he enjoyed in the Homeric age the first necessity is the abolition of government. They reason that this implies the abolition of governors and resolve to assassinate the heads of the world's "twenty-one important states". One can only regret the narrator's decision at the end of the story to save "the world's unworthy rulers from extinction" by telling Scotland Yard of the Corsicans' admirable scheme.

The *Guardians of Parnassus* should be read by all moralists; the irony in it, we may hope, will make even the most thick-skinned of them squirm.

As a story, *Benefit of Clergy* is probably the most satisfying of the collection.

The title piece, which is the longest and most ambitious, concerns the several adventures of four persons who are foolish enough to follow the advice of a satanic philosopher. One of these plots within a plot treats of the misfortunes of a photographer who tries to avoid income-tax by taking up blackmail as a sideline. He is unlucky enough to choose as his victim a colonial bishop whose wiles would undoubtedly qualify him for election to the papacy. This is a little gem in its own right and should appeal to all collectors of *contes drolatiques*. E.P.

Society Notes

Surrealist Fun and Games Among the Elite

AT a coming out party held for 18-year-old Miss Berry by Viscount Kemsley, it is reported by the *Evening Standard's* "Night Reporting Corps" that:

On the dance floor 18-year-old Lady Deirdre Hare tickled the noses of her friends with a huge orange ostrich feather. Lady Amabel Yorke, wearing a white organdie gown with pastel flowers wreathed across her stole, carried a white candle as she danced.

And when the Charleston came around, the Earl of Brecknock demonstrated how to do the "splits".

Irish debutante Lady Juliet Fitzwilliam, Britain's youngest Master of Foxhounds (the Coolatin Hunt), solved the problem of where to put her green evening gloves by tying them to her partner's tails.

Upstairs in the ballroom, hung with Romneys and other Old Masters, blonde Miss Elizabeth Ward, daughter of the head of the Household Cavalry, showed friends her two locks of red hair.

"Some silly ass sprayed it with red hair dye," she said, "and I can't get it out."

What will they do next these daring young things?

★

A Wet Reception at B.P.

What a sorry spectacle it must have been at Buckingham Palace last week as 7,000 guests huddled under the rain in the tea tent in the palace grounds whilst the band gave a watery interpretation of "Hearts of Oak" with the elements pouring down the bassoons and dripping from the tubas.

But the brave ones who got wet waiting to line the queen's route across the lawn were richly rewarded by Her Majesty's brief appearance among them. But whereas she was able to return indoors and change, her loyal subjects had to put up with their crumpled toppers "crushed net, sodden mink, limp organdie and loosening curls" (*Man. Guardian*). "Garden parties in the rain—writes the *M. Guardian's* London correspondent—are a peculiarly English form of persecution, and it is strange that no satisfactory technique has been worked out for them. Only the waitresses done up in plastic envelopes looked content."

It's not "technique" that is required. People want to learn to grow up, and then the snobbery attached to attending royal garden parties will disappear... and so will the garden parties!

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The Bolsheviks and the Peasant Problem

THE retreat of March did not mark the end of forced collectivization. In December of the same year Stalin ordered the entire collectivization of the wheat districts and the partial collectivization of other districts. This was carried out by terror and caused a general starvation due to the slaughtering of cattle, which cut down the supplies of meat and milk, and to mismanagement on the part of the Government. Furthermore in order to keep up exports the Government forcibly requisitioned all available stocks not even allowing the peasants to retain stocks for seed and for consumption. The cattle decreased in four years, by half*. Before entering the kolkhozi the peasants slaughtered their cattle as retaliation, for fear of being accused of being kulaks, or in order to feed themselves. Another serious loss was the removal of hundreds of thousands of expert cultivators as the kulaks were not mere parasites but very often clever cultivators. Stalin had to admit that the kolkhoz as a whole worked at a loss.

As usual the Government accepted no blame for the disastrous situation in which it had plunged the country. Scapgoats were found. Zinoviev and Kamenev, together with many other high officials were accused of having organized a counter-revolutionary plot. A general purge of the Party was carried out. The Church was attacked with renewed energy by anti-God societies. Priests and Rabbis were arrested and imprisoned, church-bells were taken down and holy shrines destroyed. Every opportunity to feed the anger of the people but to save the face of the Government was taken.

But the trials, *Pravda* articles and the anti-religious demonstrations did not help to feed the starving population. From 1932 to 1933 it is reckoned that from three to seven million people died in the famine. Eugene Lyons, who was in Moscow at the time, describes the famine in bitter terms:

"There were few peasant homes in the worst of the famine districts which had not paid toll in life for this harvest. In hundreds of villages half the population was gone: some had been killed by the 'diseases of malnutrition' and others had fled to seek food.

How many actually died will never be known accurately. It is not generally understood abroad that the Soviet Government stopped the publication of vital statistics for the period in question, although such statistics were published as a matter of routine in previous years; otherwise it would be a simple matter to compare the death-rate for the winter and spring of 1932-33 with the normal death rate.

Estimates made by foreigners and Russians range from three to seven millions." (*Assignment in Utopia*). The killing of live stock in the countryside threatened the whole economic life of the country and forced

*These are the figures, given by Maynard, in millions of horses and other stock before and after the collectivization decree:
1. Horses 23 14 16.2
2. Large horned cattle . . . 70 38 50.9
3. Cows (included in the above) 31 20 22.7
4. Sheep and Goats 147 50 66.6
These are a recovery in 1938 but the figures of the pre-collectivization period are still much higher.

Stalin to retreat more and more. Markets were re-opened, and permission granted to the collective farmers to sell their surplus of grain, vegetables, milk and eggs there. This was a flagrant defeat of the integral collectivization and a partial return to the period of the N.E.P. As Maynard remarks: "The private trade in food which was the essence of the N.E.P. was suppressed in 1929; but the markets were re-opened in 1930 and have formed an important part of the Soviet system ever since".

Private property and markets created inequalities similar to those of the N.E.P. period. Already on the 8th December, 1936, the *Izvestia* mentions that in the same district some families produce 150 quintals of corn and earn 6 to 10 thousand roubles while others do not produce more than 17 quintals and earn only 500 or 600 roubles (Yvon). Recently in Russia and abroad publicity has been given to Russian farmers who have been in a position to invest millions of roubles in Defence Loans.

There are various types of collectives but in the majority (99%), the work is done in common, the members have joint rights in land and live stock; the surplus product is divided among the members, the incomes are separate and members generally live and feed in their separate families, in their own houses.

The implements of cultivation belong generally to the State which hires them to the collective farms through the Machine Tractor Stations. The collective is under obligation to hire machinery from the M.T.S. for a certain charge. This constitutes, in fact, a kind of tax on the farmers and obliges them to be dependent on the government for the cultivation of the land. A great proportion of the large horned cattle and smaller animals belong to the members of the collective who keep them in their yards.

"65% of the cows and calves and more than half of the pigs and the sheep in the country are owned and tended by individuals. Of the remainder a large proportion are tended in the sub-farms by persons who are individually responsible for their charges, and remunerated in proportion to their success. The large element of individualism in the system, particularly in respect to cattle, has played a leading part in the reconciliation of the people to its collectivist features." *The Russian Peasants: and other Studies*, Maynard.

Collective farms have been described as "open air factories," a very apt description, as undoubtedly their methods of work follow as closely as possible those in practice in the workshops.

The collective farmers are divided into gangs or brigades under the supervision of a gang leader. The plan has to be carefully adhered to, it decides which field rotation has to be adopted, what amount of land has to be devoted to a certain kind of cultivation, etc. In consequence the farmers are left with very little initiative but an enormous bureaucratic machine had to be set up to see that the plan is carried through. In

1931, shortly after collectivisation was introduced, the number of functionaries in the new "socialist sector" was reckoned at more than 2,000,000.

The collective has at its head a chairman who, in theory, is elected by the General Meeting of the collective, but is, in reality, a member of the Party and nominated by the Government. He often knows nothing about agriculture but is chosen for his "organising" ability and faithfulness to Party orders. This is how Maynard describes collective chairmen:

"Chairmen are transferred from post to post at the discretion of the Government. I myself have met one, who had been in charge of a glass factory, before he joined the collective, and had just received orders transferring him to a brick factory. His successor, a woman, had been in charge of a co-operative shop before she joined her new post as Chairman. Neither knew anything of agriculture. Their duty was to supply organising and driving capacity, and both appeared quite fitted to do so. The case may safely be taken to be typical of Bolshevik methods. There was no apprehension that the General Meeting of the Collective might elect someone else in the chair."

The bureaucratization of the land has often produced very bad results. However much drive the makers of the Plan and their executors possessed it could not make up for the life-long experience and patiently acquired skill of Russian farmers. At the end of 1935 a conference investigated the means of improving low yields, heavy losses and the existence of administrative abuses in the collectives. The Bureaucratic inefficiency discovered led the State to give gradually, more autonomy to the General Meetings of the collectives and abandon to the peasants the greater part of the rearing of animals. This, together with the more extensive use of machinery and manure, resulted in an improvement in agriculture. But the independence of the peasants, their communal institutions and their tradition of mutual aid were lost for ever.

The Russian peasant played an important rôle in overthrowing Tsarism and in carrying out the Revolution. He proved that he was not the selfish, backward, reactionary element the Bolsheviks considered him to be. He would have helped to build a free and just society if he had been given a chance. Instead the Soviet Government treated him as a beast of burden who had only duties towards the State and who could be most cruelly punished if he did not obey. The peasant soon became disillusioned in the new régime and rebelled. His rebellion cost him dearly, he had to destroy his grain and cattle, he and his family starved, he was exiled to Siberia or imprisoned. But he was able to force concessions from the Government and if he persists in refusing to fall the victim to Government's propaganda he may be able to recover the liberty and the rights he lost soon after the revolution.

MARIE LOUISE BERNERT

**Workers in Stalin's Russia*—chapter on *The Land* (*Freedom Press* 1s.).

WHERE THE SHOE PINCHES

IT is probably true that interest in politics and affairs is more widespread to-day than ever before, a situation which on the face of it seems entirely gratifying. Yet awareness of and interest in the many world and local problems co-exists with an equally apparent apathy and so presents us with a paradox which is worth speculating about.

Before the war the Left Book Club and the various Communist innocents' clubs produced many books on current affairs which had a huge sale. In a less politically biased form the Penguin books venture (then priced at sixpence) continued this process and vastly extended it. Other publishers followed these leads and discussion in popular terms of general affairs and political and economic problems has continued to occupy considerable space in their announcements despite the depressing effect of the post-war economic recessions on the book world.

These ventures, the Left Book Club, the Penguins, and others were however only answering and feeding a demand which already existed. And it is when we analyse the origins of this demand that we begin to understand why interest could co-exist with apathy. For there seems little doubt that attention to world affairs arose out of the collapse of Western stability which followed the First World War and is still proceeding. The magnitude of the war itself, the boom and the slump, the working class discontent expressed in strikes and uprisings, the rise of Communism and the rise of Fascism, all these factors made the calm of the Edwardian period impossible to maintain. In addition there were the earthquakes, floods and dust bowls, periodic famines, and general starvation for poorer paid workers and unemployed, all of them all starting points for yet other social and economic problems, none of them able to be ignored. Over and above all these lay the threat, soon to materialize in the Far East, in Abyssinia, in Spain, and finally over the whole world, the threat of war itself.

In such a world, interest in public problems forces itself by necessity on the individual. But it is a poor and partial way of approaching problems to wait till the shoe pinches and then look for remedies. And in consequence the approach to our world has almost always been displayed by a lack of a basic philosophy of life. We know that our life is unsatisfactory but we have no views about what constitutes a satisfactory life.

Moreover when people wait till the shoe pinches before their interest is aroused they tend to demand that something be done about it, rather than do something about it themselves. They expect politicians, reformers, the welfare State to deal with public problems, rather than joining with other members of their community to work out a satisfactory way of life in which such problems do not arise. The one is the political approach in which initiative resides with various leaders of an apathetic mass who permit themselves to be led: the latter is the dynamic approach found in revolutionary situations.

Now another effect of interest begotten of shoe pinching is that it tends to be limited to political issues. Leadership concepts characteristically expressed through political parties also limit themselves to such political, public matters. But where there is a concept of what life could

(From a Correspondent in Berlin)

IN order to understand the happenings on June 17th in Berlin, one must take into consideration the conditions prevailing in the Soviet part of Germany. The Russians send back enormous transports of food and goods to Russia, so that the necessities of life are scarce in the Soviet Zone of Germany. While there is no longer rationing in West Berlin and the shops are full of goods, ration books are still essential in East Berlin. These are sub-divided into children's books, non-

and should provide for individuals, where there is a philosophy of living, interest will be not on its own but in the framework of satisfactory living as the objective.

Anarchism has always eschewed the narrow paths of the political left or right, and represents not so much a political concept as a philosophy of living. Hence its interest in historical movements in which populations themselves seek initiative and hold it, the episodes of revolutionary history. This issue of FREEDOM contains such an account of the recent events in Eastern Germany.

This month, too, Freedom Press has issued their publications which illustrate the above discussion. In "Lessons of the Spanish Revolution", V.R. analyses in some detail just this question of where initiative lies and the effect of denying it to the people themselves and concentrating it in individual hands even when those individuals are anarchists. Here we have a study of the positive, the revolutionary approach to social and economic problems.

But anarchists and revolutionists derive their philosophy of life from life problems themselves and the literature of anarchism contains much discussion of wider problems of living. Freedom Press believe they have broken new ground with their publication of Gutkind's book, "The Expanding Environment" with its significant subtitle "The End of Cities—the Rise of Communities". Here a phenomenon of western life is attacked at the root in a manner which opens up new perspectives, new horizons.

Finally in "Postscript to Posterity" Freedom Press issue the second annual volume of selected articles reprinted from FREEDOM. Once again the variety of subject matter and the method of approach differentiates these articles from the shoe pinching-cum-apaty approach inculcated by conventional politics of the right or left.

These three publications illustrate the scope of anarchism (of course they do not exhaust it), but they also raise practical problems. To issue even one of these substantial publications requires considerable outlay on the part of the publisher. To recover that outlay requires rapid sales. Freedom Press has no capital, and to issue three such works at once represents a considerable financial strain. We believe these works are important enough to warrant the financial risk, and we therefore take the risk. But the future of such publishing depends on the readers of FREEDOM and the sympathisers with anarchism. Our publications enjoy none of the sales techniques of capitalist businesses. We have no large scale advertising, no commercial travellers. Instead we rely on the public which FREEDOM reaches to support our ventures and bring them to the notice of others and new readers. If they do this publications such as these three will help not only ideas, but our ability to disseminate ideas. If friends and sympathisers do not help in pushing our publications, such larger books become a drain on our resources and diminish our effectiveness.

Ideas to be effective must be dynamic, must have relation to life. When they have this vitality they also have the power to triumph over apathy and the day to day patchwork of merely political solutions.

working folk's books, working folk's books, heavy workers', intelligentsia I, intelligentsia II, etc. Socialist Unity Party (S.E.D.), the Communist-run party into which the social-democrats were "incorporated") officials get special books still. Furthermore one must take into account that even so, rations are not always honoured on the books. However, apart from the private shops and co-operative stores where goods must be sold against ration cards, there are also the State trading shops—known as "Handelsorganisation" or H.O.) where rationed goods are sold without coupons, but the prices are so excessively high that ordinary people cannot afford to patronise them. (They sarcastically refer to H.O. as "Hungerder Osten"—the starving East).

Passing, as one must, through the various sectors, the French, British and American sectors are indistinguishable from each other, but immediately one arrives in the Soviet sector, poverty and need become glaringly apparent. Everything is lacking, food, clothing and everything else. Gigantic banners and placards of Lenin, Stalin, Pieck are everywhere. Working conditions are extremely strict. In these circumstances an announcement was made by Deputy-President-Minister Rau that rations would be lowered and the working norms raised. In other words, the worker had to eat even less and clothe even worse for the privilege of being allowed to work harder.

When this announcement was made to the building workers in the Frankfurter Allee (now known as the Stalin Allee), they broke off work to discuss it, despite the exhortations of their foremen and bosses. They stood about in groups in the street, talking, grumbling, swearing. About 60 or 80 men had broken off work to talk. The news got around. Soon there were about a thousand building workers who had gathered around and formed a procession. The people passing by in the streets were at first astounded by this demonstration. But the demonstration was open and unmistakable, as the building workers shouted, "No raising the norms" which caused considerable excitement. The procession marched to Alexanderplatz and had already swollen considerably. As it passed by the "People's Police Presidium", two building workers were seized by the police and hustled inside the building. The demonstration halted, and got ready to storm the building. Stones were thrown and the building rushed, in order to free the two prisoners. This touched off the spark, and the demonstrators then began shouting, "Push on to the Government!" They moved off down the Unter den Linden, gathering fresh support all the time until the procession was some ten thousand strong. They were no longer shouting about lowering the working norms, but called out "Down with the zones and sector boundaries"

and "down with the government" as they moved through the Unter den Linden. The students from the Humboldt University joined the demonstration. It had become a hundred thousand strong. In front of the Russian Embassy, the chorus of voices broke out: "Ivan, go home", "We don't want to be slaves" and "We want free elections". The Soviet flag on the Brandenburger Gate was torn down and burned. Pictures and banners of the S.E.D. were torn down, as the crowd entered the Leipziger Strasse, the seat of the government (in what was once the Air Ministry). It was mid-day.

Nobody appeared. The party bosses had crept into their mouseholes. The crowd began shouting "Down with the government" and mockingly, "We don't want the moustache or the specs" (with reference to Pieck and Ullbricht). Finally Herr Rau appeared. He got up on a table and prepared to speak. But he was shouted down. Minister Golbmann attempted to address the crowd. But he too found it impossible. He was pushed aside by a stonemason who had got up to the balcony, and amidst roaring applause, the stonemason said: "We aren't just interested in the raising of the norms, we want to be free! We haven't just come here representing the workers of Stalin Allee, we're representing the workers of the whole of Berlin!"

Later on the demonstration moved on, still increasing in momentum. Loud-speaker vans were sent round, with police cars to protect them, saying, "The norms will not now be raised." The police cars were assaulted and a loud-speaker van was overturned by the demonstrators. S.E.D. officials who attempted to pacify the crowd were beaten up.

Finally the slogan of "A General Strike!" was taken up. The upsurge did not die down that day. A small counter-demonstration of the F.D.J. (Young Communist League) was broken up. The police were powerless to take action.

The morning of the 17th June was overcast. In all parts of the city processions of demonstrators were formed. But the police were much more in the picture. The Government Building in the Leipziger Strasse was guarded by a double-guard of police. Russian soldiers in lorries were moving through the streets, "People's police" in Russian uniforms were about, but always in large groups. Russian tanks moved through the Leipziger Strasse. In spite of the rain many tens of thousands were in the streets. The entire city seemed to turn out once again. The flags on the sector boundaries were torn down. The people demanded an end to the division between East and West Berlin. A gigantic mass tried to storm the police presidium but were driven back by the police. On the Potsdam Platz flags and propaganda material were burned. Similar attacks

were made on a newspaper office and a H.O. store. A police barracks likewise went up in flames. Policemen were driven back into the Columbus-Haus, and hoisted the white flag from the first storey of the barracks. Some police deserted into West Berlin. Generally speaking the police were more active and especially in appearance were Russian tanks and Panzers. A number of offices of the S.E.D. were broken into, documents burned, and officials, who had not managed to escape, were beaten up. The Columbus-Haus and the Cafe "Waterland" were burned down. Trade ceased. From Oberschonweide, Treptow, Weissensee, and other suburbs thousands marched in procession to the centre. One procession of 8,000 to 10,000 people marched on the central city from Hennigsdorf. Nothing could keep them at work.

In order to reach their destination they had to pass through West Berlin. The Hennigsdorf people were enthusiastically received after their journey of some 20 miles. The Walter Ullbricht Stadium was stormed by the Hennigsdorf procession, which then went on and mixed in with the other demonstrators. The police could no longer control the crowds with their batons and they had taken up their arms. The Russian tanks moved in and out of the surging crowds, and forced them aside lest they be crushed. Against such a colossus the crowds were powerless. In the wake of the tanks the police also moved against the people. Shots pelted through the Potsdam Platz, and the salvo of machine guns was heard. By mid-day many wounded were brought to the hospitals in West Berlin. The first dead began to be reported. The police made no more arrests. Instead they shot at the demonstrators, while Russian tanks moved in. It is surprising that not more lives were lost.

At one o'clock in the afternoon martial law was proclaimed. Not more than three people were to be allowed to congregate on the street. And yet they were still grouped together in ten thousands on the streets. S.E.D. officials used their revolvers to shoot out from their cars into the masses. Quick moving Russian tanks and a whole division of Russian infantry were thrown in. Dead and wounded appeared everywhere, and some 70 severely wounded arrived at the hospitals in West Berlin, amongst whom 6 died. The wounded and dead in East Berlin hospitals could not be reckoned. The Russians imposed severe penalties on anyone caught. The infantry filled the streets, and by evening they had cleared the city. But shots still rang out. The rebellion of the oppressed Berlin workers was, however, over.

On the 18th June there was the calm of a graveyard throughout East Berlin. The frontiers with West Berlin were closed, and closely guarded by Russian

Continued on p. 4

Alcoholics Anomalous

WHENEVER anarchists put forward their conception of producing for use and not for profit economists are apt to break into the amused smile of a grown-up at a child's simplicity. "Production under capitalism," they assure us, "is production for use. The goods that are made are all made to be used—and capitalism ensures that they are made in the most efficient way." This is the fundamental lie at the heart of their system: capitalists produce nothing unless it will make them a profit; and the goods they produce cannot be used unless the man who wants to use them has the money to buy them.

One of the drawbacks of money, as everyone who has to use it knows, is that if you spend it on one thing you cannot spend it on something else. According to the economists this is one of its great merits: it ensures that you do not get more than your share but at the same time gives you a free choice of whatever is going. It gives you the choice, for example, of buying yourself a meal or spending your money on a book and going hungry. Man, we are assured, does not live by bread alone; consequently those who hanker after culture and so forth try to buy all their food and other immediate needs for the least outlay of money and keep as much as possible to spend on delights.

Unfortunately those who grow the food, like almost everyone else, want to make as much money as possible; so they sell their produce as dearly as they can. When they have good crops their rivals'

are also usually good, with the result that when they start selling they find that to dispose of all their goods for the total amount their customers are willing to lay out they must reduce their price to the point where the total price of their whole crop equals the total amount of money their customers will spend on it.

But the producers (as they will tell you) are not philanthropists. Some of them, indeed, might better be described as misanthropists. When they have a bumper crop they often prefer to sell only a part of it at a high price, raking in all the money their customers are willing to spend in any case, and save themselves the bother of harvesting the rest and sending it to the market. This is why we read every so often that bushels of wheat are being burned, fruit is rotting on the trees, coffee is being used to fire locomotives, vegetables are being ploughed back into the ground, and fish are being thrown back into the sea. And all the time some people are hungry and others are starving.

In France they manage these things, if not better, at least more subtly, which helps to give simple souls the illusion that the national economy is all very difficult and mysterious. Since 1935 the State has bought all industrial alcohol, which is distilled from "surplus" fruit and wine, under a scheme that was intended to featherbed the peasants against fluctuations in price. The Economic Council is now wondering what to do with all the alcohol, for by

the end of the year they will have an unusable surplus of 109.4 million gallons on their hands. The total amount of alcohol produced annually in France is about 87.5 million gallons, and as only half this amount is sold each year (about 62,500 gallons of it in the form of drinks) the stocks have been piling up steadily. Meanwhile wine has become dear, sugar has to be imported because the beet crop goes to the distilleries, and France, with more land per person than any other country in Western Europe, has one of the lowest agricultural outputs.

We must confess that the idea of converting an unusable surplus of something, by means of a complicated and tedious process, into an equally unusable surplus of something else is not one that had occurred to us anarchists. Indeed, we will gladly concede that only those wizards who guide the economic destinies of nations are capable of such futile ingenuity. Oddly enough, it is they who are the "practical realists" and we who are the "woolly-headed idealists".

In a free society as envisaged by anarchists the only outlet these people will be able to find for their remarkable talents will probably be the invention of more and more complicated combinations of contract bridge, chess, and *Monopoly*. Some of them might even be induced to have a go at that topological Mount Everest, the four-colour problem. They will be just as happy, no doubt. At all events they will not be doing the harm they are now. E.P.

THE EVANS REPORT *Continued from p. 1*

of death was strangulation in both cases . . . (our italics). Evans then made the third and incriminating confession on which Mr. Scott Henderson relies. In passing we would refer to a passage from Evans' trial referring to this statement:

Q. Did you make the statement which the Chief Inspector took down in his notebook?—A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Before we go to that, was there any reason why you said Yes, as well as the fact you gave up everything when you heard that your daughter was dead?—A. Well, Sir, I was frightened at the time.

Q. Why were you frightened, or what were you frightened of?—A. Well, I thought if I did not make a statement the police would take me downstairs and start knocking me about.

Q. You really believed that did you?—A. Yes, Sir.

Now Mr. Scott Henderson "attaches no credence" to Christie's confession because he clearly feels that it was part of the Defence's tactics in obtaining a verdict of "guilty but insane" to put ideas into Christie's head as to his responsibility in as many murders as possible. In his evidence the prison Chaplain said Christie told him that "in the course of his interviews with the Defence he gained the impression that it was necessary for him to confess to murders. The actual phrase which he used stuck in my mind because of the incongruity. It was 'The more the merrier' . . .". This may be quite true, but surely Mr. Scott Henderson in conducting an impartial enquiry should have also asked himself whether the fact that Evans made three statements was not an indication that in his case too some pressure had been brought to bear . . . by the police? Or are we to take for granted that the police are above using such methods?

In his third statement Evans confessed to strangling his wife with a rope and his child with a tie. Of the actual cause of death Mr. Scott Henderson reports: "The pressure marks were in places 1½ inches wide. They could have been caused by a rope and were unlikely to have been caused by a stocking (as Christie at his trial said they were caused)". This does not sound very conclusive evidence to us, and it should be noted that there is no record of a length of rope having ever been produced. A tie was produced in court with which Evans was alleged to have strangled his child and the defence's cross examination of Christie as to his evidence in the Magistrate's Court is to our minds yet another example of the prompting received by Christie from the police this time to give the answers which would incriminate Evans.

And this leads us to that part of the introduction to the Report in which Mr. Scott Henderson justifies the investigation being held in private.

" . . . the special nature of this investigation, if it was to be complete and thorough required me to find out exactly about police enquiries and communication.

tionse, inquiries by solicitors of their clients and if possible witnesses for the purpose of preparing their clients' respective defences, including private conversations between solicitors and client and a medical expert in connection with the defence, and instructions by solicitors to counsel. All these matters are privileged in legal proceedings and it would not have been right to expect the police and the professional persons concerned to deal with these matters in public."

The fact that the principal actors in this "investigation" are, for one reason or another, dead, makes Mr. Scott Henderson's (and the Government's) objections to a public enquiry on ethical grounds somewhat hypocritical. The report gives details of Evans' solicitor's comments in his brief to counsel; Evans' conversations with the prison Medical Officer, as well as statements by the medical adviser to the defence in Christie's case, and reports of conversations Christie had with the prison Chaplain. All very privileged occasions one would say! But not a single word about the "police inquiries and communications". How for instance did Christie who states that he was unable to remember how many or which women he strangled recall on January 12, 1950, all the details in the Evans case, (when he appeared as a Crown witness), which occurred two months previously, (such as hearing a "thud" on the night of November 8) without careful "priming" by the police. And what "induced" Evans to make three statements to the police yet consistently proclaim his innocence with his legal advisers? It is also of some significance that though the prosecution used the evidence of the ownership of the tie in the police court it was not used when Christie appeared for the prosecution at the trial. Mr. Scott Henderson does not mention this in his report but considers that Evans' confession that he used a tie to strangle his child conclusive evidence.

Finally, there is the question that at Evans' trial all we now know about Christie was not known then, but before we discuss this question in relation to the investigation we would draw the attention of the reader to certain other

aspects of this game called "justice". At the conclusion of Christie's evidence for the Crown the prosecuting counsel, Mr. Humphreys (who incidentally was prosecuting counsel when Christie two years later appeared in the dock!) put questions to Christie regarding his record in the first war when he was gassed and temporarily blinded, and in the second world war when he served for four years in the police force. This clearly was put in for the benefit of the jury, to help them reach the conclusion that a man gassed in one war and in the police force in the next must be a reliable witness! But on the following day counsel for the defence was able, according to the rules of the game, to "spill the beans" about what was known of witness Christie's past and to evince by question and answer that Christie had four convictions for larceny and wounding. But in his cross-examination prosecuting counsel was able to help restore the balance by establishing that for the previous 17 years witness had a "clean" record (no one knew at the time of the two bodies which had been in Mr. Christie's garden since 1944!)

The questions we would ask Mr. Scott Henderson are: whether the prosecution tactic as to the character of their witness, Christie, in the Evans case was put in an honest way and whether with the knowledge we now have that Christie might have been responsible for the two bodies in the garden, any jury would have found Evans guilty of the murder of his child or of his wife. (Though Evans was not, because "of a rule of criminal procedure", charged with the murder of his wife, "most of the evidence (though not all) taken in the Magistrate's Court relating to the charge of murdering his wife was before the jury when they were considering the other charge on which he was convicted" [para 14 of the Report]). Mr. Scott Henderson does not even ask himself such questions. For him the evidence of Evans' guilt is too conclusive. But the writer, as a layman, (and after all, the members of the jury are only laymen!) humbly suggests that the knowledge by the jury of Christie's history of murders by strangulation in the same house both before and after the Evans trial would have resulted in Evans' acquittal.

SPECIAL OFFER

The three new Freedom Press publications advertised on page 1 of this issue are offered to all readers of Freedom renewing or extending their subscriptions for a minimum period of six months, at the special reduced price of 16/6d. (U.S.A. \$3.00, post free) instead of the published price of 22/-. (This offer is only available to readers ordering direct from Freedom Press).

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The A.S.W. & the Self-Build Assn.

A DISPUTE which began in Edinburgh over carpenters building houses in their spare time has led to a ruling from the General Council of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers that no member of that union may associate himself with one of the self-help building associations.

Previously many members of the society had joined these associations and had worked in the evenings and on their days off, sometimes for as much as twenty hours a week. A carpenter was not allowed to build a house for himself as soon as he joined an association, but had to help with houses destined for others before he could build a house which would be his. Even then he did not own it although, in most cases, he would do so ultimately.

The society objects to this system because, under its rules, members may not be employed by two different bodies. This does not refer to a carpenter doing repair work in his own home, but only applies when he works under the instruction of another definite organisation. The society, according to the head office at Manchester, considers that self-help building associations, with their constitution, their procedure, and their legal aid systems, do function as "employing bodies."

When the general council issued the ruling, which had been passed by five votes to four, it stated that it was satisfied that the method of building houses by self-help or similar methods would not solve the urgent problem of providing homes for the people. An official of the society said it would be "sheer folly" to allocate building materials which were in short supply to these organisations.

Not having in front of us the Constitution, etc. of the self-help building associations we cannot say whether they do in fact function as "employing bodies". But it seems to us that a carpenter who wants a house for himself

A Protest

to the Powers-that-be

DEAR SIRS,

I have been instructed by the National Executive Administrative Confederated and Amalgamated Council of the N.A.O. W.G.O.O.T.O.A.M.P.S. (National Association of Workers Getting Only One Third Of An M.P.'s Salary) to protest at the recent agitation carried on by certain Members of Parliament for an increase in the salary of the representatives of the People. In these times of international tension, industrial unrest and endangered profits we feel that such a sectional action on the part of a minority of the community can only lead to inflation, economic disequilibrium and revived class hatred. Whilst we do not doubt that some illustrious gentlemen find it rather difficult on their present income to maintain two homes, a wife and children, television sets, motor cars and taxi cab companies, we nevertheless consider that the necessity for the closest co-operation between employers and employees in the national effort to increase production demands a sense of restraint and responsibility in all wage claims, particularly those of the higher wage levels. Surely our welfare as a nation comes before gross materialism?

The N.A.O. W.G.O.O.T.O.A.M.P.S. also feels that this particular agitation may possibly have more serious repercussions than its perpetrators foresee. Parliament is one of the few workers' organisations that can vote its own increases in salary. If these increases become habitual they would have a deleterious effect upon the bodies of wage-earners who, since they do not possess this privilege of determining their wage increases, might resort to unconstitutional means in order to emulate their political representatives. We are sure that all responsible trade union officials will join us in our protest against this unnecessary and evidently Communist inspired demand. It appears to us that £1000 per annum is a sufficient income for those whose job it is to keep we lower classes in the subjugated and unjust condition that is our natural state. We therefore appeal to the nobler instincts of our Members of Parliament and earnestly ask them to tighten their belts, practice austerity and unite in a fervent crusade to restore to this demiparadise the imperial glory it once enjoyed.

I am, Sirs,
Your obedient servant,
SAMUEL SCISSORBILL,
National Secretary (very pro. tem.)
N.A.O. W.G.O.O.T.O.A.M.P.S.

probably stands a better chance of getting one through the association than through his regular employment. The official view of the A.S.W. gives one the impression that pressure has been brought to bear by building employers who are afraid that the expansion of the self-help building associations would be most detrimental to their own interests and profits.

How will the members of the A.S.W. react to their General Council's ruling?

Special Appeal

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INDOOR MEETINGS *Watch this column for announcement of new meetings in September.*

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June 17 in Berlin *Continued from p. 3*

tanks, infantry and "people's police". Nobody was working. All shops were shut, all streets and underground stations were closed. Gradually people began to come out on the streets. Although not more than three were allowed to be together, the streets were soon full of people. The police were looking for the instigators of the revolt, and began to make arrests. The Communist bosses came out of their hiding places and began to show themselves once more. Shots still rang out in the streets. The public execution of a West Berliner, Willi Gotting, was made known. He was accused of being one of the ring-leaders of the rising. But there were no ring-leaders in actual fact. The uprising was a spontaneous one of the workers and the general population. It was not ordered nor organised by anybody. It was simply the answer of the people to the provocation of the government, of Uilbricht and Grotewohl, the messenger-boys of Moscow. They were the only provocateurs. Had the workers been joined by demonstrations elsewhere, the government might have been forced to beat a retreat. But the dictators of the so-called "democratic republic" never even thought of that. If the workers demanded "free elections" it was not because they thought elections could bring them freedom, but solely because they thought it would be the end of the hated régime.

Moreover they were, not least, driven on the streets by hunger. Even at this time of the year there was nothing to satisfy peoples' material needs. Fat, for instance, which costs 0.90 marks in West

Berlin, costs 9.50 marks in East Berlin if one buys at the H.O. without ration books. Yet wages are no higher in East Berlin than in West. For other commodities the difference in price is still more alarming, especially taking into account the difference in quality. What is produced of any value goes for export, to Russia, or is reserved for high officials of the party. The ordinary people get the rubbish. Matters have reached such a pitch in the Russian zone that doctors even warn people eating margarine of the harmful foreign substances they will find it. Naturally, they dare not do so openly, or they would be severely punished. These conditions have been borne for years. Added to this has come a system of refined serfdom, on top of which the latest demands proved too much for human nature to bear.

Although the events of June 17th may be belittled or distorted by different parties, the voice of the German people itself was plain enough to allow for no misunderstanding whatsoever.

The events were essential in order to prevent a complete and added drive towards abject slavery. Since then martial law still reigns. It is not known how many dead, wounded or imprisoned the uprising has cost, as no exact check can possibly be made. New prisoners enter concentration camps to join our comrades already there. However, the day will come when the voice of the dead will be heard above the noise of the tanks or the salvos of the machine-guns.

Berlin. M.T.

Letters to the Editors

BUDDHISM

SOME objection must be raised, I feel, to the confessedly uninformed s'ur against Buddhism made by *Internationalist* in his article "Burma To-day". Much damage is done to the cause of anarchism by the indiscriminately anti-religious attitude of several of your contributors but I must say this latest effusion has reached a new depth of misrepresentation.

I was taught much of what I know of Buddhism by a Burmese priest and, through the emancipating influence of that teaching, arrived at my present anarchist turn of mind. I was greatly impressed, too, by the social achievements of Buddhism in Burma of which the high incidence of literacy and the complete equality of women are examples. From the Western point of view Buddhism must be termed rationalist, agnostic and free-thinking. "Do not go by hearsay, what is handed down, what is stated on authority, out of respect for a sage . . . but when you know of yourselves". "You yourself must make the effort". "Work out your own salvation with diligence". Why call it a superstition when it actively opposes superstition in Hinayana countries at least? That it exists peaceably beside Marxism is merely a continuation of its 2,500 year-old history of non-dogmatism and benevolence.

Finally to see in it a possible parallel with Roman Catholic political imperialism is to display a bland ignorance of the structure of its teaching and practice. Ipswich, July 12. MAX FLASHER.