

Freedom

A N A R C H I S T F O R T N I G H T L Y

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"It lies in our power alone. Only the victims of injustice can abolish injustice. Only the oppressed can end oppression. Only those who have been under shell-fire can bring the shell factories to a standstill. Why should those who profit by torture want to bring it to an end?"
ARNOLD ZWEIG.

THE MAY-DAY SPIRIT

Working Class Unity, Freedom & Solidarity

MAY DAY is traditionally Labour's Day. But, like many other traditions, the idea it enshrines are to-day very different from those which originally inspired it. Sixty years ago, the advanced sections of the revolutionary labour movement in America, and especially the Chicago anarchists, conceived the idea of an international demonstration to take place on every succeeding May 1st. The workers in every country on that day were to down tools and make a demonstration of the unity and solidarity of their class. It was to be, in effect, a one day general strike on an international scale.

The revolutionary workers at the end of the last century, of course, did not look upon such a demonstration as becoming in any way a tradition; they regarded it as a step which, if effectively carried out, would complete the revolutionary education of the workers and provide such a demonstration of working-class strength as would convince the timorous that by acting in solidarity the workers could bring to an end the era of capitalism and privilege and usher in instead the era of equality and justice—the social revolution. May Day was not, for them, a static festival, a mere date in the workers' calendar, it was a series of progressive blows leading directly to the emancipation of the working class.

Such, however, was not the aspect in which the reformist political labour movement viewed May Day. For them, social justice was to be the crown of long gradualistic work through political, especially parliamentary, channels; they did not see it as coming through the direct action of the working-class against the determined opposition of the privileged and ruling groups. Hence, May Day became a kind of working-class circus. It must not be celebrated by downing tools on May 1st without regard to the particular day of the week on which that date fell; the first Sunday in May was the most suitable day for such harmless playtime, for a day must be chosen which would not interfere with the employers' interests, and would not therefore excite their hostility. Under the influence of the large political "Labour" parties and the reformist trade unions, this conception of May Day has become the prevailing one. The Communist idea is essentially the same, except that the opportunity must also be seized for giving reign to their patriotic sentiments towards Russia, and the occasion must be taken for attacking all other working-class groupings other than their own in total disregard of the conception of international labour solidarity to which even the social democrats pay lip service.

Revolutionary May Days To-day

Freedom has drawn attention often enough during the last few years to the ugly farce to which the official Socialists and Communists have degraded the revolutionary conception of May Day. Anything less like the original idea of the Chicago anarchists it would be hard to find. But that does not mean that anarchists can rest content with standing smugly by as the repositories of the "true" tradition of militant struggle, the holders of the vessel which contains the secret revolutionary fire. It is easy

A Neglected Anniversary

(From our Special Correspondent.)
It is reported on good authority that the King and Queen of England, etc., celebrated their silver wedding one day this week.
In view of the world situation, the newsprint shortage, the need for more production and economy in the consumption of valuable food stocks, the occasion passed off almost unnoticed in the National press, and only a handful of people (estimated at about 1 million) saw the Royal couple as they took their morning constitutional through the East End of London. An informal, intimate dinner party was held to mark the occasion, at which a mere thousand guests were present.
In a short broadcast speech, the Queen expressed the hope that the housing situation would improve in the near future.

to point to the degenerating influence of reformism, and since our movement is a minority movement, and a small enough one at that, there is a danger of standing simply as the guardians of a tradition, nattering at the larger labour movements of reform. Such an attitude does not command much respect among those who are looking for a way out of the manifold brutalities and miseries of our world.

The traditional attitude undoubtedly contains a core of revolutionary truth and wisdom. The establishment of social justice does require the united strength of the working-class. Solidarity on an international scale is even more urgently needed to-day than it was in 1886. Demonstrations of united strength undoubtedly have a salutary effect on the doubting and timid and provide that confidence which is necessary for decisive revolutionary action. But what is lacking to-day is that optimistic confidence that the revolution is just around the corner. It is not clear that the workers are strong enough in revolutionary conceptions or of conscious solidarity to make a demonstration that is a convincing parade of conscious solidarity to make a discouraged by overwhelming evidence of labour's power, but to-day, May Day is only too clearly evidence of labour's weakness and theoretical confusion.

In the last twenty years only the revolutionary syndicalist movement in Spain has been strong enough to carry out the traditional conception of May

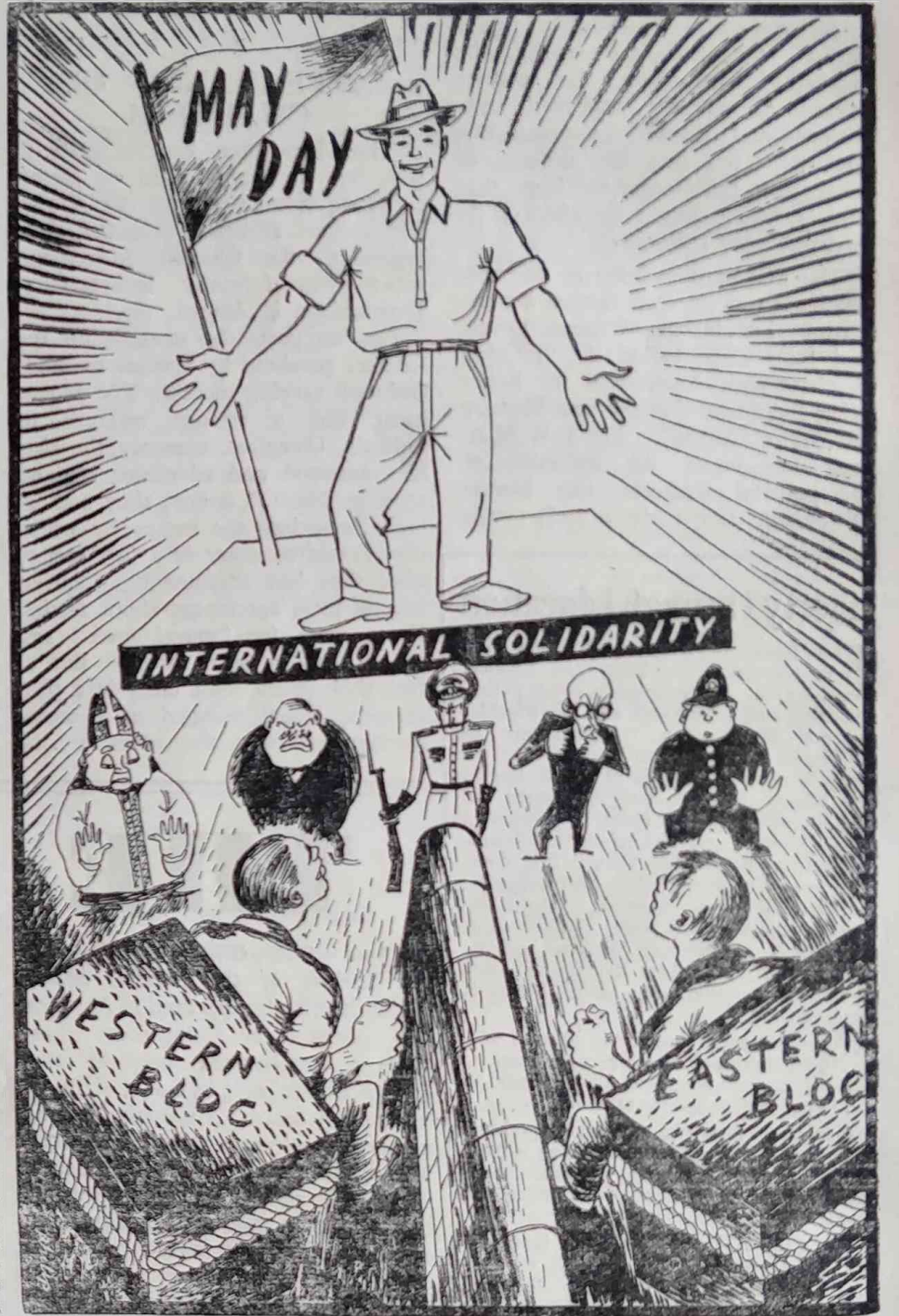
Day. No doubt the May Days preceding 1936 helped to weld the revolutionary movement in Spain and vindicated the expectations of Chicago. But to-day there is no movement throughout the world which can apply the May Day idea in a convincing form.

A Practical Approach

To admit all this does not denote a pessimistic outlook, nor is it cause for despair. Still less does it permit of an attitude of critical idleness, for it certainly is not enough to content ourselves with denouncing the reformists and their perversion of the traditions of May the First. May Day was originally seen as a step preparing for the social revolution. Because we cannot carry out this particular step we are not thereby absolved from continuing with that preparatory work along channels which do lie within our capacities as individuals and as a movement. If we do not see our way to making a demonstration of revolutionary working-class strength which is clearly lacking, we still have to cherish and revivify the ideas which should lie behind such a demonstration.

In a world which is increasingly polarizing into two power groups surrounding the Soviet Union on the one hand and the Anglo-American bloc on the other, it is of tremendous importance to keep alive the idea that workers in every country have more in common with one another than they have with

(Continued on page 5)



WHAT'S BEHIND THIS?

THE meeting held last Sunday evening at the Albert Hall under the auspices of Christian Action, described as "a movement concerned with the union of Western Europe on Christian lines", is both significant and dangerous.

On the platform were the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Geoffrey Fisher), the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster (Cardinal Griffin) and the Moderator of the Free Church Council (Dr. P. W. Evans). The speakers included representatives from Western European countries, but the chief speaker was Sir Stafford Cripps, who said:

"Every day policies are being decided upon and action is being taken which gravely affects the future of humanity."

"Are we satisfied that our Christian beliefs are influencing those decisions and those actions? Have we done all that is possible, that our faith may triumph not in theological discussion or reasoning but in action which can turn the course of world events?"

"It is only by our free and unfettered spirit, subject to no compulsion or dictation, that we can gain the power to control what we have made for our own happiness and the peace and safety of our fellow-men."

He concluded:
"It is by showing the world the better way of life and translating that more excellent way into present action for the benefit of mankind that we shall triumph

over the cause of materialism, which offers much by way of material advantage, but which can never satisfy the spirit of man or bring him the peace and the happiness which divine love alone can perfect."

The danger obviously lies in the fact that the excuse for the next war will be that it is a crusade against the anti-God materialism of Eastern Europe. The slogans of "patriotism" and "hate the Hun", which worked in 1914-18, but were less successful in 1939-45, will give way to other slogans: Christian values, the survival of culture, etc.

The significance lies in this: Assuming that the meeting at the Albert Hall had some reason behind it, and this, we think, is a reasonable assumption, then may it not mean that the politicians are not so sure of the reactions of the people in the event of another world crisis with war as the only outcome? Is it not perhaps that they realize the people are becoming sceptical of the ability of the ruling class to run their lives for them? Do they fear that the people are aspiring to something more than the purely material things of everyday life, which is all that governments offer them at the expense of their freedom, their personalities and even their lives?

If that is the case then there will

clearly be a move away from the established forms of government and a development along anti-authoritarian, libertarian and anarchist lines. The only way for the ruling class to counteract this trend, short of the Russian method, is to direct those aspirations into religious channels. For religion implies subservience to Divine authority, and the organised Church is not without experience in

the control and direction of more material things than the spirit. We have only to consider the political power of the Church in Italy, Spain and Eire to appreciate this.

If our first reactions to this new joint move by Churchmen and Politicians are correct, then the role of Anarchism in world affairs will assume far greater importance, for it will stand out as the only alternative for men who would be free both from the authoritarianism of political rule and the spiritual enslavement of Divine Authority.

COLOUR BAR AGAIN

A NUMBER of cases of alleged racial discrimination in this country have rightly, in our opinion, received wide publicity. In one case, the Minister of Transport was asked whether he was aware—

"That intending passengers by Fyffe's Line have to state, on Form S68, whether their complexions are white or coloured; and if he would take immediate action to put an end to this practice."

Mr. Callaghan, Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Transport, said the form was not official and the information was not required by any Government Department.

"I understand from the company," he added, "that the information is required for the convenience of passengers in arranging accommodation."

Mr. Callaghan then said the form was headed: "Particulars required by the

Board of Trade and H.M. Customs," and Mr. Driberg asked whether that did not clearly imply for official purposes.

Mr. Callaghan: "I should have thought so."

He added: "The company states there is no racial discrimination in their ships."

Individual cases of restaurants not serving coloured people have also been discussed in the House of Commons and a newspaper report gives as a further example the difficulty experienced by a coloured actress at present working at a London theatre in getting living accommodation.

How degrading all this is to the white man who would bring his civilisation to the "backward" peoples of the world!

[See also "Negroes in Britain", which appears on page 6 this issue.]

1848 IN ENGLAND—II

THE collapse of the militant trade unions during the 1830's did not remove the various causes that provoked discontent among the workers of England. The governmental abuses left by the Reform Act, the terrible conditions of the factories and industrial towns of the period, and the penal character of the treatment of the unemployed and destitute under the new Poor Law, were as strongly present as ever, and were made worse by the triumphant reaction of the employers after the defeat of the unions.

After the temporary failure of industrial action through the inexperience and inefficiency of the early unions, the left-wing among the workers began to seek for another means of gaining improved conditions, and it was in doing this that they fell into the illusion of Chartism, the mistaken idea that their salvation might lie after all in parliamentary methods.

The first manifestation of this tendency was an organisation dominated by artisans like William Lovett and John Gast, called the "London Workingmen's Association for Benefiting Politically Socially and Morally the Useful Classes". The L.W.M.A. soon fell under the influence of the political Radicals, like Daniel O'Connell, and early in 1837 this

Liberty Through Education

THE power of the State has been and is increasing by leaps and bounds. Conscription, nationalization, secret police, red tape and forms—all are the shackles on our liberty; but this structure of oppression is based on the servility of every worker. The idea of submitting to an elected government is taught to school-children, and history is presented as a glittering pageant of battles, kings, conquerors, popes and wars. The common people, their sufferings and struggles, receive little or no mention. Until the State schools which turn out obedient wage-slaves are replaced by free and independent schools, there can be no hope of the future generations facing life with clear minds.

"No blazoned banner we unfold.
One charge alone we give to youth
Against the sceptered myth to hold
The golden heresy of truth."
Our aim must be to produce keen scientific minds ever enquiring after truth. No religious or political fairy tales ought to be allowed to prejudice the people.

The Church is used to teach humility and submission to the subjects of the State. In the name of Christ they are sent forth to kill, and prayer is offered up to the "God of love" for the destruction of the enemies of the State. Those about to be hanged are speeded on their way by the prayers of the Chaplain. The military mentality also acts as a firm support for tyranny. Flags, brass bands and patriotic speeches are nothing but the cloak under which in time of war the Capitalist and profiteer increase their hold. The politicians add to this farce and make use of the party system to enslave us and to hide the economic dictatorship they have helped to build.
F. TONKS.

FLASHBACK—3

"Wherever he had travelled about the world he had found the main principles enunciated by "Freedom" proved to be true. Everywhere the central Government had been the worst criminal in national offences. He instanced the Dreyfus case, slavery in West Africa, the South African War, Morocco, and atrocities in Turkey, Russia, and elsewhere. It was not the peoples who desired these aggressions, but it was the central Government which instigated and performed them . . . The battle for freedom is never finished, and many hard fights are before us in England."

—Report of the speech by HENRY W. NEVINSON at the celebration of "Freedom's" 25th birthday in 1911.

organisation presented a petition to the House of Commons embracing the six points which later became the famous Charter—universal male suffrage, equal electoral districts, annual Parliaments, payment of members, secret ballot and no property qualification for M.P.'s. By this simple means of changing the form of government the supporters of this movement fondly imagined that they would open the way for a complete

The Chartist Illusion

change in the conditions of the workers.

APPEARANCE OF CHARTISM

The Association rapidly grew in size, both in London and the manufacturing districts, and in 1838 it and the various affiliated branches were united in the Chartist Movement, which was formally launched at Birmingham in August, 1838.

For ten years the struggle for the Charter persisted by various methods and with varying success. The Movement was a strange mixture of radicals, Owenites, currency theorists like Attwood and advocates of land schemes like O'Connor; they had no unity regarding the means by which they hoped to usher in a just society after they had obtained the Charter, and as little agreement about tactics. Some were for "moral force" and others for "physical force". But at first they found some unity in a programme which mingled in a rather incongruous way the ideas of the

French Revolutionary days and some relics of the industrial movement with the radical politicism of Chartism proper. The proposal was that a petition embodying the Charter should be circulated widely among the people, that a Convention should be elected to present it to Parliament, and that if the petition were rejected a "Sacred Month" of general strike should ensue to force a decision.

The programme was never completely carried out. There were vast meetings all over the country, where fiery speeches were made and bellicose resolutions carried, leading to little in the way of real action.

However, the Government began to see that, if the immediate activities of the Chartists were harmless, the working-class discontent which they crystallised was dangerous and might therefore lead to some really revolutionary activity.

THE BIRMINGHAM BATTLE

In July, 1839, the authorities began their attacks with a battle in Birmingham, in which the Chartists defeated a contingent of London police, but in their turn were defeated by the soldiers. Eventually the petition reached more than 1,200,000 signatures and later the same month was debated and rejected by the House of Commons. The Convention debated ten days, and then decided after all not to call the general strike, while the few sporadic riots were quickly suppressed. Some of the leaders were sent to prison in the subsequent persecution, and the first phase of Chartism ended ignominiously.

But the physical force men decided to try the issue with arms, and at the end of the year risings took place in Yorkshire and Wales, the most famous incident being the march of John Frost and

four thousand miners on Newport, where, after a brief battle in which the Chartists showed a complete ignorance of street fighting or guerilla tactics, they were defeated with heavy losses. The leaders of the risings were transported, and the remaining Chartist leaders were sent to prison. By 1840 the movement seemed completely defeated.

STRIKES FOR THE CHARTER

Nevertheless, the factors that had led to Chartism persisted, and, for want of any alternative movement, it soon began once again to receive the support of the growing revolutionary spirit among the workers. By 1842 the National Charter Association was in full swing, with 48,000 members, and the petition presented that

year was signed by more than three million people. Once again, it was rejected by 287 votes to 49.

This time it seemed as though the workers were not going to take the rejection lying down. Strikes in favour of the Charter swept over the North and the Midlands. Men began to talk in terms of an insurrection, and the authorities were more scared than they had been for many years. But the leadership of the Chartist movement had fallen almost completely into the hands of the boastful but timid Feargus O'Connor. At first, O'Connor accepted the strike, and gave it somewhat unwilling support. But, for reasons which are still obscure, he suddenly swung round and denounced it in his paper, *The North Star*, and the movement of rebellion, which had spread into the North of Scotland, suddenly collapsed, bringing with it the second decline of the Chartist movement.

Nevertheless, Chartism continued, and, while the relatively more prosperous years from 1843-6 diminished the working-class discontent on which it fed, the commercial crisis of 1847 brought a vast increase in unemployment and a proportionate desire on the part of the workers to find some way of rectifying the injustices of society. Chartism had its last chance, and was already on the up-grade once again when the February revolution in Paris started off the chain

of insurrectionary movements across Europe, and gave a new impetus to Chartism by the injection into Britain of some of the general spirit of 1848.

The Chartists called a new Convention and drew up secret plans for a British Republic. A new petition was circulated, and vastly inflated rumours began to be circulated about its number of signatures. It was said that six million people had signed, and the ruling classes trembled at the thought of April 10th, the day of presentation, which many were convinced would be the signal for England to follow France.

THE GREAT FIASCO

But the fatal day resulted in a complete fiasco. The Duke of Wellington filled London with soldiers and enrolled 17,000 special constables; against these a mere 25,000 Chartists marched to Kennington Common, and, when the police forbade them to cross the river, O'Connor once again showed his timidity by agreeing to accept the conditions laid down by the authorities. The petition was therefore taken to Westminster in five cabs; it was found to contain less than two million signatures, many of them clearly bogus.

This farce virtually ended the Chartist movement, although riots broke out up and down the country, and many Chartists were imprisoned and transported. Treacherous and cowardly leaders, and the diversion of revolutionary strength to reformist ends, had destroyed the great urge of discontent that impelled the workers in those years, and brought it to complete failure.

The points of the Charter, with the single exception of annual parliaments, have since all been gained, or, rather, granted by bourgeois governments; the workers to to-day know only too well how little use these gains have been to them.

If the Chartist movement had not already existed in 1848 to canalise the revolutionary feelings of the workers, it is possible that in England as well that year might have seen an important and perhaps decisive uprising. But, weakened by reformism and a merely political objective, the English contribution to 1848 proved of little avail, and it was many years before real working-class militancy again appeared to any marked extent in this country.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

THE KINSEY REPORT

THE survey entitled *Sexual Behaviour of the Human Male*,* which has lately appeared in America, may prove to be a document whose entirely unrehearsed political consequences are as great as its contribution to science. A statistical survey of the sexual experience of a population sample made up of 12,000 males may have no obvious bearing, in title, upon political thought, but as anarchism is coming to rely more and more for its support upon social psychology and anthropology, those who accept it as a hypothesis cannot afford to neglect any new evidence. In the field of pure science both sociology and psychology have been handicapped wherever they attempt to deal with sexual phenomena by a complete lack of data. Sexual experience is not freely discussed in modern western societies, and the attitude of the law and of public opinion to many of its manifestations is not likely to induce individuals to admit their own histories. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, all forms of sexual activity other than heterosexual coitus were regarded as sins against nature: with the growth of psychiatry, increasing numbers of patients admitted their atypical or unacceptable impulses to doctors, and as a result such phenomena as homosexuality and masturbation came to be regarded as diseases or congenital abnormalities. Since then, with the extension of analytical psychology, estimates of the incidence of homosexual phenomena have become progressively higher, but in no case were adequate statistical data available. We were therefore dealing with an entity of which it was impossible to say whether it was statistically normal or not, whether it was increasing, and whether it showed any definite clinical distribution. A similar lack of data existed, and still exists, in almost all branches of sexual physiology and psychology.

**Sexual Behaviour of the Human Male* (Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin).

The work of Kinsey and his collaborators appears to be statistically unassailable. Elaborate precautions have been taken against all possible forms of selection-error, and details of these, and of the procedure of interviewing, occupy almost a quarter of the book. It is extremely striking that in a questionnaire of this kind, dealing with subjects which carry the strongest social and emotional defensive reaction, the public co-operated without the least demur. The tact and patience of the investigators, combined with the genuine desire of most people to assist science, and the striking integrity with which the whole survey was conducted, deserve the highest praise. The difficulties of anthropological work among civilised peoples are far greater than among savages. Extreme pressure was brought to bear on the investigators by outside bodies, attempts were made to get their grant cancelled or themselves arrested, but the individual patient, and the Board of the University of Indiana, stood by them remarkably well.

THE preliminary results deal only with white males, but they are of a character which is bound to produce a far-reaching revolution in medical thought. It is impossible to summarise 600 pages of print in a brief review, but the main points of importance are these.

In the first place, the extreme commonness of a large number of sexual practices which have been regarded for centuries as abnormal, involves a reversal of much which has been thought and written on the "sexual psychopathies". Of the total male population examined, more than a third had had at least one homosexual experience to the point of orgasm. Intercourse with animals, which has long been regarded as uncommon, and a stigma of mental deficiency or low intelligence, reached 17% in the rural communities and bore no relation to apparent mental defect. The incidence of intercourse with prostitutes and of extramarital and premarital relations far exceeded the estimates which have been made in the past. Other astounding results were those which covered the frequency of sexual outlet. The aggregate result of the data is the overthrow of the

entire statistical conception of "normality" on which many ideas in social morality have been based. Homosexuality as a clinical entity cannot be seriously upheld in the face of evidence that human behaviour shows an imperceptible gradation from the wholly heterosexual to the wholly homosexual. The variety of the experience which is statistically normal to the male population concerned is far greater than could have been guessed.

Second, all racial and climatic differences, and even differences of religion, were insignificant compared with the differences existing between the various educational levels. A breakdown of the sample on a basis of education was simplified by the form of the American educational system. The mores (social or group-attitudes) of these levels differed as widely as those of separate nations. The lowest groups regarded all forms of pre-coital play, as well as masturbation, as abnormal or immoral, but indulged widely in premarital intercourse (over 90%) while the college levels reject premarital and extramarital intercourse, but accept masturbation and "petting" as normal and desirable. Moreover, the patterns of conduct accepted and rejected at each level show only slight variation over three generations, a point of great interest in view of the opinions which have been expressed regarding the effects of war and of social change, and the "collapse of morals" among youth.

Third, the law relating to sexual offences does not coincide with the mores of any one group, even the ruling or dominant educational level. The attitude of the law in America, and in this country, has been that no form of sexual expression should be tolerated except that which is essential to procreation, namely intramarital heterosexual coitus. No level of the population accepts this view. As a result, Kinsey estimates that at least eight out of ten American males have at some time engaged in sexual behaviour which would, if detected, lay them open to punishment. It is many years now since Ouspensky put forward the view that prohibitive legislation originates in the under-sexed members of any ruling group, on a basis not far removed from "sour grapes". Kinsey shows that of a group whose views on sexual morality were known, the most strict and the closest to the legal attitude were those whose normal rate of outlet was low, and least strict in those in whom it was high.

Yet another conclusion based on the survey is that sublimation, which has been invoked by a very large section of opinion to defend abstinence is "an academic possibility rather than a fact",

and that it exists only in those whose rate of outlet is in fact on the low side of normal.

THE importance of such data in all fields of social reform is obvious. It is necessary to point out that data derived from an American population cannot be transferred bodily to this country, and that the statistical prevalence of a given practice is not evidence that it is socially desirable, but anarchists, who in general adopt the rationalist view that no form of behaviour is unacceptable unless it has demonstrable ill effects on the individual or on others, will find much material to encourage their attitude. It is particularly important to notice that in this field of conduct, where impulsive and instinctive patterns of action are extremely strong, the conduct of the individual bears no relation to the law, but is determined by a system of mores which he acquires from education and group-attitudes, and which are fixed by the age of 16. This strongly suggests that conduct which cannot be modified by external institutions can be modified by changes in group-belief, and supports the contention of sociology since Godwin that laws are an ineffective means of forming social conduct compared with education. Even more interesting is the fact, observed by these investigators, that many instances which are brought up as examples of delinquency are in fact instances of conflict between group taboos. The child who is found to display any kind of adolescent sexual activity, if he comes to the notice of an upper-level social worker, is likely to be regarded as in need of treatment or punishment, while in fact similar conduct is general in the group concerned. The police, coming from lower-level groups, regard masturbation as a perversion and premarital coitus as normal—the judge, from another level, regards the first as normal and the second as criminal. Similar differences exist between the psychiatrist, the probation officer, the journalist, the prison governor, and the warder. Our attitude towards penal reform in sexual offences must also undergo radical changes. We have concentrated in the past on ensuring that "abnormal" subjects are not punished for their supposed illness: it now becomes plain that in treating them we are in fact treating not abnormalities but expressions of sexuality which are general if not normal.

Kinsey's work is presented with a praiseworthy absence of subjective comment, but the conclusions which must be drawn from it are inescapable. A pioneer work in a field of great biological interest, the book deserves the close attention of every intelligent reader.

ALEX COMFORT.

SOME FUNDAMENTALS FOR MAY DAY 1948

Equality, Workers' Control & Solidarity

IN a call recently, for a resurrection of the war-time joint production committees, the T.U.C. asserted that the old naval saying, "a happy ship is an efficient ship," applies equally to factories and workshops. The only way, thinks the T.U.C., to get the output the government is demanding, is for the workers and the managements to co-operate as they did during the war.

That may be true, as far as it goes, but it is a smug and complacent T.U.C. that imagines there is any connection between the joint production committee and the happiness of the worker. For these committees-for-greater-exploitation-of-the-worker were probably hated during the war second only to Hitler himself.

THERE are, it seems to me, two conditions that make for the happiness of the worker. The first is a complete satisfaction with his position in society, with a readiness to accept his exploitation and apathy as to the causes of it. That is to say, complete ignorance.

The second condition demands the complete lack of exploitation, full responsibility for his work and the satisfaction of his needs, creating in free co-operation with his fellows. That is to say, complete equality.

Now, it is obvious that under a capitalist system you are not going to get the second condition fulfilled. While there are bosses, managers, owners, governments, bureaucrats and the whole range of those who organise the exploiting, there is no equality for the exploited. Therefore, the only condition in which the worker can be happy to-day is one of complete ignorance of the nature of the society in which he lives, and of which he is the most valuable member, although the least rewarded.

But this condition does not exist to-day either. Although the more class-conscious worker sometimes finds it hard to believe, the incessant work of enlightenment and education which the Labour movement has been carrying on for the last hundred years is bearing fruit. There are practically no workers to-day who are ignorant of the fact that they are being exploited, even though the vast majority still do not accept, or even know about, the revolutionary alternative of anarchism and of how it is the only complete and clear alternative. So the workers remain unhappy.

Therefore, the T.U.C.'s naive idea that industry will become happy and

efficient through the joint production committees is a stupid fallacy. Only the complete abolition of exploitation and the establishment of real equality can bring happiness to discontented workers.

Now, these ideas of equality have been at the bottom of the workers' movements from the very beginning. True, excepting only in the anarchist section, the ideas have been vague and ill thought out, but time and experience have proved abundantly the futility of seeking equality in any combination between the worker and the boss. This has turned out to be merely the perpetuation of exploitation, and the strengthening of the boss's hand in showing him ways of getting more out of his workers.

What we anarchists seek then, is not equality with the boss, but equality without the boss.

THAT is what we mean by "workers' control". The full responsibility for the organisation of industry in the hands of the people who work in industry. Instead of a board of directors, absentee shareholders, officious managers, and at best, lip-service to workers' co-operation, we advocate the creation, by the workers on the jobs, of workshop committees which would carry no privilege for their members, but whose tasks would be the co-ordination of production in all its phases and contact with the community outside the factory, to ensure the swift and smooth supply of goods where they are needed.

This, we advocate with full confidence in the ability of ordinary workers to organise their affairs most efficiently when once the profit system has been destroyed, and production can be aimed at supplying the needs of the people instead of the privilege and inflated standards of the few.

But it is obvious that all this entails a tremendous change in our social system. Nothing short, in fact, of a social revolution. And nobody is going to do it for us. No government is going to abdicate and hand over control to what it likes to think of as "the mob". No boss is going to voluntarily give up his privileged position. Our freedom has to be taken for ourselves by ourselves; the free society we desire will have to be created by our own

efforts and in spite of opposition from those for whom the boundless misery of capitalism counts for nothing against their own petty advantage.

AND that is where solidarity comes into the picture. For without solidarity no organisation can be created, let alone developed. Without solidarity no struggle can be commenced, let alone won; without solidarity our aims of workers' control, equality, freedom itself, can never be achieved.

Solidarity alone can give that sense of belonging which brings out the best in everyone, and it alone can give the strength in unity without which the under-privileged are helpless. Solidarity opens the way to enjoy life to the full through the satisfaction of our social instincts in working together for a common aim—something unthinkable in a worker-boss combination. It is the first necessity for the social revolution. The Trades Unions to-day are hope-

lessly compromised. To hope for any radical action from any set-up so tied to the State is useless. It is my belief that the time is ripe now for the beginning of new organisations, based on principles entirely different from the old unions. And wherever a handful of workers come together on the job and find they can work together for a common end, let them establish, as a beginning, a workshop committee, or a factory cell, for the militant propagation of their aims. And let the organisation from the beginning recognise firmly these few principles:

No paid organisers, no permanent officials, no leaders.

Functions to be delegated; delegates withdrawable at a minute's notice if unsuitable.

An injury to one is an injury to all.

Close collaboration with any other like committees in the area, with the eventual aim of a national—even

world—federation. The aims are revolutionary: the abolition of capitalism and the wage system, the establishment of free workers' control and the free society.

The means are those of direct action on the industrial and economic planes. No political action entertained whatever.

THAT may not be all, but it will do for a start. The rest can be worked out as we go along.

Let us not believe for one moment that the struggle will be easy. We shall be attacked and maligned. We shall be accused of sabotage and of creating anarchy!

Well, the sabotage of capitalism is a privilege for free-thinking workers to take upon themselves; the creation of Anarchy a task for free men to be proud of!

PHILIP SANSON.

MUST WE PLAY THEIR GAME?

A PLAINTIVE wail from Sir Charles Reid, production director of the National Coal Board, at Edinburgh recently, must have brought bitter smiles to the lips of many a miner.

Sir Charles is a sportsman—once can tell that easily—and is very concerned about the unsporting way in which the miners, having reached the millennium of nationalisation, are not exactly breaking their necks to get coal.

"It is ridiculous and deplorable," said Sir Charles, "to think that at the present time, after we have had the industry nationalised, you are not prepared to play the game by the country." Now, we all know what "playing the game" means, don't we? It means working hard for the boss, to begin with. It means living on hay, to go on with. It means endless self-sacrifice to continue with, and probably dying for your country to end with! In fact, it means playing according to the boss's rules and with all the odds in the boss's favour.

In 1926, nobody thought of asking miners to play the game by producing more coal; then the situation demanded cuts in wages and wholesale unemployment, and if the miners had asked either the owners or the government to play the game they would both probably have "laughed their bloomin' heads off"!

To-day, the owners and the government are one and the same and the situation is a dashed embarrass' one for them, as well. To-day, miners are not only in short supply, but they are the last word in essential workers. The whole of Britain's capitalist economy rests upon coal, so obviously the miners must play the game by the country or the capitalist economy might crack up and that would be even worse than losing a Test Match. For the miners then, playing the game means sweating on insufficient rations for the production of goods which they themselves will never see. They must work and work and never shirk and never, never strike—that really is not cricket!

Disputes Increasing

Now, has nationalisation kept the miners more satisfied than private ownership? Well, if we take the amount of output lost through disputes (the polite word for strikes) before and after nationalisation, it gives us a basis for comparison. In 1946, 769,000 tons of coal were lost in this way, but in 1947, the first year of State control, the figure was over 1,000,000 tons without the loss through the Grimethorpe strike, easily the biggest of the year. And 1948 is going to be no better. As Sir Charles Reid says: "Disputes are still piling on week after week. That is a situation which the Board cannot continue to tolerate. It does not matter what we do, output per man has not risen and is not rising. There is something very wrong somewhere. We think there is a slackening of effort."

"We are not getting the advantage of the new machinery that is being installed all over the country. The question will have to be very seriously considered

whether we can continue putting in machines in pits and getting no good out of them."

A fine mixture of sentiments, that is! First a hidden threat against what the Board cannot tolerate—direct action by the workers—and then some nonsense about not putting in more machinery! One thing is absolutely certain; that to withhold the promised mechanisation—a prominent part of the Reid report upon which the nationalisation scheme was originally based—would be to ensure that coal production would not only not go up, but would go down.

Miner's Strong Position

A few conclusions may be reached from the present position of the coal industry. One is that the miners seem to be gradually realising that they are the masters of the situation. Another is that the N.C.B. has shown itself completely incapable of handling the miners.

As far as the latter goes, it is no more than we expected. The N.C.B. is a tool of the government and as an authoritarian body it only knows one way of handling a situation—the big stick. As a bureaucratic monster, it thinks only in terms of statistics—output, costs, etc., and not in terms of human beings. The high-handed methods as used at Grimethorpe, for instance, and the subsequent summonses and prosecutions have done more to enlighten the miners as to the nature of the State as employer than any anarchist propaganda—and the miners are reacting accordingly.

This, with their realisation of their own strength, may lead to a new revolutionary consciousness among the miners. They have had all the lessons, all the experience necessary to show them the futility of political reform and the necessity for social revolution. The State and the trade unions have shown their true nature to the miners, but we obviously cannot go back to private ownership. Forward, then, to Workers' Control!

Land Notes

Imber & Romney Marsh

RECENTLY, a small village in a remote valley of the Wiltshire Downs suddenly became news, sufficiently so for the reader to have already probably realized that I refer to Imber, whose two hundred inhabitants were forcibly evacuated in 1943, because of the danger to them of large-scale military exercises in the immediate vicinity, and who are not now to be permitted to return as most of them appear to have believed maybe erroneously, that they would. The pros and cons of this action by the War Office have been sufficiently discussed in the Press to make unnecessary any further repetition here.

I must say, however, that frankly my sympathies are more with the War Office in this matter than with its indignant critics, and especially that progressive element which seems to feel it to be a necessary condition of its progressiveness to condemn such action automatically without further thought. This sort of response is little more than a reflex action to external stimuli, and I am reminded of the remark of Anatole France that most free-thinkers think freely because they don't think at all.

These critics all accept the existence of an army of national defence as, to say the least, a regrettable necessity because other nations are unfortunately not so naturally pacific as we are. Now, if you are going to have armies for national defence, they must have somewhere to practice their trade. This is all the more

essential now that the era of small, colonial wars, which, among other things, provided the opportunity of keeping the fighting services up to form, appears to be now over.

Paying the Price

All round Imber is one of the largest and oldest-established battle-grounds in Britain, and it would simply not be a practical proposition to transfer the whole vast outfit to another neighbourhood simply to save a small, isolated and declining village like Imber; quite apart from the fact that an equal, and probably greater, dislocation of local life would inevitably occur in the new locality chosen, for the area required for the efficient training of a modern army becomes ever larger and cannot be confined solely to uninhabited areas which in any case bear little or no topographical resemblance to the sort of country over which such an army would, in fact, have to operate in time of war.

In my submission, therefore, it is just illogical sentimentally for people who accept the existence of military forces as natural to kick up a fuss over a matter like this; only those who are opposed to militarism have a right to protest against such action.

Romney Marsh

Another locality that has come into prominence, and been the subject for an article in several newspapers in the last few weeks, is Romney Marsh. A troupe of governmental agricultural experts has gone to have a look to see whether production on the Marsh is all it could be and if it might be increased by

nationalisation of that particular, well-defined area.

While it is unlikely that nationalisation would in fact have that result, if only because of the hostility it would arouse in the local people, the limitations of the individualist tradition of British farming become more apparent in an area like Romney Marsh where, for example, the maintenance of the drainage system, on which the life of the Marsh depends, can be considerably reduced in its working efficiency by a few careless or indifferent farmers and where any improvements depend, more than in most areas, on the co-operation of all. A central, co-ordinating body is essential and has in fact apparently existed since the marshlands were reclaimed.

The answer of the Marsh farmers to a possible threat of nationalisation should, therefore, be to show that co-operative organisation by the men on the spot, can achieve more than authoritarian direction imposed from above. If they do not do that, then they provide by default at least some justification for nationalisation. Their main difficulty seems, as usual, to be the lack of the necessary capital.

Quiz Dept.

Extract from the Editor's Diary in *The Farmer's Weekly* (2/4/48):

"I suppose the new Queensland project for coarse grain growing is a good thing, but I can't help feeling that a lot more in the way of feeding-stuffs could be produced here. It should not be impossible to find 300,000 acres (the scale of the new venture) here which would provide a good investment for the millions the Government are putting up—besides permanently enriching our own soil. Why, then, do we have to go right round the world to get this scheme going?"

Without wishing to set myself up as a one-man Brains Trust, I hope that, in these Notes, I have by now adequately answered that question.

G.V.

The Joke's on Us!

THE Labour Party leaders are not quite the foolish wind-bags less astute politicians take them to be. They have their jobs to do for the party, and are not unsuccessful.

The Tory middle-class spokesmen have made much capital out of Emmanuel Shinwell's supposed indiscretions (the "Tinker's cuss" is a classic example) but in actual fact, Shinwell's speeches do the work among the class for which they were intended—and it is left to Herbie Morrison and Attlee to pacify the middle-class voters with their own smoother, more banal line of approach.

It's a great game, and out of it a jolly little joke was shared by all in the House of Commons recently when salaries in the nationalised gas industry were discussed. *The Daily Express* (14/4/48) reported it thus:

"Over the week-end, Mr. Shinwell denounced the big salaries paid in nationalised industries.

"In the Commons, Mr. Gaitskell said that Mr. A. E. Sylvester, former Governor of the Gas Light and Coke Company, is to become chairman of the Gas Council at £6,000 a year; and Colonel H. C. Smith, managing director of the Tottenham Gas Company, deputy chairman at £5,000 a year. "Mr. Churchill, smiling blandly, asked

'Have you obtained the concurrence of Mr. Shinwell in paying these salaries?'

"Mr. Gaitskell replied: 'It will not have escaped notice that they are somewhat lower than those paid to the chairmen of the coal and electricity boards.'

[Lord Citrine, chairman of the Electricity Board, and Lord Hyndley, chairman of the Coal Board, both get £8,500 a year.]

"Mrs. Manning (Soc., Epping, Essex) thought one of the highly-paid posts should have gone to a woman—as women are the greatest users of domestic gas.

"With a courteous bow towards her, Mr. Churchill commented: 'Although women may be the greatest consumers of gas, men, in many cases, are the largest producers of it.' (Laughter.)"

Amusing, isn't it? And Churchill, as the greatest gas-bag of all, certainly should know.

The points we really wish to raise however, are that, true to form, the new bosses of the gas industry are, in fact, the old bosses still in the saddle, and that these inflated salaries, a source of amusement in the House, have to be paid for finally both by the worker in the gas industry and by the taxpayer. And neither of them have any say as to who these officials should be or what they should be paid.

Italy

After the Elections

THE Italian elections, heralded with so much newspaper scaremongering, and subjected to the attentions of America and Russia alike in a more than theoretical manner, have at last ended in a lack of incident that falls rather flat after all the gloomy prophesies of the politicians and newspaper correspondents who pretended to be in the know. The Catholic Right have won a concrete victory, while the Communist-dominated Popular Front, with four million votes less, claims a moral victory, and covers up its missing votes with accusations of jerrymandering at the polls, an operation on which the Communists themselves should be authorities, considering their own record in Hungary and other countries of Eastern Europe.

To the Italian people the real choice presented was a poor one. It was the alternative of being ruled by a Catholic bloc, in alliance with Papal reaction and falling within the sphere of influence of American imperialism, or of being subjected to a Communist dictatorship, with all the political and economic difficulties of a country behind the iron curtain, plus the chance of the kind of physical terror which Italians from Poland and other Adriatic towns had already experienced at the hands of the Yugoslav Communists.

Catholic reaction beat Communist reaction, and the result has been hailed in the newspapers of Western Europe as a triumph for democracy. Exactly the same claim would have been made by the newspapers of Eastern Europe if it had been a Communist victory, and with almost equal justice, since even the scanty virtues of liberal democracy are as little approved in the Vatican as in the Kremlin. The Black Pope has beaten the Red Pope.

Few elections of recent years have figured so much as events of international rather than national policy. Russia and America alike regarded the retention of influence over Italy as essential to their European policy, and both sides did their best to influence the elections by the means at their disposal. The Americans played the highest stakes: Marshall aid to be granted to a Catholic but not to a Communist Italy, and Trieste to be handed back to the Italians. For economic reasons the Russians could not compete with the Marshall plan, and their political interests in the Balkans prevented a higher bid over Trieste. So that the Americans, with their double appeals to Italian hunger and Italian nationalism, were bound to win hands down.

Yet, however much we, as anarchists, may be inclined to deny the value of voting, the fact must remain that American policy alone could not have given de Gasperi such a victory. Nothing less than a wholesale distrust of Communist aims and disillusionment with Communist tactics would have made so many of the workers and peasants, even

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in Communist strongholds like Verona, vote against the Popular Front and for either de Gasperi or the Saragat Socialists. Even the Communist control of the Italian Trade Union movement (C.G.I.L.), with its over seven million members, failed to enable them to retain the mass of the work-class vote; the Communist claim that they really represent the Italian workers when the whole Popular Front vote (including the Nenni Socialists) was less than a third of the votes polled is patently ridiculous.

But, if the Italian peasants and workers have saved themselves for the time being at least, from a Communist terror, they have done so merely to place themselves in the hands of a Catholic reactionary party which will not hesitate to prosecute any anti-religious or really revolutionary activity, as it has already done in the past. Much has been made of the scanty vote of the neo-Fascist groups, but this fact should not blind us to the imminent danger of reaction in Italy, since the Christian Democrats have taken over the nationalist myth of Fascism, and it is very likely that, under some pretence of combating the Communist danger, they will readily join other Western "democracies" in crushing out any genuine left-wing movement that may be a danger to their own regime.

Materially, the Italian people may gain a slight temporary relief through the result of the elections, since the Americans will undoubtedly pour in food under the Marshall plan to try and counter any reinforcement of Communist

Foreign Commentary

THE AMERICAN WAY

THERE is a tendency to look upon the United States as a land flowing with milk and honey, where every citizen has his "automobile", and where machinery does all the work while the workers sit back and drink Coca Cola. Admittedly, when one sees what profits are being made by the large industrial concerns our supporters of private enterprise may well depict America in such terms. The Socialist weekly, *The Call*, published a list showing that in many cases profits for 1947 were double those of 1946.

"Don't let anyone tell you those high prices are caused by labour's greed.

Farmers, for instance, might want to look at the profits figures for a couple of the big companies selling them equipment. Int'l Harvester Co. profits for the year ended Oct. 31st, 1947, were \$48,469,266 compared with \$22,326,257 the previous year. Caterpillar Tractor made in 1947 profits of \$9,956,912 compared with \$6,111,591 in 1946. And Deere & Co. made \$13,863,540 in the year ended Oct. 31st, 1947, compared with \$9,565,579 in 1946.

Here are some more of the juicy profits figures made public in recent weeks by U.S. industry:

	1947	1946
Johns Manville Corp.	9,486,633	5,836,613
Procter & Gamble	48,757,421*	17,108,176
Coca Cola Corp.	7,010,060	5,766,040
Celotex Corp.	6,227,929	3,824,324
Monsanto Chemical Corp.	15,561,228	10,084,149
Continental Air Lines	116,411	17,939
Hat Corp. of America	920,439	352,320
National Stel Corp.	23,838,788	20,461,651
Bigelow-Sanford Carpet	3,846,729	1,248,095
Koppers Co.	6,165,783	3,306,475
U.S. Shoe Corp.	606,239†	454,888
Timken-Detroit Axle Co.	4,259,230	2,256,461

* Half-year. † 11 months.

While manufacturers of farming equipment are rubbing their hands, in the South thousands of tenant farmers and share croppers are facing starvation. In an article on America's displaced persons, as they are described, the American *New Leader* quotes the director of the Georgia Workers' Education Service as saying that as a result of mechanisation over one million of these land workers have already left the farms and that he predicts that nearly five millions will leave before the process of mechanisation has been completed.

The *New Leader* points out that "The cotton-picker can do the work of 40 men. With mechanical equipment, an acre can be planted in 15

Is Peace Possible in Palestine?

ANTI-MILITARISTS who look despairingly on the Palestine crisis now and read of the civil war reaching greater degrees of tension, becoming a "war of national survival" on one side and a "holy war" on the other, will be interested in the information which is given by the Council on Jewish-Arab Co-operation, an organization which, although centred in New York, has for a long period had close connections with Palestine and influence in Jewish circles.

It opposes the Palestine war, and

influence. But these benefits will be illusory, since they will involve the deeper entanglement of Italy in the power policies of America and the British Empire. Already there is talk of Italy joining the new alliance of Britain, France and the Benelux countries, and the eventual result of all this is more likely than not to be that the Italians will find themselves involved in another war for American capitalist interests, with at least the northern part of their country once again transformed into a battle ground for rival imperialisms.

Red or Black governments, Catholic or Communist ideologies, Russian or American patronage, alike mean war and misery for the Italian people, who have already suffered as the pawns in two world wars. And the heavy vote at this last election shows that the Italian people as a whole are still too liable to put their faith in rulers and in the sham benefits of the rival brands of so-called democracy.

But we can perhaps hope that in the dangerous years to come the Italians will realise how little either side has to offer them in real benefits and real freedom, and will come more and more to accept the warnings of the dangers of militarism, nationalism and Statism which are being put forward continually by the Italian Anarchists among the factory and land workers in all parts of Italy.

reports both dissatisfaction among Arabs (who have always been lukewarm to their self-appointed political leaders) and the desire of a number of Arabs to establish friendly relations with Jewish neighbours. It addresses itself to the Jewish workers, pointing out that these tendencies have been overlooked and that in supporting those who believe in national sovereignty they are hindering peaceful development and free immigration.

An interesting example of mutual aid is given in its Bulletin, from a correspondent near the all-Arab city of Acre, where the inhabitants work in Haifa and have to pass through Jewish areas on the way. Therefore, Acre depends on peaceful relations with the Jews. Therefore, the two bus lines have an agreement. Both the Arab bus and the Jewish bus pass through and "each side warns the other if it knows of any danger and each compensates the other for damages suffered from terrorist attacks." Such co-operation—invaluable in Palestine to-day—points the way for working-class action on the same lines.

But it is all too rare. At Deir Yassin, for instance, on Dec. 28th, people of that Arab village apologized to a nearby Jewish settlement for shots fired by strangers and asked for peaceful relations. At the loss of a life, they evicted a band which sought to establish itself there. Recent news gives the tragic story of the Jewish fascist attack on Deir Yassin and the terrific loss of life there. Here is a

case where the Arabs resisted Arab terrorists and could reasonably expect the Jews to assist in resisting Jewish terrorists. Only such action points the way to Jewish-Arab co-operation to-day.

The Bulletin sums up an essentially reasonable and practical attitude in its editorial, which we summarise here, as in our view it is the sanest constructive attitude which has come from the Jewish side and if only listened to by the Jewish workers in Palestine would have great response from the Arab masses and offer a solution to the racial divisions there.

AN APPROACH FOR CO-OPERATION

In February, the chief Mohammedan cleric of the Arab city of Gaza wrote to the Hagana: "Fight against those Arabs who attack you; and aside from that try to have friendly co-operation with the Arabs." The Hagana assured him that this was their policy but that they failed to obtain co-operation from the Arabs. (Hagana broadcast, Feb. 2nd.) In broadcasts and leaflets the Hagana has urged the Arabs to maintain peace. But the leaflets were hardly inviting for an Arab. They merely threaten the Arabs who attack them and assert that they want peace. "Of course, if you choose to fight, we shall know how to deal with you."

And leaflets are not enough. It is all very well for small groups of Jews or Arabs to rely on leaflets and urge the people; but when organizations like the Labour Federation, the Hagana or the Jewish Agency representing the majority of the Jews in Palestine, say they want peace, the Arabs expect not leaflets but actions. It is not enough for the Hagana to refrain from attacks on Arabs. The Hagana would like the Arab villagers not merely to refrain from attacking Jews but to prevent Syrian Arabs from using their villages as headquarters. Yet it does not prevent the Jewish terrorists from promiscuous attacks and has united with them. At least twelve Arab villages are reported as having fought off the Mufti bands; there is not a case yet reported of Jews fighting off Jewish terrorists seeking to attack Arabs.

It is said the Arabs began the fighting and therefore the terrorist attacks were retaliatory. But it was not "the Arabs" who started but certain groups of organised gangs. The Arabs killed by terrorists in the Damascus gate, in buses, or in the oil refinery, were in no way responsible, and it means nothing to call their killing retaliatory.

It is one thing to expect the Arab peasants and workers to refrain from attacking Jews (as they have largely refrained, except for individual sniper's attacks). It is another thing to expect them to stand up to armed bands under Fawzi Kawukji and other Arab leaders, with armies recruited from other States. The average Arab is not in favour of the war. But the dubious relations between Jews and Arabs hardly gives them a basis from which they can oppose the war. The alternative to war—a Jewish State—is not one they can be expected to look forward to. It is late in the day for Jews to establish conditions that promise equality to Arabs. But they have not merely to offer peace but a way of living sufficient to make the Arabs want to resist not only propaganda but also armed attacks. And they have got to help them stand up against sanctions by the Arab armies.

When the Arab upper-class tries to whip up war propaganda, the Jewish workers cannot merely reply by asking the Arabs not to react at all. They can only offer an alternative way of reacting, namely, co-operation between Jewish and Arab worker and peasant against the two upper-classes, the fascist parties of both nations, and the British or other outside interests that want to control the area.

People who have worked for Arab-Jewish co-operation over the past quarter of a century say that they have found a more positive response among Jews than ever before. On the other side, the Arab Higher Committee has had to demand that Arabs cease listening to the Hagana Arabic broadcasts.

minutes; it takes a man 17 hours to do the job. The flame-thrower can destroy weeds at least twenty times as fast as man.

"The revolution in King Cotton's domain is dictated by necessity. Cotton must be grown more cheaply if it is to meet the competition of rayon, nylon and other synthetic materials. Implement manufacturers are building southern plants; the International Harvester plant at Memphis alone will turn out 1,500 cotton-pickers annually, which will dispossess 60,000 men.

"Only the big landowners can afford to thoroughly mechanize their farms; complete mechanization costs from \$13,000 to \$30,000. The small family-type farm, on which our rural society is supposed to be based, is gradually disappearing. Only a minority of such farms can be converted to the raising of other crops or livestock. Most of these farmers are badly educated, their health level is low, they are untrained for work in the cities."

It should be noted that mechanization has not been introduced in order to help man, to reduce the hours of dull, back-breaking work. Oh, no! The change is "dictated by necessity". And the only necessity in present society is dollars or £ s. d.

★
ANOTHER misconception regarding America is that it is the land where Justice is available to all men. And when one recalls the sanctimonious utterings of American politicians when taking sides in European politics, it is not surprising if some people on this side of the Atlantic really believe this to be true. *Freedom* has done its best to debunk the so-called American Way.

Time, the American weekly, provides us with yet another example of white intolerance in America:

"As warm, humid darkness fell on Wrightsville (pop. 1,760), Ga., one night last week, a long line of automobiles drew up at the ballpark. It was the eve of rural Johnson County's Democratic primary, and 400 Negroes had registered to vote. Two hundred and forty-nine men and women climbed solemnly out of the cars, holding black oilcloth bags. Heads down to evade the gaze of curious bystanders, they took out the white sheets and sugar-sack masks of the Ku Klux Klan and hurriedly pulled them on. Then, in slow single file, they marched to the paved

square before the town's dilapidated court-house, where a crowd of 700 waited to applaud.

"A white-robed figure scrambled self-consciously to the courthouse lawn with a posthole digger. Four more, grunting quite humanly, lugged up a big kerosene-drenched cross. One touched a match to it. As the flames shot up, a green-robed man—Atlanta Physician Samuel Green, Georgia's Grand Dragon—stepped into the light.

"Because it is hard to shout intelligibly through a sugar sack, Green wore no mask. Spectacles glinting, moustache working, he began a tirade against President Harry Truman and his espousal of civilian rights legislation.

"Again you will see Yankee bayonets trying to force social and racial equality between the black and white races . . ." he bellowed. "If that happens there are those among you who will see blood flow in these streets. The Klan will not permit the people of this country to become a mongrel race."

"When he had finished, the Klansmen paraded back to the ballpark, and had a barbecue.

"In the election next day, no Negroes voted."

What right have these people to criticize the lack of freedom in Czechoslovakia under the Communists. And yet they do and get away with it!

★
HOLLYWOOD, which provides millions of people with their ideas of American life has in the past few years produced films based on psycho-analysis, and in case it is believed that advanced psychological treatment is applied in reality—and not only in the make-believe of the silver screen—the following from the *News Chronicle* should put everyone's mind at rest:

"Thirteen-year-old Howard Lang, of Chicago, was to-day sentenced to 22 years in prison for the murder of a seven-year-old school-fellow, Lonnie Fellick.

Calling the crime 'gruesome and hideous', the judge added: 'I do not want to add to the mother's burden by any merited censure on her.'

If that is the way they deal with a child of 13, what hope is there of these people understanding the psychology of the adult criminal, and for that matter, of even thinking it possible to reform him.

LIBERTARIAN.

NATIONALISM IN N. AFRICA

THE French press is crowing in victory over the Algerian elections of Sunday, April 4th. In fact, the first examination of the results, has given a majority to the colonialists (those favouring the retention of the present colonial status), not only in the upper house of the Assembly, composed of Europeans and *assimilés*, but also in the second—that of the natives. The Rassemblement Populaire Français and the candidates with its blessing, have won the day. And the personnel of the French administration have also carried the support of the Moslem electors.

The separatists of Messali Hadj have only won 8 seats out of 60, and the autonomists of Ferhat Abbas, 6 seats, while the Communists have none at all.

It is possible that the Algerian nationalists will gain more seats in the second count, but it is already possible to draw conclusions from the electoral scramble. It should be borne in mind from the start that the upper house contains 60 deputies, representing 800,000 Europeans, while the second, of an equal number, represents a population of 9 million native Algerians.

This first anomaly is accentuated by the Constitution, which requires a majority in both houses for every important decision. And that is not all—in the unlikely event of the Algerian parliament being able to pass laws which did not please the rulers of France, the French parliament has the right to dissolve the North African Assembly on the

grounds of its "not fulfilling the functions assigned to it by law."

As for the elections, they were organised on traditional colonial lines—wholesale arrest of nationalist candidates, banning of journals and pamphlets considered to be subversive, favours granted to docile electors, official assistance for candidates who were faithful to France, and so on.

Letter from France

That the elections have been a triumph for French imperialism, is manifested not only in the strengthening of the authority of Paris over the three Algerian *départements*, but also in the extension of the power of the big local bosses. These latter have got in this time on the R.P.F. ticket, although on other occasions they discovered themselves to be "radicals" or "independents". But they are still the same big land-owners and officials and managers of the big Algerian industrial concerns, for whom political activity is a means of defending their privileges against the Paris administration which they consider over-centralised, against the Moorish masses, seeking their own emancipation, and against the "effendis"—the new native bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, aspiring to drive out the French exploiters in order to take their place.

The candidates who might be expected to put forward a "middle-of-the-road" compromise policy—the Christian Democrats and the Socialists, were beaten in every round, and with them, has been lost all hope of effective collaboration with Paris. There is no doubt whatever that the newly-elected reactionaries will make only one demand of France—troops.

The rapid succession of High Commissioners in Algeria has had little effect

on the policy followed by the permanent officials. Whether the figure-head is a general, like Catroux, a career-diplomat like Chataigneau, or, like the latest, to date, a Socialist like Naegelen, the administration is still stronger, since it is controlled directly by the big European landowners and industrialists.

One can see how far has been travelled on the road of "L'Union Française", by an examination of the *Union du Manifeste Algérien*, whose leader Ferhat Abbas was, a year ago, still an advocate of a close entente with France, but who to-day draws closer and closer to the "Pan-Arabian" nationalist aspirations of Messali Hadj, chief of the "Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties" (formerly the "Algerian Peoples Party").

For those who knew Messali Hadj in 1936, when he was the spokesman of the Algerian workers in France, where he took part in all the union activities, it is painful to see that this one-time militant has gone back to the theocratic conceptions of Islamic nationalism. But it is essentially the fault of the French working-class movement, and especially of its official spokesmen—the Socialist and Communist Parties, who have never seen fit to disassociate their policies from those of the French State, or from those of the Russian State.

Messali Hadj, unceasingly shadowed by the French police, including those of the Popular Front and the Leon Blum regime, slandered by the Communist Party because he wouldn't keep in step with them, returned little by little to the ancestral doctrines of the Moslem faith. He who had no beliefs, who is married to a European, has ended by adopting a mixture of nationalism and mysticism to rally a people weary of servitude.

We may think this regrettable, but are not the greatest culprits amongst the Europeans, who remain nationalist to the detriment of their socialism?

S. PARANE.

A MONTH or so ago, the British public was delighted to read in the daily press of a gallant lady who found an exhausted stag in her garden, pursued by the yapping hounds and local aristocrats. She grabbed the stag by the neck and prevented the Hunt from taking it. Later, she let the stag go free. We, too, were delighted, recognising kindness to animals as an excellent habit of all in these islands with the exception of the "upper classes" whose training in blood sports conditions them for their leadership in militarism.

deported to Russian controlled Poland. It was in a Russian jail as an immature boy—guilty only of being born a Pole and the son of an ex-soldier in a Polish anti-Bolshevik army—that he first learned his lessons in crime. In a Polish anti-Nazi army he learned his lessons in violence. The maelstrom of war and Nazism is over; what ray of hope is left to the displaced persons stranded in Europe?

The whole system of prisons, police and punishment which tries to pass off with new-fangled

A Man and a Stag

A few weeks later, another lady found an exhausted man in her garden, pursued by the police. She grabbed him by the neck so that the Inspector could make an arrest. And this seems to have called for equally delighted headlines by the Press and acclamation by the public, who rightly denounced the hunting of the stag. In fact, it is reported that a crowd of 150 went to the station to shout insults at the human quarry when he was taken away by police car to go back to prison.

Yes, we are referring, of course, to Zborowski. These columns previously compared his escape to a fox hunt; his first escape from a nine months' sentence that led to a seven years' sentence. And the end of it is the death sentence that will surely be his when he is

pretences of "reforming the criminal" will hardly pretend it is trying to reform Zborowski. Would any smug-faced moralist be prepared to tell him it is in his interests to do his sentence quietly and then go off to Poland? They say they must also protect society. It may be noted, however, that Zborowski had, according to the police, no intention of remaining here at all, since they were watching the port of Harwich and B.A.O.R. leave parties in particular, in case he escaped to the Continent and left these shores for good. What can only be the final comment was made in one paper quite unconsciously. They said that Zborowski was making for the Continent where he would pose as a displaced person and would therefore never be located.

A.M.

Spirit of May-Day

(Continued from page 1)

the particular groups who hold the reins of power over them. International solidarity on the May Day model provides the needed alternative to falling in behind whoever happens to be our rulers in the headlong rush to the Third World War. It is for revolutionary workers to make their fellows see that the times call as urgently as ever for the workers of the world to join hands in solidarity for the purpose of struggle against their rulers. Such a struggle holds out the hope and the prospect of the social revolution, of a world of justice and equality, in which men and women work together instead of fighting one another, and engage in work which has a direct social usefulness instead of wearing out their lives in meaningless and unproductive toil for the profit of the few. It may be held by the cynical and the afraid that such a prospect is visionary and insubstantial. Perhaps it is, perhaps not; but what is certain is that the alternative is to follow the rulers of whichever half of the world one happens to be born into yet another bloody struggle. A struggle moreover, whose ghastliness lies less in its bloodshed and violence and destructiveness than in its utter pointlessness, its leading on to a world still more hopeless than is that of to-day. Inertia and apathy clearly lead to such a desolation, and it may commend itself to "practical" people. To us, however, the revolutionary prospect appears as a harder task undoubtedly, but as a far more practical proposition in any real sense of the term.

Present Tasks

Rejection of the revolutionary and anarchist position may be defended on various grounds. A pessimistic view of the capacities of one's fellow workers; a too inflated conception of the powers of rulers. Or it may spring from inertia which has its roots in quite other quarters than the opinions which act merely as a cloak for them. Be that as it may, it does not alter the fact that the outlook is impossibly grim and desperate on any other than a revolutionary position.

Unfortunately inertia and apathy thrive on difficulties, and the revolutionary tasks of to-day are of a formidable hardness. They can be described as the instilling of the ideas of May Day into one's fellow workers at every conceivable opportunity. To break down allegiance to one or other of the power groups of rulers; to inculcate the conception of collective and individual resistance to a social and economic structure founded on inequality, with power for the few and irresponsible obedience for the many; to foster the ideal that the struggles of workers in other parts of the world are also our struggles; to fight for real objectives, for responsibility for his own life to lie in a man's own hands and in no one else's; to seek not merely amelioration of present conditions but the setting up of radically different conditions themselves.

Working-class unity, International solidarity, determined resistance to the State and all other institutions which seek to direct men's lives. These are the practical and valid messages of May Day for 1948.

Australia

Queensland Strike Defeat

THE Australian workers, like the British workers, have put great effort into building an industrial movement. Based on the principle of centralised authority and political action, this movement fails completely to represent them, it is merely a background against which rival political interests battle, using the workers' sufferings as part of their steps to power.

The defeat of the great Queensland transport strike after nine weeks is hailed as a victory for the Labour Government. Nobody in England will see anything unusual in that sentence, but perhaps in some remote part of the world, where social-democracy is still so insignificant as to retain its early principles for propaganda use, they may think it odd that a LABOUR government is victorious against the workers' demands for improvements, since the Labour government was built up and elected to satisfy those demands.

The Leaders' Struggle for Power

The Queensland Labour Party denounced the strike, which developed into a battle between the Communist-led unions and the Labour Government. And on the other side, between the Catholic-led unions and the Communist-led ones. Only very recently the English Catholics have begun their tactics of building up an industrial movement similar to and for the same reasons as the Communists. In France and Italy and other Catholic countries it is an old-established idea to have "Christian unions". In Australia, the early struggles of Irish immigrants led to the creation of an Irish bureaucracy in the unions which has tended to become reliant on the Catholic Church. In a similar way, the early Socialist struggles led to a Socialist bureaucracy which has

drifted from the unions to Governmental position and jobs; and a Communist bureaucracy which, having to stay behind the unions, has come to dominate them.

Why Did the Strike Fail?

The strike began with the refusal of the Industrial Court to listen to the claims of 4,000 railway engineers to bring their rates into line with those elsewhere. The engineers struck. The Labour Premier, Mr. Hanlon, granted anti-strike legislation and outlawed the strike. The Communists dominated many unions such as the waterside workers', miners' and seamens', both in Queensland and elsewhere in Australia. These were also brought out. The Catholic-led Australian Workers' Union, recognising that this was not so much becoming a struggle between engineers and the State, but between the Communists and the Socialist dominated Industrial Court and Labour Government, opposed the strike and helped to defeat it.

But another important weakening

factor was the very organisation of the railwaymen themselves, who had 23 different unions representing the one industry. The old weakness of the narrow craft unions.

After tremendous sacrifices by the workers, the strike was broken. The Communists, as usual, making propaganda out of defeat as if it were a victory. The Socialists congratulating themselves on defeating the strike. The Catholic unions pleased at beating their rivals. The struggle against capitalism forgotten.

The actual claims of the railwaymen themselves, which were soon put aside as quite irrelevant, can never be solved by reliance on the craft unions. Nor by allowing any industrial organisation to be dominated by the State or by any political party or religious sect. The way ahead for the Australian workers is by organisation at the place of work. One union for each industry, built on workers' councils on the job itself. An organisation that fights capitalism and the State and leaves the political struggles to those who want power for themselves.

PAKISTAN INDUSTRY

PAKISTAN has declared her industrial policy, which is very similar to that of Egypt. Namely, that she wishes to have the best of two worlds. "She announced that outside capital is very welcome, providing that it comes only with economic and industrial objectives and is seeking no monopolies or claiming any special privileges."

To imagine that capital can remain static and whilst exploiting the people and natural resources of a country, refrain from "any special privileges" or monopolies is to bury one's head in the sand. The maintenance of capital itself demands privileges. The very existence of a governmental society is to maintain the privileges of the capitalist class. Nobody with intelligence could possibly believe that capital could exist without the special privileges accorded it by the State. And the profit motive compels every big firm to tend towards monopoly sooner or later. Actually this is recognised by the rulers of Pakistan, as of Egypt. They do not suppose that capital can exist without privileges. All they require is that their own rising middle-class and upper-class

should share in the proceeds. Hence, it has been declared that Pakistan nationals must ordinarily be given the option to subscribe 51% of the share capital and debentures in major industries and 30% in lesser industries. This enables foreign firms to build their local branches with nationals as managers and men of straw; it also enables the class at present in power to ensure that foreign capital cannot oust them but must in return for the privileges granted it be prepared to admit them to their boards of directors.

Such a policy hardly represents any advance to the masses who are being exploited. State control of certain industries, such as hydro-electric development is also indicated. The Pakistani peasants and workers will, therefore, have wide experience in the varying kinds of exploitation: foreign imperialism, foreign capitalism, local capitalism and State control. Perhaps their experience will prove to them that the best method is peasants' control of the land and workers' control of industry, without the intervention of any government, foreign or national.

ORCHIDS FOR Mrs. GRUNDY

A FEW years ago James Hadley Chase created a mild sensation with his "No Orchids for Miss Blandish", sometimes referred to as a dramatised version of the *News of the World*. The film of that saga has caused the Sunday newspapers to break out in a rash of moral indignation, partly on puritanical grounds and partly, perhaps, because they feel such matters should be confined to their own delicate columns.

Dr. Wand protested on behalf of the Public Morality Council at such a disgusting exhibition. Rather restrainedly, he confined his protests to a written complaint to the L.C.C. rather than standing up in the stalls of the Plaza and booing, as indignant Anglicans did at St. Paul's when what they considered the disgusting exhibition of Dr. Wand's crowning as Bishop of London took place.

And Dr. Edith Summerskill joined the happy throng of people calling for the film to be banned. She told the *Sunday Pictorial* she thought it would debase the British public. So, eventually, the L.C.C. stepped in and said they wanted it censored out of recognition by Monday morning.

On Saturday and Sunday what did the poor innocent British public do? While public moralists everywhere rushed to see the film in order to ban it afterwards, they mutely performed the last popular demonstration left to the undebased British public. They QUEUED and QUEUED and QUEUED.

Is this the Justice of which they are proud?

"INDULGENCE in profanity" is usually met with a fine of five shillings. In these days punishment for swearing is archaic and absurd, since the words have become by common usage meaningless. But so inured is the public to taking the most glaring cases impassively, the *Daily Mirror* (24/4/48) was able to pass off, under a flippant heading "Naughty Words" a case in which "a man uttered four words. Each of them got him another six months' gaol."

Albert Aston, of Dudley, had been given two years' for storebreaking. He swore at the Recorder, Gilbert Griffiths, who recalled him and said (*vide Mirror*):

"After a sentence of this court had been passed you expressed grave doubt as to my parentage. I vary the sentence to four years' penal servitude."

TWO EXTRA YEARS FOR INSULTING A CERTAIN GILBERT GRIFFITHS.

OUT OF TUNE

Italian-Americans' plan to help beat the Communists in Italy's elections with 1,000,000 cables to voters—at 10s. 6d. each—and Frank Sinatra's voice.

Washington asked crooner Sinatra to put on an hour's broadcast in Italian with celebrities of Italian descent.

Il Progresso Italo-Americano, the New York Italian daily, which organised the sending of 6,000,000 letters to Italy, is behind the cable campaign.

Daily Express, 6/4/48.

The telegrams may have had some effect (especially if they offered some American food) but what poor psychology to offer Sinatra to the Italian people who are reputed to know a thing or two about good singing!

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THE GRASS ROOTS OF ART

THE GRASS ROOTS OF ART.

Herbert Read. (Transformation Library, 5/-)

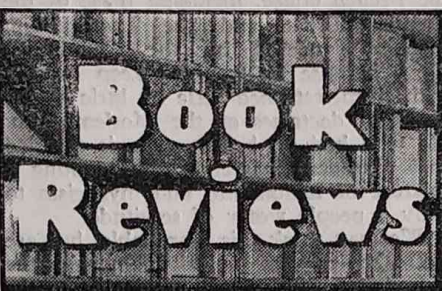
THOUGH this book is made up of five lectures composed at different times, it has a single theme, which is that great art is rooted in a "group consciousness" not to be found in our centralised urban civilisation. The writer thinks that the roots of art are rather to be found in small communal groupings, such as the ancient city state, the Greek colony, and the medieval borough. This theme will be familiar to readers of *Poetry and Anarchism* and *To Hell With Culture*, where a contingent view is put forward, and much of the present book will seem to be simply an extension of the old field of argument and its population with fresh examples. Readers not acquainted with Read's previous work, however, will find in *The Grass Roots of Art* an analysis of the relationship between art and society with which many anarchists would agree, and all readers will find here some interesting developments in Read's thought.

The first two essays are direct presentations of the general thesis. *The Decentralisation of Art* argues that there is no necessary connection between great art and metropolitan centralisation, but that on the contrary, art grows deeper and stronger roots in a regional soil. "A local habitation does not imply a provincial mind. The best minds, that spent their days in the little worlds of Florence or Weimar, Königsberg or Cloyne, were universal. But it is difficult for a mind not to be shallow in the impersonal

wildernesses of London or New York." Read considers that the decentralisation of art cannot be separated from the decentralisation of life and society. "Vitality will only return with a revolution which humanises industry at the same time as it disperses industry: which gives the worker responsibility for the work he does and a deep satisfaction in the place of of his work..." The rather suspect phrase "group-consciousness" is defined more closely in the *Social Basis of Great Architecture*. Here, Greek and Gothic architecture are taken as the exemplars of greatness, and it is suggested that the means by which such architecture is raised emerge from "mutual aid, from the social cohesiveness of small groups, from unity of sentiment and unity of aim". One cannot help regretting that this essay fails to distinguish between 'society' and 'community', a distinction that would have clarified the line of argument, but perhaps it is unfair to expect an open lecture to be couched in other than general terms. These are good lectures in that they provoke a continual qualification of their particulars, and thus prompt an internal discussion as one reads. Some anarchists will be inclined to question the value of the reformist proposals made in these pages, or the

statement that "the real changes in art are evolutionary", not revolutionary; some readers may question the assumption that Gothic is great architecture; some may oppose Read's distinction between the 'functional' and the 'aesthetic' in art, a distinction which tends to be forgotten by those who, finding their chair comfortable, think that it is necessarily beautiful. The lectures are good because one is obliged to attend them with further books in hand: with Worringer's *Form in Gothic* for support of Read's views; with *Education Through Art*, where the concept of the 'aesthetic' is substantiated, and with Richards' *Principles of Literary Criticism*, where it is most ably attacked. Similarly, the analysis called *The Problem of Taste*, which is the most valuable essay in the book, sends one to the chapter in *Poetry and Anarchism* of which it is a continuation, and to works like *The Sociology of Literary Taste* for comparison. A whole library may be assembled round the walls of this lecture-room. Not that one may stay in the lecture-room for long. "A people of taste, or a period of taste, is always one in which there exists a system of education or upbringing which is based on the acquisition of integrated physical skills." Or, as Read concludes: "What matters is a certain integrity of development in the individual, so that his mind is never cultivated at the expense of his senses, or his senses at the expense of his mind."

(Continued on page 7)



WHICH brings us to what is by far the most provocative essay in this volume, *The Future of Art in Industrial Civilisation*. Read begins by making a distinction between an 'economic system' and an 'industrial system', and by suggesting that "the modern industrial system could be worked by a guild or syndicalist

NEGROES IN BRITAIN

NEGROES IN BRITAIN. A Study of Racial Relations in English Society, by K. L. Little. (Kegan Paul, 25/-)

UNLIKE the United States, the presence of coloured people in this country has rarely been a matter of popular controversy. Probably because the number of coloured seamen and students (the two main groups) has never become sufficiently large to constitute any national problem nor make possible considerable inter-racial contacts; the coloured communities that have grown up within the last century in many of our ports and cities have been left to overcome, with little public comment, their acute social and economic difficulties. This has been attempted in face of deep-rooted prejudice or occasional direct and sometimes violent opposition.

In *Negroes in Britain*, Dr. Little sets out to make a detailed study of what is probably the largest of these communities, that of Cardiff, and it is to a comprehensive description of the area, its history and people that the first and main part of the book is devoted.

The Bute Town community has, in the past, been subject to much outside interest. With its picturesque, if somewhat sordid atmosphere and interesting racial admixtures, it has attracted the attentions of both the sociologist and the less objective reporter. In neither instance, as is natural, have the 7,000-odd coloured and other residents greatly welcomed the interest shown in their affairs. For, whereas in the latter there is frequent distortion of the facts, with the former the facts are collected but often no use is made of them and little improvement in the condition of the people becomes noticeable. It is not surprising to learn then, that in carrying out his survey, the author had to state his problem from the utilitarian angle rather than from that of pure research. The social analyst can clear the way for the social reformer and one hopes that the fate of previous enquiries will not be shared by this particularly well-documented study.

If we accept the division that is suggested in the initial chapters, between the social survey directed to a practical and reformative end and the more "pure" sociological study, *Negroes in Britain* would seem to fall into the latter category. Yet it is not without value or interest to us because of this. Indeed, Dr. Little has succeeded in giving a faithful description of the community, tracing its development from the time when the first foreign and coloured seamen settled in the district to the present day, when a second generation has already made its appearance. An account is given of housing, health and education, while the presence of the extensive gambling, prostitution, etc., that has tended, unfortunately, to give the district its popular reputation as the vice-quarter of Cardiff, is sympathetically treated. "Perhaps most of the girls," it is said, referring to those who take advantage of the night life of the area's main thoroughfare, "drift into the Bute Street milieu directly or indirectly through sheer

economic necessity. Particularly during the depression in the South Wales coal trade, young girls were forced into such cities as Cardiff to work, in some cases, practically for their keep alone. After long hours of tedium and drudgery, they readily accepted the invitation of other girls like themselves to find relief... in a life where, as they speedily discovered, they could earn more money in half-an-hour than was previously produced by a month's drudgery." As for the coloured girls, to whom this occupation has had no attraction, the 1929 Report of the Juvenile Employment Committee is quoted: "... they are not usually acceptable in factories," it comments, "and there is only the poorest type of domestic service open to them." It is certain that in regard to the half-caste girl, the position has improved little, if any, since then.

Drawn as the material is from both personal observation and enquiry and from official records, much is brought to light that is very significant. The remarkably high figures, for example, for infant mortality and tuberculosis require wider publicity. While the operation of the Coloured Alien Seamen Order, during the great shipping depression which followed the first world war, is an obvious instance of official discrimination.

Although not conducted with the purpose of drawing attention to the injustices and hardships that the members of this small community have known in the past, and to a certain extent still experience, this survey does, nevertheless, build up a picture of an area where the operation of a strict colour bar in the rest of the city has led to the community's virtual segregation; where ill-housing, economic instability and gross overcrowding have led in turn to those conditions which produce an even more rigid ostracism. This study brings together between the covers of one book much that has before been fragmentary and scattered.

There are one or two gaps noticeable in the general description that can, perhaps, be best attributed to the limitations of method. It is, no doubt, true that an obvious stranger could not be entirely assimilated into the community and much that is reported has necessarily been gathered together from interviews with various leading local figures and from hearsay evidence. This has led to the acceptance on occasion of facts that really require further verification. The question of housing conditions and the plight of the non-resident seamen is not considered sufficiently.

Dr. Little concludes with the prognosis that the community may be expected to undergo further economic hardship if the conditions of a strong colour bar, overt in the city and latent in the shipping industry, the presence of coloured juveniles for whom no employment can be found,

and a low degree of literacy amongst the members as a whole, continue to exist.

It will readily be seen that the colour bar is the main cause of the characteristic difficulties of the Cardiff and other similar groups. Difficulties, it is remarked, that have only been met in the past through mutual aid and by virtue of sheer necessity. The second part of the book is therefore an historical and general review of colour prejudice and racial attitudes in English society. This is, in many ways, complementary to the Cardiff study. Both sections, however, slightly expanded, would stand as volumes complete in themselves.

The position of the Negro is seen in its development from the time when he was a mere novelty, the pet and porter of the richer classes, through the period

of emancipation down to to-day when, standing nominally free within a professed democracy, he expects to be accorded equal status with his fellows. A prejudice against the Negro is shown to exist in most sections of society. From a questionnaire addressed to a number of private families, boarding-houses, etc., for instance, on the specific issue of accommodating coloured students, a definite objection was received from 40 to 60 per cent. That acceptance into English social life is not yet entire and that exclusion in varying degree is still maintained, the concluding investigation into contemporary attitudes amply shows.

In all, *Negroes in Britain* is an interesting piece of sociological research. The only really detailed survey, as far as I know, of racial relations in this country, it should be of value to all who are approaching a social question that is not likely to diminish in urgency.

JOHN LARKMAN.

Prison from the Inside

GAOL DELIVERY by Mark Benney. 128 pp. (Longman's 8/6).

THIS book is described in the Foreword as "an account of English prisons during the war, based on the testimony contained in a hundred replies made by ex-prisoners to a questionnaire prepared by the Howard League for Penal Reform." Fortunately, this describes only a portion of the book, for though it is informative it is the least interesting part of a most interesting book. Much more important is the material contributed by Mark Benney himself, who, it should be pointed out, made an early acquaintance with H.M. prisons. "I have eight convictions (or is it nine?) for indictable offences on my police record, with experience of five prisons and one Borstal Institution." And, though he modestly suggests that "the fact that it is eleven years since I was a prisoner and fourteen since I last committed a burglary, only adds an unreliable memory to my quota of testamentary short-comings," we suggest this book is one of the most thought-provoking that has been written on the subject for a very long time.

Prison life from the "reception" to the day of liberation is described by reference to the answers given to the questionnaire. One is able to form opinions as to the general run of governors, warders, medical officers and chaplains in the prison service. Trafficking, diet, the earnings system, the medical service, etc., in prison, provide interesting comments from ex-prisoners (mostly C.O.'s) and the question of discipline and the measures for maintaining discipline are discussed frankly and scathingly, as they deserve to be.

"The powers of the governor over his charges are in many ways far more despotic than any given to other men in our community. He can, in effect, add four-

teen days to any prisoner's sentence, he can lock men away from their fellows, impose severe restrictions on their food, and deprive them of all that makes life liveable in the circumstances. And he can do all this for alleged offences against rules that seem like crazy caricatures of rules.

"Three days' bread-and-water for looking out of a window; seven days' imprisonment for attempting to grow a beard; a month's loss of privilege for talking to a neighbour.

"These rules were not invented by Swift to point a satire, but by respectable public servants of our own day to improve the moral character of our delinquents. And, in the British way, because the inventors are so respectable, we hesitate to question the respectability of the inventions."

But Mr. Benney is at his best when he deals with such questions as the purpose of prisons, which he sums up in these terms: "Our prison system is designed to incapacitate, separate, punish, deter and reform offenders," and he adds that modifications during the past half-century "have been such, that comparison with changes in the world beyond the prison, as to emphasize the purely punitive elements of the system"; or, when he deals with the make-up of the criminal, and the social attitude to crime.

One suspects that Mr. Benney is a reformer not so much because he believes that one can punish and reform at the same time, but because he accepts the penal system as an inevitable part of existing society and would like to remove some of the brutality and inhumanity that surrounds our prisons to-day. At least, that is the conclusion the present reviewer draws from the concluding chapters, where the Howard League's programme is discussed. He makes the significant comment: "I occasionally feel that the Howard League wants the right

structure of society". He thinks that a "process of economic stabilisation" is "everywhere taking place", and that one may visualise a life in which "Production is for use rather than for profit, everything is made fit for the purpose it is to serve, and everyone has the necessary means to acquire the essentials of a decent life at the highest level of prevailing taste", a life in which the industrial system is devoted to: "the mass production of articles which satisfy the aesthetic standards which we have established for machine art: economy, precision, fitness for purpose—all qualities of classical beauty. What then? We shall have factories full of clean automatic machines moulding and stamping, punching and polishing innumerable objects which are compact in form, harmonious in shape, delectable in colour. Gone are the jointed and fragile objects which to-day we ingeniously construct from wood and metal; almost everything will be made from one basic plastic material, and beds and bath-tubs, plates and dishes, radio cabinets and motor-cars, will spill out of the factories in an unending stream of glossy jubes." The human element will be almost eliminated from production and consequently the

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things for the wrong reasons. The League has the more extensive experience in these matters; I, perhaps the more intensive. But the area of disagreement, if there be one, lies in the almost uncharted regions of social psychology and criminology, where even the resident professors disagree."

Gaol Delivery contains so much valuable material that only a series of articles could do it justice. In our articles on crime and punishment, the first of which appeared in the last issue of *Freedom* (Prison Reform Has Failed), we shall be able to deal in greater detail with some of Mr. Benney's proposals and conclusions. Meantime, we hope this short review will have induced readers interested in the subject to borrow or buy Mr. Benney's valuable book.

R.

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Holborn, W.C.1

THE ROOTS OF ART

(Continued from page 6)

objects produced will degenerate in taste. For, Read points out, taste depends on plastic sensibility, which in turn depends on the physical contact of the maker with the thing made—a creative contact which will take place only in the case of a few designers, pattern-makers, and machine-tool makers, who “will always be an insignificant minority in any industrial community, and quite unable to check a general atrophy of sensibility in a civilisation.”

Appalled by this diagnosis, Read brings forward his remedy. “If we are to go forward to the logical conclusion of the machine age—and I am not suggesting that we should attempt to arrest an historical process of such acquired momentum—then we must create a movement in a parallel direction, and not in opposition. We must, in other words, establish a double-decker civilisation.” This double-decker civilisation—which, Read says rather significantly, is already coming into being—will have two types of art, machine art and humanistic art. The first type will be geometric, rational, objective, abstract, like the religious art of Ancient Egypt, and it will be created, presumably, by the minority of technicians to which he has already referred. The second type, which Read compares to the private domestic art of Egyptian civilisation, will be created by the people, who will have had a training of the senses and will thus possess “the natural antidote to subjective rationality, a spontaneous overflow of creative energies into their hours of leisure.” There will be a “private art standing over against the public art of the factories”, a private art whose existence will check the tendency to degeneration of the machine art, and whose exercise will be the “only preventive of a vast neurosis which will overcome a wholly-mechanised and rationalised civilisation.”

★

THIS argument is not one that would be acceptable to anarchists; indeed, the argument as it stands seems to be in sharp contradiction to the general thesis of the book. The diagnosis seems to be true only of a centralised industrial system; the remedy could easily be regarded as a blueprint for a managerial society. Anarchists might uphold the principle of “education through art”, but to the end that the “creative energies” thus disciplined might be exerted through localised industries; not that they might be limited to the production of a private art divorced from the minority-designed art of the social environment. The analogy of Egyptian civilisation seems rather unfortunate when viewed in the light of Read’s general purpose in these essays. That purpose is to show that great art, whether “humanistic” or “abstract” (and the absoluteness of the distinction is open to question) is rooted in the small communal grouping, and the anarchist would argue that the syndicate and the commune, operating a decentralised industry, would exert a direct influence upon design as well as distribution and exemplify the kind of communal creativity Read has in mind. This par-

Readers' Opinions

How to Stop a War

ASK any Anarchist what his attitude to the Next War is going to be, and without hesitation he will reply that, like the Next Government, he is *agin* it.

This attitude in *peace-time* is by no means unique, in fact, we are constantly being told that “nobody” wants War—which viewed historically just isn’t true, because if ‘nobody’ wanted it, the tragedy could never happen.

But as soon as the bugle sounded we find that *everybody*, with the exception of the genuine war-resisters who are prepared to carry the thing to its logical conclusion, either actively supports the war they didn’t want, or at any rate, are acquiescent in allowing themselves to be sent to the slaughter.

Others, more crafty and less courageous in the line of least resistance, discover certain latent talents and scramble onto the band-wagon. Yesterday’s ‘pacifists’ become to-morrow’s warmongers as the fleshpots of Mars produce a ‘change’ or loss of heart—the lions of Bohemia lend their brushes to the ‘Nation’, while the prophets of the Revolution become the Dukes of Plaza Toro’s of the B.B.C.—gallantly leading the armies of ‘resistance’ from behind.

Others again, mostly the orthodox pacifists, oppose the war on ‘moral’ grounds but feel they ought to help, and by a strange veneration for the ‘Law’ and a mistaken ‘obligation to Society’, they discover an ethical justification for civil defence, land-work, or indirectly supporting the war effort—without stopping to think that such action makes them ‘accessories after the fact’ just as much as if they had knowingly sold poison to a murderer or sharpened the knife of an assassin. The war-lords will go on making a gory mess just as long as there is some well-meaning pacifist to clean it up, and not even an army of volunteers would go into battle unless it were clothed, fed, armed and equipped, and fully assured of non-combatant support. Failing this assurance, like Chesterton’s army of ‘logical’ soldiers, it would simply pack up and go home.

Once combatant units have to be transferred to ‘other duties’ which would normally be performed by civilians, fighting strength is so reduced, that from a military standpoint it is no longer possible to prolong the war. In fact, if

tical essay in speculation is a brilliant one, but the steps by which Read mounts to its launching would seem to the anarchist reader to be conspicuously shaky.

It will be seen that this book is well worth attention. Writer and reader, or speaker and audience, have a common framework of opinion within which there is plenty of occasion for disagreement. The lectures provoke discussion: they are good lectures. Anarchists and others will find them stimulating and rewarding.

LOUIS ADEANE.

these conditions existed in the first place, it would be quite impossible to even start a war.

War is only possible so long as people (individuals) are prepared to ‘take part’ in it, and the only way to keep peace is to *undermine the capacity* of the ruling-classes for making war.

So far, unfortunately, no army has ever had to undergo the demoralising experience of shadow-boxing with itself. Just as it takes two to make love or start a fight, so it requires at least two armies to have a battle.

Supposing, for instance, one army overran the entire surface of the earth, without meeting any resistance from Pole to Pole(!). Apart from the demoralization of the General Staff, the uselessness of the commanders, and the regeneration and intense relief of the rank-and-file, its problems of communication and astronomical dispersal, combined with loneliness, homesickness and an inescapable feeling of *guilt*, would make it

easy meat for the fraternisation tactics of the local population.

Fancy trying to ‘govern’ Britain with two officers, a dozen N.C.O.’s and a few thousand men. Like the isolated and forgotten garrisons on the fringe of the Roman Empire in its period of decline—they would very soon want to be friendly and go home.

And the Central Global Government, far away in Washington or Moscow, unable to govern or to find ‘Quislings’ ready to govern in its name, would break down in sheer exhaustion, just as Alexander the Great wept bitter salt tears when he had conquered to the limits of the then-known world.

But, unfortunately, with human intelligence and behaviour at its present deplorable level, we can expect no organised resistance on behalf of the workers as a whole in any of the combatant nations. To place any hope on a sudden awakening of the masses would be just as puerile as it is to rely upon

U.N.O. or Divine Intervention.

And so, inevitably, deserted by the masses, who must learn (if ever) by the hard way they have chosen, we must return to the problem of individual resistance—personal neutrality and militant inaction by example.

First of all, the individual must decide according to his anarchist convictions and beliefs whether he is obliged to support the war or not. This brings us to the question of Anarchism and/or Pacifism. Anarchists as a whole supported (and fought) in the Spanish conflict in order to establish Anarchism or, at least to defend the foundations of a libertarian society already laid.

Anarchists, with few exceptions, will fight in a Revolutionary War—but even then, they will never condone conscription or the coercion of the unconcerned. They fight and die, only from *Conviction*, when all else fails.

But Anarchists, with few regrettable exceptions, have always opposed Imperial Wars fought exclusively in the interests of the ruling classes.

They will, therefore, oppose any Third Imperialist War between Western Capitalism and the Eurasian Slave-Empire of Josef the First.

And Opposition spells *Non-Participation* by the Individual. PAUL MAX.

India: A Choice for the Future

SUPPORTERS of British Imperialism are trying to make capital out of the difficulties facing India since assuming Dominion status. Many of these difficulties, however, were patently made during the occupation. They would eventually have to be faced by Indians. The only purpose our continued occupation could serve would be the shouldering of these difficulties ourselves.

One constant sneer that has always been with us is the fact that in order to attack the British, it is necessary for Indians and Pakistanis to speak in English. But the reason for this was illustrated to us fairly close at hand when during the Nazi occupation of Europe the only language fairly common to different victims of Nazism was German and wherever these were able to meet—principally in concentration camps—it was only in German that they could converse. Understanding of the conqueror’s language was necessary to most nations in Europe and accordingly it was the common language they had. The same went for India which was not one nation but a sub-continent of many so-called nations. The artificial dividing line between India and Pakistan does not mark a clear-cut division.

Within—and apart from—the two principal religions, there is a vast network of different races, religions, and other things that keep men apart. The language problem is a natural consequence of making them into a political whole. English being necessary to the educated classes (into which all nationalist politicians belong) it is the only common language they have. The problem now facing India is: what shall be the official

language? This has been faced in Hindustan by two suggestions.

Professor K. R. Srinivas Iyengar has used the term “Indo-Anglian”. The use of an Indianised English (possibly with the same distinction as Mauritian French). Language has been extensively used by the British ruling class as a means of keeping people in subjection. It marks the division between classes in England; it underlines rank in the armed forces; accent and dialect is the main prop of English division and rule (note the way in which the average man’s speech is always held to be ridiculous and inferior by such propaganda organs of government as the B.B.C. while “Oxford English” is the only English). In the same way, English rule in India has been marked by the “white sahibs” refusal to learn the local language (as always in colonial rule) in which they might stumble; and force their subjects to stumble in what is ironically known to the *pukka sahibs* as “babu English”. The professor’s idea is a worthy one, but it does fall into the traditional trap of British imperialism. Certainly English will remain a necessary language for educated Indians for a long time to come; but its adoption as an official language is a step towards acceptance of Indian subjection. And the same with even stronger force goes for the suggestion that Russian might well be equally acceptable, made ostensibly on the ground that it disputes with English as a commonly accepted language, actually merely in order to sway Indian opinion into the Russian bloc of rival imperialism.

The more reasonable and at first sight logical solution is the adoption of Hindi. A writer in *Mysindia* recently

summarised the view of the non-Hindi-speaker to our view very well, save that we do not accept his view of English as an international language. “I prefer English to Hindi. If world society seems to be far away, I prefer to be the citizen of a small peaceful state like Sweden or Switzerland (with my mother-tongue and without Hindi) than that of an ugly Leviathan like China (with Hindi and without English).” The non-Hindi-speaker should he adopt Hindi as a State language, would put himself in accord with those who want an Indian national State, an unwieldy empire. Better stick to his own language and be a member of a tiny State unable to intervene in world affairs (“happy is the nation that has no history” says the proverb). Far better to stick in the mud of provincialism than die in the mud of imperialism. Would not we have been better off through the years as “Little Englanders” than as citizens of the great Empire (sorry, Commonwealth)?

But it is significant that many Indians make a big qualification. Namely, they see the possibilities of internationalism. Whilst intelligent men prefer provincialism to nationalism, they recognise the value of internationalism and world brotherhood. In this, they are streets ahead of a large part of the world. In fact, only such a recognition can lead the way to a free world. The idea of small communities—recognising each other’s value and rights—joining together in a free world, is at the basis of anarchism. What obscures the view is the possibility of domination by other communities—a possibility that only exists in a governmental society.

K.A.B.

MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION

Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., at a “Management in Industry” conference in London yesterday, said: “We intend, in a great crusade of which this conference is one of the first ventures, to spread the doctrines of humanity and opportunity.”

Sunday Chronicle, 11/4/48.

PROTECTING WAR 3 'STARS'

No more chief-of-staff meetings under Florida’s palms, Truman rules. It occurred to him that when his Army, Navy and Air Force chiefs met in Key West, they could all have been blown up with one saboteur’s or madman’s bomb.

Daily Express, 6/4/48.

THIS IS NOT THE WAY

Four officials of the Left-wing Labour Party were taken into protective custody at Windsor, Ontario, to-day. Five hundred college students, shouting “Give them back to Uncle Joe”, had just wrecked the party’s headquarters.

Daily Express, 9/4/48.

HEAR NOTHING, SEE NOTHING...

In the British sector of Berlin, which has a population of 628,373, there are 10,000 British people.

I wrote to one of them to find out first hand what life is like. The person I chose was an intelligent young man of 18 who left England last summer to live in Hamburg with his father, a civilian supervisor with the B.A.O.R.

There was a long delay. Then his reply, from 626 H.Q. (R. Det.) C.C.G. (B.E.) B.A.O.R. 22:—

“Everyone out here signs a paper saying that they will not convey anything to the Press in any way. So you see, I cannot write anything at all, as a matter of fact, that is why my letters to you have been so few...”

Letter in Daily Express, 15/4/48.

Through the Press

COMMON SENSE

A man who asked for possession of a bungalow pleaded at Swindon, Wilts., county court yesterday that the tenant was living with a woman not his wife. This was an annoyance to neighbours.

Said Judge Kirkhouse Jenkins: “Far be it from me to say that a court should express its pleasure or approval at the way two people choose to live, but marriage is not compulsory.”

“If a man and woman agree to live as husband and wife without the ceremony of marriage, the only inhibition is public opinion.”

“There has been nothing among amendments to the basic Act of Parliament of 1920 to make it a ground for possession that a woman should cohabit with a man to whom she is not married.”

The landlord, a grocer, said his customers complained about the relationship, and suggested that he was condoning the position. It was affecting his business.

Refusing possession, the Judge said: “Apart from the fact that they are not married, no one has cast any aspersion on the couple.”

Daily Express, 15/4/48.

CRACKED POLITICS

Here is an American election crack I’d not heard before. The Republicans say: “George Washington never told a lie. Franklin Roosevelt never told the truth. Truman can’t tell the difference.”

New Statesman, 17/4/48.

PURGING THE BOOKS

Police are raiding book stores and stationers in Detroit to-day for comic books. They are on the look-out for new publications which, according to their commissioner, are “loaded with Communist teachings.”

Daily Express, 15/4/48.

NEWS ACCORDING TO TASTE

An example of the partisanship and unreliability of the Russian-licensed press in Berlin is provided to-day. The Left-wing morning papers all demonstrated by skilful juggling with the results that the Popular Front was winning the Italian elections. The evening papers could hardly hope to keep this up, so they have gone over to the line that the Italian Christian Democrats have intimidated the electors and falsified the voting papers.

Manchester Guardian, 21/4/48.

SNOOPING WITHOUT OFFENCE?

Just how widespread is official tampering with the mails?

The Postmaster-General promised in Parliament to inquire into the opening of a letter sent to a Swiss hotel. The Post Office opens letters only at the request of another Department.

The Treasury is concerned to stop illegal export of currency. The Home Office is out to stop traffic in Irish Sweep tickets. The law must be upheld, but so must the inviolability of the Royal Mail.

No letter should be opened before X-ray or some other method of detection has been tried.

Star, 25/3/48.

A faint breath of true old-fashioned Anglo-Saxon democracy, that... Don’t open the letters, X-ray them instead!

"SNOOPERS" ANTIDOTE

Tapped telephones can be detected by a new attachment which a New York manufacturer offers to Congressmen.

Daily Express, 6/4/48.

MAKING SURE

Czechs will be compelled to vote in the May 30th elections under a £50 penalty.

Daily Express, 17/4/48.

Presumably, there will be no real opposition to the Communist candidates.

THE LOCK HE COULD NOT FORCE

Britain’s most famous locksmith, 44-year-old Arthur Briant, who installed the vaults of the Bank of England and the Jewel Room at the Tower of London, is leaving for South Africa to-morrow.

He claims there is no lock he cannot open.

Last night, at his Purley, Surrey, home, he said: “I’m emigrating principally to give my son a better chance.”

“But I am also tired of regimentation and the restrictions of this country. No man with ambition can break through them to-day.”

Sunday Dispatch, 26/4/48.

THE PUBLIC ALWAYS PAY

Some of the West End theatre managers will have difficulty in convincing the public that the Budget cuts in live theatre entertainment tax cannot be passed on to the customers. The argument is that because of the rising costs managements are justified in keeping some of the benefit themselves.

Higher costs do not seem to worry the Moss Empires group (which includes the Palladium, the Hippodrome and the Prince of Wales). Mr. Prince Littler has just announced the biggest annual trading profit in the history of the company.

The group, enlarged on January 1st, 1947, show profits that rose from

£381,545 to £463,510 in the year. Dividend of 15 per cent. is being paid to Ordinary stockholders.

In deciding whether to give the public the full benefit of the tax cuts, Prince Littler is torn between two loyalties: to his fellow-managers, who wish to keep for themselves some of the cuts, and to the public.

I should say the public should come first.

Evening Standard, 16/4/48.

PLACE IN THE SUN

Conversation to-day between a Russian sentry roused from his sleep in the sun and a Russian-speaking British passenger who stopped his car at the Soviet checkpoint on the road to Schwechat airport:

Passenger: What do you want?

Sentry: What do you want?

Passenger: Have you orders to stop any travellers?

Sentry: I have orders not to stop them.

Passenger: Then what is your purpose here?

Sentry: I have no purpose here, but it’s quite a nice day, isn’t it?

Manchester Guardian, 21/4/48.

FOOTBALL v. POLITICS

The England v. Spain soccer game in Madrid, the match that was expected to take the place of the cancelled England v. Czechoslovakia game in Prague, is off.

The F.A. announced this to-day, but gave no reason.

A foreign football representative in London gave it as his opinion that political considerations had forced this decision.

“You could not change from the Communist to the Fascist,” he said. “If you were going to play one of the free, democratic countries, where the football officials are appointed by the popular vote, you could not choose Spain.”

Evening Standard, 22/4/48.

POLITICS & HANGING

"FOR the first time in the long, grim history of Wandsworth Prison, a man under sentence of death is walking about the hospital wing corridors and exercise yard with a smile on his face.

For the first time, too, there is an absence from the whole prison of that brooding air of gloom which always persists when it is known that a condemned man has just arrived in the prison from the Old Bailey.

The six prison officers, who only a week or two ago would have been part of "the death watch"—the men whose duty it is to maintain a day and night guard on a convicted murderer—are also smiling... because prison officers do not like the job of watching a man soon to die on the scaffold.

The reason for all this is the presence in a hospital cell of Donald George Thomas, 23-year-old Army deserter, who, at the Old Bailey, was formally sentenced to death for the murder of P.C. Nathaniel Edgar on Feb. 13th.

Although no announcement has yet been made by the Home Secretary, Mr. Chuter Ede, it is known that Thomas will not be hanged."

"Thomas's trial made criminal history Mr. Justice Hilbery wore no black cap. He dispensed with the ritual associated with the death sentence for at least 400 years, and, in 21 words, said to Thomas:

The sentence of the Court upon you is the sentence prescribed by the law, namely, you shall suffer death by hanging.

Everyone in court during the two-day trial, from the expensively dressed women sitting behind the barristers, and the one woman and 11 men on the jury, to the three dozen people in the public gallery, knew that the sentence of death was an empty formula. There were no tears; no screams. The sting had been removed."

The above appeared in the *News of the World*, which has built up its 7 million circulation by reporting the most sensational and sordid criminal cases that are heard in British Courts, and which, so far as we know, has not expressed itself in favour of abolition of the Death Penalty. The extracts reproduced above

are, therefore, of considerably greater value. They admit that capital punishment is demoralising both for those who administer it and for those who obtained a perverted thrill from the ceremonial that accompanied pronouncement of the death sentence by the judge. And as *Freedom* has repeatedly pointed out both in these columns and in the foreword to Charles Duff's *Handbook on Hanging** the moral issues and not statistics should be the determining factor in deciding whether the death penalty was to be abolished in this country.

Issues in the Debate

By a small majority (245 to 222) the House of Commons adopted Mr. Sidney Silverman's amendment to the Criminal Justice Bill that the death penalty for murder should be suspended for an experimental period of five years. The wording of the amendment clearly indicates that its supporters had no hope of winning sufficient votes by putting the only real case, which is: abolition of the death penalty. Instead, they chose a compromise of suspension for an experimental period and, to quote Mr. Silverman, who moved the amendment: "It does not propose to interfere with the capital penalty in any case except the case of murder. It does not interfere in the least with charges under the Treachery Act, with charges of piracy and with charges of sabotage in Royal Dockyards. All these are considered to be special matters. What we desire to get decided by the House is the general question of principle whether the capital penalty can be inflicted any longer, by this country at this date, in cases of murder in peacetime." Mr. Silverman also expressed the opinion that he thought "almost everyone would retain the penalty if they were convinced that, with its retention there would be fewer murders than if it were removed." And his argument, and that of his supporters, was based on the view that capital punishment was no deterrent to the committing of murders. One or two M.P.s, however, put forward the moral case for abolition.

*Published by Freedom Press, 2/-.

One Member stated that the only reason he wanted to intervene in the Debate was because "I feel that the actual carrying out of the penalty of hanging is a crime against humanity and a crime against the social conscience of the whole nation." Another suggested that those who opposed abolition might change their views if they "knew all the facts of this form of the extreme penalty."

Press Reactions

Undoubtedly the "victory" of the abolitionists has had serious repercussions among the supporters of hanging, and the columns of certain sections of the Press (in spite of "shortage of space", which is the excuse for omitting much more important issues) have been filled with irate and irrational letters from readers who now walk the streets in mortal fear of being suddenly attacked and horribly done to death. One *Evening Standard* reader gives us the good news that in her opinion there will be wholesale resignations from the C.I.D. and a Labour M.P.

"Gad, Sir! Shoot 'em I say."

To the Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*.
Sir—I think that not enough weight has been given to the question of the death penalty as a deterrent for offences other than murder. It used to be the penalty for cowardice and desertion on active service.

As Assistant Adjutant-General of an army in 1916-1917 I had several of these cases through my hands.

No one supposes it did a man any good to shoot him, so the only possible reason for carrying out the penalty was that a deterrent was at the time deemed necessary—and a very strong deterrent it was.

Statistics cannot beat human nature—and the fear of death is a pretty constant human attribute.

Yours, &c.,
A. HUNTER, Lt.-Col. (retd.).
Kingston.

is reported by the *Daily Express* as saying that the question of arming the police is to be raised with the Home Secretary. Meanwhile, the Prison Officers' Association has been quick off the mark in protecting its members from the reprieved murderers. It says: "The Association desires to point out that no consideration appears to have been given to the fact that a convicted murderer in the first few months of his sentence can commit a further murder on either a fellow prisoner or a member of the staff without altering in any material way the sentence he is serving."

Was there not a greater risk under the old system that a prisoner waiting to be led to the gallows might not strangle the warders or the chaplain since, to use the same arguments as advanced by the P.O.A., he could only be hanged once? And yet we have heard of no cases of this happening.

Political Motives?

Is there some political motive behind the present widespread campaign against suspension of the death penalty? Why did not the *Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Pictorial*, to mention only two of the newspapers calling for a reversal of the Commons decision, launch as big a campaign when the question was about to be debated by the Commons? The question is that the House of Lords, known for its strong anti-abolitionist majority, has still to debate the Criminal Justice Bill containing the amendment.† Though the Government has wisely decided to support the decision of the Commons when the question comes up in the Lords, the Press obviously hopes by pointing to strong public feeling on the question, to reverse the decision.

If the Lords reject the Bill it is unlikely, however, that the Government will accept the Lords' decision. In the first place there are more Ministers in favour of suspension than opposed, and the Government cannot afford a crisis on this issue. But, secondly, and more important is the fact that if they accept they will have created the dangerous precedent of

†As we go to Press, the Lords have started debating the amendment, and there is obviously an overwhelming majority in favour of hanging.

recognising the Lords at the expense of the "elected representatives of the people", as the Commons is euphemistically called. It is a dangerous precedent which will be exploited to the full when such questions as the reform of the House of Lords is debated and when the controversial Nationalisation of Iron and Steel Bill is presented to the Houses.

Is this what is behind the *Daily Mail* campaign which has gone to the length of conducting a poll among its readers? Apparently they obtained the results they wanted: 37,285 wanted the death penalty retained and 867 were against it.

Part-Time Democracy

The *Sunday Pictorial*, quoting these figures and referring to the results of their own inquiry, which coincides with the *Daily Mail* verdict, issues an impassioned appeal that the voice of the people should be heard: "On this particular issue there is no reason why democracy should not work as it is intended to work—with the decisions of the legislators reflecting the views of the people they represent."

And why, may we ask, on "this particular issue" and not, for instance, on industrial and military conscription or on the Government's foreign policy?

But let us state, in conclusion, lest it be felt that the British people and their (!) Press are getting too emotional and losing all sense of proportion that the Home Office will see that justice is done all round and that not even Hangman Pierpoint (concerning whom the *Daily Express* reports "the Home Office has so far refused to say whether 'he will get compensation for his virtual loss of job') will be kept in suspense for long. V.R.

Liberal Conference

WANTED—A POLICY

THE Liberal Party Assembly at Blackpool cheered when it was announced that an appeal for £2,000 brought in over £10,000. A delegate asked, "Now has anyone the nerve to say that Liberalism is dead?"

This, however, was a natural but mistaken interpretation. It proved that the Liberal Party was not dead. In fact, since the experience of the General Election did not teach it that the public were not such fools as to want to choose M.P.s solely for being high-ranking officers, having had quite enough of their ilk during the war, and even such reminders as North Croydon being insufficient, the Liberals may be sure there is a continued need for such a Party while such ex-officers continue to seek executive positions.

What is dead is LIBERALISM. If they want to revive its corpse they have to find a policy different from the Labour or Conservative Parties. Talk about "free trade, free movement, free association" does not of itself mean anything. Other parties use such phrases, too.

Do they stand for State control or capitalism? They want to combine the two, they say. For that matter, the Conservatives are not adverse to certain State controls, nor the Labour Party to capitalism, now known under the respectable cognomen of private enterprise.

They may be a political alternative, a third party, to Socialism and Toryism. But they have no industrial alternative. They combine trade unionists and big capitalists. At the same time, Mr. Clement Davies asks for "a plan for progressive relaxation of controls and the encouragement of enterprise at all levels." (*Star*, 24/4/48). But all that means is combining State control and capitalism.

Much of their progressive veneer comes from their pre-war foreign policy, not always so reactionary as the Conservatives, for the simple reason that they could not implement it anyway. But their greatest figure Lloyd George did have dealings with Hitler just as Chamberlain did. They are tied now by the old Lloyd George and Asquith tradition on the one hand, and a desire to create a new independent party by young careerists on the other. But by their very nature as a capitalist party they can never give any different industrial policy from that of Tories or Socialists. The idea of workers' control of industry being thought of as quite as private and enterprising as capitalism, would have sent the delegates shrieking up to the top of Blackpool Tower.

K.A.B.

He Was A Deserter

"From the total of twenty thousand deserters from the armed forces now at large, one at least may be struck off strength. Donald Thomas, aged 22, was last night found guilty at the Old Bailey of the murder of an unarmed police constable. He has been described as a soldier. The fact is that he was a deserter, and he seems to have killed Police Constable Edgar not from premeditated malice, not for gain, but because the interview with a policeman by lamp-light on a February evening "was extremely inconvenient as he was a deserter". So close two careers, useless and to no end. Can the country afford this burden of twenty thousand deserters, with its trial of subterfuge and crime, at the present time? Is there no better remedy than the ineffectual offer of leniency by the Minister of Defence last spring, which netted a pitiful 2,500? It would be a wise move for the Government to set up a small committee, on the lines of the recent Russell Vick inquiry into black market petrol, to probe the whole unhappy problem. What are the twenty thousand men doing, and how many of them are living at the expense of society by their wits? On what terms could a sizable number be persuaded to give themselves up, if not to the Army, perhaps to the civil power? In numbers they total almost half the present strength of the Territorial Army. As individuals their long tragedy is part of the price of compulsory service, but does it follow that our present policy (or lack of policy) towards them in fact acts as a deterrent to the would-be deserter now with his unit? The men and women who fulfilled their service must certainly be considered; but the police clearly cannot catch the deserters, and a new plan is long overdue."

THIS editorial from the *Manchester Guardian* (21/4/48) whilst not openly advocating an Amnesty for deserters nevertheless admits that the Government's offer last Spring was "ineffectual", as will be any proposal which does not attempt to understand why men desert from the Army.

As readers of *Freedom* know, the *Freedom Defence Committee* (8, Endsleigh Gardens, London, W.C.1) has long been campaigning for an amnesty, and their pamphlet "20,000 Outlaws" presents the case for an Amnesty in a convincing way. The Spring issue of the F.D.C. Bulletin also contains much interesting material on the Amnesty campaign. These two publications are obtainable, price 10d., including postage, either from F.D.C. or from Freedom Bookshop.

"We Want Freedom"

—Say boys of the Saucy *Arethusa*

IF you ever look at the posters on railway platforms, you will have noticed those of the Shaftesbury Homes, illustrating how they put little ragamuffins in one end of their benevolent machinery, turn the handle and produce at the other end, little mechanics, little housemaids, and little sailor-boys, ready to take their place as citizens (third-class) of this great democracy.

Something went wrong last week, however, when 175, out of 240, of the boys on the training ship *Arethusa*, walked off the ship to the sound of their bugles, and staged a five-mile protest march through Upnor (where the ship lies), Rochester and Chatham, where they formed up outside the Town Hall. As they marched, they shouted: "We want the people to know our wrongs," and "We want freedom," spelling out the word 'freedom' letter by letter in time with their marching.

The boys complain that they are served with uneatable food, that their mail is interfered with, that there is not enough soap, that they are severely punished for trivial offences, and that they have too many restrictions, particularly as regards shore-leave.

The ship's commander "believes that there is no basis for the complaints". He says: "The lads have been unsettled since they returned from Easter leave because they have

PRESS FUND

April 7th—23rd:

Anon 2/6; London: A.E.H. 7/6; Anon £1/10/0; Palo Alto: J.N. £1/15/0; Battersea: G.G. 2/6; Los Angeles: Youth Group (per S.G.) £13/14/0; New York: M.S. £12/10/0; London: W.E.D. 5/-; Bristol: W.S. £20/0/0; Anon 2/-; London: Collection 17/1; York: H.A.A. 10/-; Southend: G.L. 2/-; Gosport: F.G. 5/-; J.S.M. 5/-.

£51 7 7
Previously acknowledged ... £108 7 1

1948 TOTAL TO DATE ... £159 14 8

heard about high wages for boys in civilian jobs," and he also blames the trouble on "disturbing elements". He declares that "those who marched out this morning were just lambs following the black sheep," and on the question of punishment: "The severest punishment allowed is ten cuts with the cane, but I have never given more than nine."

The former Medical Officer, Dr. A. J. Copeland of Rochester, who resigned in 1946, has quite a different point of view. He says:

"I think the boys have a real grievance. Discipline is too harsh and the food they are given is nothing like sufficient for growing lads.

"Conditions were unhygienic aboard the ship and I thought boys were being given punishment which was detrimental to their health.

"I reported the facts to Admiral Larkin, then chairman of the committee, and to the secretary, but no action was taken. I then reported the matter to the C.-in-C. the Nore.

"I was worried because of the way the boys were being punished. For talking in their hammocks two were stood on the quarter deck for two hours without coats, on a winter's night."

The local people share the doctor's opinion and cheered the boys as they marched off the ship, and the village storekeeper says:

"Although my shop is only 200 yards from the *Arethusa*, the boys are forbidden to enter it.

"Villagers agree with me that it is more like a Borstal institution."

On the following day, Admiral Lord Tovey, chairman of the Shaftesbury Homes, arrived to open an enquiry, but 70 of the boys walked out again.

We congratulate these lads on the spirit and commonsense they have shown in drawing the public's attention to their grievances.

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
MAY 2nd
Education and Freedom
Teachers from Different Types of Schools
MAY 9th Philip Sansom
William Morris—An Assessment

NORTH EAST LONDON

MAY 4th
"The International Anarchist Movement"
MAY 18th Ben Vincent
"Quakerism and Anarchism"
JUNE 1st Fred Reed
"Dostoevsky"
Comrades interested should ring
WAN 2396.

BIRMINGHAM

Regular fortnightly discussion-lectures are held on Sunday, 7 p.m., at Dick Sheppard House, 36, Holloway Head. All readers are cordially invited.
Sunday, 9th May: "The Anarchist Struggle." (Speaker to be announced.)

KINGSTON, PUTNEY, HAMMERSMITH

Discussion group in above area meets alternate Thursdays, 7.30 p.m. at Dorick House, Kingston Vale. (85 and 72 buses to Robin Hood Gate stop 100 yards up Kingston Vale on right side.) Next meeting, Thursday, May 13th Variety of Subjects. Bring your friends.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Public Meetings at
MAXWELL STREET
will be held every Sunday evening.

Speakers:
John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Eddie Shaw.

OXFORD

Anyone interested in the formation of an Oxford Anarchist Group should get in touch with John Larkman, Ruskin College, Oxford.

BRISTOL

Anyone interested in the formation of a Bristol Anarchist Group should get in touch with Peter Wilcox, 73, Whitehall Road, Bristol, 5.