"Revolutionaries themselves are the last people to realise when through force of time and circumstance, they have gradually become conservatives."

-Constant Lambert

Vol. 11, No. 12

June 10th, 1950

Threepence

The Right to the Necessities of Life ill De-Rationing Meet URING the last few months the Government have relaxed the control of food consumption through rationing to a very siderable extent, and it may be opportune to consider the ole question in its broader aspects. Rationing represents an ur NEEDS?

made by a government to regulate consumption in the sof the "community"—in so far as this term has meaning

MOTIVE FOR AURDER

TNIGHT ago a girl was found d in a Paddington hotel. Her been beaten in and one of her stockings had been tightly tied

iries led the search for the the village of Houghton-le-County Durham, where a titted the description and uspect. He disappeared, to day dying from a self-in the head.

in the head.

Al-known in his own little
where, according to a
se report, the villagers were
elves "How could this
never had a girl friend in

time it was generally is sort of thing happens e such men never have heir lives. Davidson was the local church; he was a Church Ladd' Brigade, ber of a society in which frowned upon and any the normal is treated as a ly shy and reserved, he unable to tackle the erects against sexual y other way but in furtive prostitutes.

be dealt with more fully

ociety like ours. Its overt aim is to see that in a situation of scarcity, the normal operation of capitalist economics is to some of searcity, the normal operation of capitainst economics is to some extent suspended, and the usual outcome of searcity, a considerable rise in prices, prevented. If it is not prevented, of course, the scarce commodities, even though they be necessities like basic foods, become available only to the higher income groups and pass right out of the range of the working-class family.

to spending power seemed quite natural to administrators and to the bulk of the ruling class. That it should to-day appear obviously unjust is an indication that the moral element which the earlier socialists and reformers imported into the discussion of political and economic

In the nineteenth century the relationships has, at least to distribution of goods according some extent, permeated thought in the twentieth century. The capitalist idea that it was quite fit that a commodity's scarcity should determine its price, and hence its distribution, was largely unquestioned a century after today such an economic ago; to-day such an economic mechanism is execrated under the title of black market.

The whole conception of price control and the attempt to secure equitable distribution through rationing derives from the recognition—belated and the recognition—belated and incomplete as it is—that all men have a right at least to the necessities of life. It is unquestionably a progress that such a conception should now be common property. But it is also in a conception should now be common property. But it is also indicative of society and of the administrative class that this conception is thought to have application only during wartime. The rights of the common man—

THE TAXL STRIKE

STRIKE

STRIKES of public transport services are always unpopular with the general public because they are inconvenienced. In the recent taxi strike in London the very nature of the industry helped the workers to strike at their employers white at least a partial service was maintained for the public.

This was because a third of London's taxis are owner-driven; two-thirds are driven by employees of large firms of taxi owners, and it was against these owners, that the strike for a larger commission on fares was directed.

Cab-drivers receive one-third of their takings, plus tips, and the strikers—and the strike was official, believe it or not—were demanding a forty per cent. share, now that taxi fares have been increased to the public. The employers, of course, resisted, saying they could not afford it with the increased price of petrol, but the drivers maintain that increased fares will reduce the number of hirings and therefore their commission.

The owner-drivers co-operated with the strikers by arranging for them. to take out their cabs on a shift basis, and so many of the strikers bave thereby managed to earn a living independently of their bosses, for whom there has been no blacklegging. At the time of writing the strike is still on, but there are signs that the employers are being forced to give way and already many of the strikers' demands.

Making and Destroying

THERE are at least three ways of looking on cultivated land. and women of the past, who have tilled the soil with love and care, keeping it fertile and in good heart because there is a fundamental relationship between the well-being of man and the well-being of the land.

Or it can be looked upon simply because it is good to look upon, because there is great satisfaction in seeing the beauty of fat acres of farming land, patterned by plough and pasture. Or, the land can be looked upon as a means of cetting looked upon as a means of getting rich quick.

Making the Soil . . . Three stories have been presented to

the public recently which have illustrated each one of these approaches. A radio feature on the islands of Aran, off the west coast of Ireland, told the story of how the islanders have had literally to make the soil from which they wring their meagre living. The Isles of Aran are bare rock jutting from the wild Atlantic, and the dwellers there have gathered handsful of soil from nooks and crannies and, together with sand and seawed from the shore, have spread it over the rock,

to make a fertile top-soil. To break the force of the wind and prevent the soil from blowing away, they have covered the islands with networks of rock walls, patiently placing stone on stone, so that after years and years a simple living can be maintained for themselves and their livestock to the state of the state

In the Midlands of England, in fertile In the Midlands of England, in fertile necessary. The rich, deep soil readily yields its harvests, and generations of farming folk have made this part of the country famous for fruit, for wheat-production (30 cwt. per acre as compared with 19 cwt. for the rest of England and 7 cwt. for America), and for pastureland.

... and Destroying It
This land is not only useful and pro-

POLICE

ductive, but beautiful, and to it go thousands of workers from Birmingham and the industrial dungeons of the Black. Country to rest their eyes and nerves in the fresh air. But it has been decided by the Ministry of Fuel and Power that a great area of this lovely countryside, between the rivers Teme and Severn must be torn up in prospecting for open-cast coal.

a great area of this lovely countryside, between the rivers Teme and Severn must be torn up in prospecting for open-cast coal.

Great machines will rape this earth, tearing huge pits 170 feet deep, piling up great mounds of black and useless sub-soil, creating a desert that will remain a barren eyesore for generations, perhaps for centuries. And for what? For a relatively small amount of poor quality coal produced at a loss for the sake of the export drive.

The machines-necessary for this task must come from America. They must be bought for dollars to produce coal to be exported for foreign exchange to buy food which this land could uself produce if it were left alone! There is a limit to the amount of coal that can be got in this way; there is no limit to the amount of food that can be got from this land-taking the long-term view.

For sheer stupidity, this short-sighted government edict takes some beating, but it is to the credit of the people of Worcestershire that they are not taking it lying down. In the words of L. E. Easterbrook in the News Chronicle: "The protests are coming in not only from the county council and the district councils, from the organised farmers, farm workers, landowners and women's also. Never has Worcestershire been so united. Never, in peace-time, have herpeople been in such fighting mood. Good luck to them."

Plundering the Soil

Plundering the Soil

And to illustrate the third way of looking upon the land, we go, as so ofters before, to America. There, great dust bowls are once again being created by "suit-case" farmers who are grabbing; land, growing quick crops to cash in on the government-guaranteed high prices and thereby exhausting the land. Where they pull out, a dollar fortune to the good, but leaving a desert behind them. From three million acres in the South-Western States, the top-soil is blowing away.

Western States, the top-soil is blowing away.

We have discussed the problem of soil erosion many times before. It is a problem that will exist as long as am irresponsible attitude looks upon the land as something to be plundered for quick and private profit—and to hell with the future. One American "farmer" was reported as saying: "It's a free country. A man has the right to do what he wishes with his own land."

Contrast that with the words of Robert Gill, an Aran farmer who has never made an easy dollar in his life: "The little that I can do," said Gill, "helps those that will come after me."

P.S.

P.S.

of the

DNE of the great advantages of being a regular reader of the daily press that every now and again one comes cross a piece of news which creeps in the column by accident. Glancing the ground of the column by accident. Glancing the ground a report published quite stally, tucked away in two small paraphs referring to a fraud case, which wealed quite the most astounding instance of the most secretive bodies, whose activities rarely come to the concerns one of the most secretive bodies, whose activities rarely come to the concerns one of the most secretive bodies, whose activities rarely come to the concerns one of the most secretive bodies, whose activities rarely come to the concerns one of the most secretive bodies, whose activities rarely come to their fun-and-games.

"Willoughby d'Erresby Walmisley, 54, art-time M.1.5 man and now an estate gent, of Clarges Street, Mayfair, W., as sailed for 18 months at the Old asley this evening for getting £1,000 aley this evening for getting £1,000 aley this evening for getting £1,000 aley this evening for getting £1,000 in, said that in M.1.5 he was attached in, said that in M.1.5 he was attached in, said that in M.1.5 he was attached of the command and in the vent of invasion was to organise an inderground resistance movement in lamorgan."

Evening Standard, 16/5/50.

-Evening Standard, 16/5/50.

Let us linger awhite to the Daily Herald commences its stray the trial:
"Willoughby d'Eresby Walmisley, host many a avish boating and tennis party the three-acre grounds of High Elmstroomed house at Hampton Court, will to be seen on the trim lawns by the hames for the next 18 months." (D.H.,

/50).

e now try to see Mr. Willoughby estby Walmisley in the light of a uis leader in South Wales—we try ivorce him—name, accent and all his large house with trim lawns in fashionable part of Surrey, and

picture him away from his "Three maids to run the house, gardener to care for the lawns, chauffeur to drive his two luxury cars"—and see him down in dear old smoky Glamorgan—the resistance leader of the coal-miners, the sabotage organiser of the steel-workers, the agitator of Neath or Merthyr Tydfil in the struggle against the English Gestapo.

Was Mr. Willoughby d'Eresby Walmisley the only actor in this wonderful game which must have cheered up many a soul in the dark days of 1940? That hardly seems credible. Doubtless the tentacles of this embryonic Maquis stretched all over the country. Perchance many bright lads with 'Varsity voices and hyphenated names descended upon the beside the puzzled pitmen of the Severn, and informed them that they were there to lead the sabotage, strikes and agitation—only needless to say, not too soon. One can only ask in wonderment how much of the compulsory charity we allow them they threw away on this incredible manzeuvre, by which M.1.5 evidently imagined it was going to change itself as if by the touch of a magic wand into a revolutionary organisation, in the event of a German invasion.

Such a revolutionary organisation would have had to struggle against the English Gestapo which would be working for the Quisling Government—that was already plain enough in 1940, and certainly M.1.5 knew it, since they read the columns of predecessor War Gomentary avidly enough, and everything was explained to them there. And where did Gestapos? Not from the insignificant feets of the police forces already existing. And the police forces already existing.

SECRET

injunctions that the British secret police should do so were unheeded. A lucky some of the old ones, but the new ones were built up again fast enough.

It may be, of course, that alone among the countries of Europe, the British secret police would not, in the event of a Hitler victory, have handed over the political dossiers of all elements liable to be disaffected against Nazism. Had this unique event occurred it would have been a considerable surprise and perhaps disappointment to the police of the fascist countries, who so seldom failed to get the co-operation accorded to them by international usage owing to any indignation at Belsen and Buchenwald, before these became war-slogans.

We must ask ourselves, too, what ingenious exercise the hidden brains of our internal espionage system have thought up in the event of a Russian invasion? Can it be that even at this moment young Archibald Cholmondeley, special agent, is taking up residence in the Gorbals, and preparing for the day when he will be able to call upon the Glasseegians to rise against their oppressors (making it quite plain, of course, which he means)? We would point out to our regular but anonymous readers in Whitehall responsible for such high links that there is only one way possible for him to prepare—and that is to gain a reputation as a militant organiser beforehand, but to ally this with with party politics. However, several organisations are already doing this job, and when the time comes they will jump on to whatever bandwaggon is going. We are afraid that the ex-militants of the type known everywhere, who made the grade in party politics and became party leaders, who have already achieved, or will sulmately achieved, or the cart.

Let us realise, more seriously, that in the event of such an invasion the very people now engaged in the witch-hunts and purges of Communists and other sympathisers with Russian Imperialism (who will ultimately extend this purge in time of war to those anti-war and not merely pro-the-other-side), will be the most likely collaborationists. The Nazis never recruited their police chiefs from the odd boobs who drifted to fascist meetings; in the case of men like Chiappe, they were the officials already established, and determined to remain established. If the Russians had to establish a government based on the Communist movement, they would soon fail. But their likeliest Quislings are those people now most respectable, patriotic and anti-Russian, who in the event of a Russian victory would think of "How to help their country" just as did Petain, and as this would naturally coincide with their own interests, it would mean an establishment of the status quo.

We can see in the United States to-day secret police methods run mad—a violent witch-hunt of everybody suspected of redness and pinkness, a mania for ferreiting out anyone even mildy un-orthodox, in such a fashion that scarcely any of the cabinets of their Allies—certainly none of the British Cabinet—could possibly remain in public life had they been Americans. The spy-mania was also known in France before 1940. Public life was becoming slightly intolerable by the same sort of hysteria. But when it came to the most crucial moment it was the very people who collected the dossiers as a national pre-caution who handed them over to the national enemy. We may be forgiven if the pro-caution who handed them over to the national pre-enuling was a sone of laugh now at a some of

But when it came to the most crucial moment it was the very people who collected the dossiers as a national precaution who handed them over to the national enemy. We may be forgiven if we choose to laugh now at some of the more ludicrous actions of the secret police, for whom, after all, we have to pay. It is not always possible to laugh. police, to pay, laugh.

INTERNATIONALIST.

AFRICA Can Constitutional Methods Help the African Worker?

Britain's Third Empire (Dobson, 12s. 6d.)

A STRANGER in South Africa will be quickly informed of the folly of offering any opinions on questions of local political and social significance. He will be told that they are "peculiar" to will be told that they are "peculiar" to that country and only understood after that country and only understood after that countries where similar conditions prevail. Now there are three things common to all these countries. They all have a "colour" problem, the basis of which is a conflict between a majority of indigenous people and a ruling minority of European descent. They all have a governments in which the majority have only token represenation and a social pattern in which the material benefits are exclusively for the white minority. And, to refer back to our opening observation, it is this minority which wil advise the stranger to keep out of local affairs because of their "peculiar" nature.

The stranger, however, if he is at all resourceful, will soon discover the reason for such a reluctance to discuss and explain local affairs. He will find, inevitably, that the "peculiar" problems are the same in all such countries and that it is not so much the problems as the methods used to solve them, which should not be discussed with strangers.

A study of George Padmore's Africa will throw this situation into sharp focus. The European settler or administrator's sense of guilt and uneasiness towards Africa springs partly from an awareness, subconscious maybe, of applying two different sets of principals to his life. Towards his own caste he will show kindness and consideration. Towards those he imagines to be socially inferior, the Africans, he will display indifference and hostility and, by extremists, an open brutality. It is not difficult to realise that this second attitude of the European apprings from fear and social insecurity. It is a case of men who have gone forward and created an artificial society and now cannot go back. It is easier to face the consequences with a cultivated self-righteousness and an aggress

offences, to have strikes suppressed by shooting, to have no say in the conducting of his own affairs. Yet facts do not convey adequately a picture of this accumulation of human misery. Words are meaningless to describe suffering and human degradation repeated tens of millions of times. And one knows that the tragedy, the problem, is so wide, is so beyond even Africa, that it stretches to the very reader of this book, who will either refuse to believe the facts listed or shrug his shoulders helplessly.

Yet this is not to say that the book

either refuse to believe the facts listed or shrug his shoulders helplessly.

Yet this is not to say that the book serves no purpose. It is a document which can be put to much good use, though one suspects by those already converted. It has also received the distinction of being banned by the Gold Coast Government. If the book disappoints, however, it is when the author leaves the facts of his case, as if they are not enough, and inserts some observations of his own.

For example, all through the main stream of this book is the theme of a European civilization and form of administration being imposed on a distinctly African way of life, and that this is the basis for much of the conflict. Yet the author, despite this, seems to see the Africans' objective as one modelling itself on the European. Parliamentary democracy, trade unions, national states, Rhodes Scholarships, wealth after the European pattern. At the beginning of the book he laments the passing of the old decentralized tribal life: "Before the disintegration of tribal society occurred, the Africans held their land collectively. disintegration of tribal society occurred, the Africans held their land collectively. That is to say, there was no private property in land, which was looked upon as nature's gift to all the people and not the exclusive possession of any particular section." Towards the end of the book he is saying: "If the workers also continue to draw closer together in the fire of the struggle for economic and social betterment, the tawdriness and retarding influence of tribalism will be sharply revealed, and a spur will be brought to national unity and the solidarity of the common people. In this way, trade unionism can reinforce political nationalism and provide the key which will open the door to Africa's future progress, unity and amity and the realization of the United States of Africa."

And the method to be used to bring this about? Despite the condemnation implied by all the facts with which he presents his case, the political mancurving the abortive conferences, the lies and treachery of the authorities, he persists in a belief that the solution rests in this direction. His mistake is to believe that by political action, by a democratic "gradualism", by allowing the African middle-class intellectuals" to lead their more ignorant countrymen (not a Mister Johnson among 'em), by constitutional approaches to the British, that something can be achieved. One cannot help feeling disappointed that the obvious conclusions disintegration of tribal society occurred, the Africans held their land collectively.

can be achieved. One cannot help feeling disappointed that the obvious conclusions

to be derived from this book are not shared by the author.

For at intervals through the book he illustrates with some relish the success of direct action. Where conferences and appeals have failed, as in the case of savage taxes or unfair legislation, and the Africans have resorted to effective and concerted passive action, success has nearly always resulted. Sometimes it has

once a successful boyoctt of British consumer goods. Again, the cocoa producers of the Gold Coast refused to sell their crops at profitless rates, crops on which the British were relying to balance their dollar accounts, until they were given a fairer deal.

Yet the author pleads: ". . it is obvious to anyone even superficially

acquainted with the problem and needs of these territories that without the ship and active co-operation educated Africans there can be no law development and reconstruction in the construction in the const

Which means that the white man's rule

In fact, one would like to suggent the Mr. Padmore's idea that lasting development and reconstruction depends on a active co-operation of the education of the course of the cooperation of All Africans to co-operation of All Africans.

CHARLES HUMAN

EDUCATION FOR PEACE

IN an article entitled "The Folly of Revolutionary Violence" printed in Adelphi in the Spring of 1947, George Woodcock wrote:

Woodcock wrote:

"The actual use of violence arouses a brutality which infects large masses of people. The terrible cruelties practised by revolutionary idealists... show that even the best intentioned people are capable of the worst deeds when they begin to use violence to achieve their ideas... As has been shown by the ideas... As has been shown by the degeneration of so many revolutions, after the hated government has been overhrown, (their) actions can lead only to a reign of fear more crushing than that which existed before."

This guotation clearly, shows George.

This quotation clearly shows George Woodcock's belief in non-violence, and has phrases "best-intentioned people", "worst deeds", "degeneration of so many revolutions", which are expressions of moral value.

In accepting his statement I also advocate pacifism as one of the aims of

vocate pacifism as one of the aims of education.

A parent or teacher cannot avoid making a choice in determining the type of environment and opportunities he presents to children and upon which the possibilities of their development depend. One of the functions of a teacher should be to organise things that will lead to worthwhile activities. Not to organise is not to make children free but to make them impoverished; whereas they should be at liberty—to accept or not to accept grown-up suggestions. This applies as much to gardening or book learning as to practice in living in a non-violent society. I am well aware that objection to pacifism as an aim of education is made in the name of freedom. It is said that to try to cultivate non-violent behaviour is to submit children to unwarrantable moral pressure. Yet people who make this objection at the same time insist on intellectur¹ and social values without recognising the inconsistency, or do not realise that the essence of a non-violent approach itself excludes compulsion or force on the part of those who make it. It is a question of persuasion and of drawing out certain latent qualities rather than others.

In his book Education for Peace

In his book Education for Peace (Routledge Kegan Paul, 7/6), Herbert

Read seriously discusses the proposition that "mankind must be predisposed for peace by the right kind of education". The chapters appeared originally as lectures or articles—one of which inspired George Woodcock's, quoted above—and are based on Read's more complete statement in Education through Art.

statement in Education through Art.
What is the right kind of education?
There can be no charge of indoctrination
against Read. He believes it is to be
found in the discipline of art, and his
main point is that the moral basis of
discipline should be aesthetic—nor rational
or legal or social. And in one sentence
"Play is the prophylactic of war", he
sums up nearly all the work and theory
of A. S. Neill.

In the course of the book Read makes

of A. S. Neill.

In the course of the book Read makes some penetrating comments on Freud who admits that he has left part of the riddle of group formations untouched. Freud says (in Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego, p. 70):—

"A path leads by way of imitation to empathy... Moreover, there is still much to be explained in the manifestations of existing identifications. These result among other things in a person limiting his aggressiveness towards those with whom he has identified himself, and in his sparing them and giving them help."

with whom he has identified himself, and in his sparing them and giving them help."

Read comments: 'It is precisely the significance of the process of identification for intellectual life that is our present concern. When Freud says that a path leads 'by way of limitation to empathy' he may or may not have been aware that he was indicating the path of art.* It is true that there is another path—identification with the leader—the totalitarian path in which there is no emphatic relationship with other people, but only a blind obedience to one command. But this is not what we mean by morality: morality is essentially mutuality, the sharing a common ideal. And the process by which we are induced to share a common ideal is none other than that indicated by Freud—the creation of an emphatic relationship with our fellow citizens by means of common rituals, by means of imitation of the same patterns—by meeting, as it were, in the common form or quality of the universally valid work of art."

Read freely acknowledges his de another psychologist, Dr. Edward G and in particular to his book War, S. and Pacifism. To those who conthat the abolition of government make an end to inter-state war sommarks of Grover on State Parentalist of intense interest since they are mpsychological, as opposed to ideo grounds. Glover says:

"State worship is a form of derived from the displacement of dependence", and that "however the State may be in the regula material things it is nevertheless ward and superstitious organisation.

ward and superstitious organ

process by which the poet assimilates himself to the per the is portraying, and the he is portraying, and the tinguishes his own personalit time being. This is empath

ARCHITECTUR STUDENTS CONDEMN BUILDING ARCHITECTU and EDUCATIO

PLAN 6 (Journal of tectural Students Assoc pp. 32. 2/6.

pp. 32. 2/6.

IT would be a pity if readers may booklet under the impression was just another students magazed of gossip, private jokes and articles, because it is not really a stall, but an exciting and stimulation of the present state of building tecture and education.

The booklet is extremely well private and its novel typographical arranger is part of the argument, in that each pis divided into three—one part for exubject, and may be read either do the page, or from page to page in exubject. This is not a typographe trick, but an expression of the intrelation of the subjects.

The authors of Plan 6 explain the purpose as follows:

"In the first part our concern is to illustrin the fields of building, architecture a education, the process of breakdown. This is society in its disocation. In the second pay we attempt to re-orientate our minds toward the process of growth and life—the exchanging relationships of individual, community, and the environment. These release and contaction, we symbolise in the war integration, as opposed to dissociation, and way that the many relationships, evident with any that the many relationships.

say that the many relationships evident win it are identified by their differentiation opposed to their isolation, from each tiff fluence of thinkers like Mumber of the fluence of thinkers like Mumber of the fluence of thinkers like Mumber of their order of the fluence of thinkers like Mumber of their order ord

Plan 6 is lively and thought-provising and it is to be hoped that later will be of the same wide interest.

FOOTNOTE.—An architect who compared in insult on every page." he samenal

ORWELL'S UNPUBLISHED NOTEBOOKS

ALL but a few pages of the June number of World Review are devoted to George Orwell who died in January of this year. It contains much material of value towards an assessment of Orwell's social ideas and Mr. Stefan Schimanski, as Editor and publisher of World Review, deserves our thanks and congratulations for a beautiful production at a price well within the reach of everyone's purse.*

The volume consists of extracts from George Orwell's unpublished notebooks, a long personal memoir by Mr. T. R. Fyvel and a section headed Revaluations in which five writers each contribute a critical essay on one of Orwell's major works. There is also a short tribute to Orwell by Bertrand Russell, and an even shorter Footnote about 1984 by Aldous Huxley which is, in fact, a terrible indictment of Western democracy.

* Copies of World Review are obtainable from Freedom Bookshop, price 1s. 6d. (postage 3d.)

THE notebooks were kept over two periods during the early part of the war: from May 1940 to August 1941 and from March to November 1942. The extracts published come from the first period. They seem to me to include a fair proportion of uninteresting material, but as the Editor points out, in so far as it remains "a true reflection of his ideas at the time" it is of interest for an understanding of Orwell.

The notebooks certainly reveal the struggle between Orwell the humanist and Orwell the "realist", and throughout these pages one continually finds examples of Orwell's healthy distrust of the rulingof Orwell's healthy distrust of the ruling-classes alongside quite reactionary views which imply a belief in the possibilities of solving our problems by war, govern-ments and the very institutions which at bottom he despises and mistrusts.

Thus: (24/6/40): "... If the invasion happens and fails ,all is well, and we shall have a definitely left-wing government and a conscious movement against the governing class . ." Two sentences

"Orders to the L.D.V

later he write: "Orders to the L.D.V. that all revolvers are to be handed over to the police, as they are needed for the army. Clinging to useless weapons like revolvers, when the Germans have submachine guns, is typical of the British Army, but I believe the real reason for the order is to prevent weapons getting into the 'wrong hands' . ." And by 'wrong hands' Orwell obviously includes himself and the "conscious movement against the governing class."

Again, Orwell who believes in government, albeit "left-wing government" and who supports the war, has these reflections to make about taxes which are the life blood of governments and without which capitalist wars could not be prepared: (9/8/40) "Towards the government I feel ne scruples and would dodge paying the tax if I could. Yet I would give my life for England readily enough if I thought it necessary. No one is patriotic about taxes." These sentences are also interesting for another reason. Orwell supported conscription during the war, which means being obliged to give one's life if the government thinks it I thought it necessary."

PUT in spite of these and many more

BUT in spite of these and many more infuriating statements, I agree with Herbert Read that what "is fundamental to Orwell is a love of humanity and a passionate desire to live in freedom". One can charge him with having been too optimistic, of deluding himself into believing that power does not always corrupt or that governments could be "of the people", but the Notebooks also reveal a fundamental honesty even to the extent of including thoughts and actions of which he is obviously far from proud, and which many another person would have omitted as reflecting unfavourably on them if read at a later date. For example, he writes (22/1/41): "Yesterday I ripped down a number of these [People's Convention—Communist inspired posters, the first time I have ever done such a thing. . At any normal time it is against my instincts to write on a wall or to interfere with what any-

one else has written . . . This morning's news . . the Daily Worker suppressed. Only very doubtfully pleased . . ."

And when he was convinced that he was mistaken in a judgment he was as frank in his condemnation as he was previously almost dogmatic in his support.

port. (12/9/40) ".

port. (12/9/40) ". He considered that all wars were fought for the profit of the rich, but agreed with me that this ene would probably end in revolution . ." (my italics).

(23/7/41) "One could not have a better example of the moral and emotional shallowness of our time, than the fact that we are now all more or less pro-Stalin. This disgusting murderer is temporarily on our side, and so the purges, etc. . . are suddenly forgiven. So also with Franco, Mussolini, etc., should they ultimately come over to us . . ."

So also with Franco, Mussolim, etc., should they ultimately come over to us..."

And the last entry concludes: (28/8/41) "We are in for a long, dreary, exhausting war, with everyone growing poorer all the time. The new phase which I foresaw earlier has now started and the quasi-revolutionary period which began with Dunkirk is finished. I therefore bring this diary to an end, as I intended to do when the new phase started."

Of Orwell, Bertrand Russell writes: "He preserved an impeccable love of truth, and allowed himself to learn even the most painful lessons." The Notebooks certainly give one the feeling that they were painful lessons. But Bertrand Russell adds that Orwell "lost hope. This prevented him from being a prophet for our time. Perhaps it is impossible, in the world at it is, to combine hope with truth; if so, all prophets must be false prophets..." I do not think it can be fairly said that Orwell lost hope, and for a reason which was at the same time one of his weaknesses: that in periods of crisis he was carried away by his desire to play his part and in doing so forgot the "painful lessons" he had learned; but because of his "love of truth" he in-evitably had to learn these "painful lessons" all over again—when it was too late.

From our stock. We are pleased to be able to offer two books which are very important from an anarchist point of view, at reduced prices:

Alex Comfort's Art & Social Responsibility 3/6 (from 7/6) Henrik Infield's Co-operative Living in Palestine 3/6 (from 7/6) Order while stocks last

Africa: Britain's 3rd Empire Twilight in South Africa Henry Gibbs 15/-Shadow over Africa Michael Scott 1/-In Face of Fear (Michael Scott's Challenge to S. Africa) Freda Troup 12/6

World Review, June 1950 1/6 Studies in Revolution E. H. Carr 9/6

Shelley, Godwin and their Circle Art Eric Gill Poetry London, No. 18

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP 27 red lion st

london. W.C. 1

KHAMA CALYPSO

THE banning by the British government of Seretse Khama, chief of Bamangwato tribe, who married a has aroused dark-skinned ple and their champions all over world. But in the Caribbean reports Worldover Press, the ests are beginning to take the of calypsos.

composers of impromptu rhymes are turning out verses which will sugh the region for many a day s, doing more to hurt British han formal manifestoes.

the singers have been broad-the B.B.C. before the present What will happen to them, observers are asking, if they put their protesting composi-e air? Here, for instance, is

loud talk of democracy, is the position of Seretse? ed his faith on the Socialist

be told he must abdicate.

AROUGH THE PRESS

STANDABLE TANCE

remaining band of nomadic in Canada has signed a the Government and agreed 4,000 acres of reservation in miles north of Rocky Moun-on the eastern fringe of the

of the Federal Department airs, and a wandering band Indians who hitherto have ndians who hitherto have any agreements with a ept a white man's money, signatories was willing to sign, apparently in the e first meant to be res-the consequences of the

The Times, 22/5/50. aw the recent article on in The Leader, will ed at their reluctance.

GLISH VICE

Jacob, the novelist . . . the restoration of corporal

TE & SOCIETY

DEPT. OF PROFOUND THOUGHT

HAMA Nought for Conduct

FOR years now the elementary and high school teachers of New York have been engaged in a running feud with the mayor of the city and the governor of the State over salaries and the absence of the State over salaries and the absence of increases thereto. Like many another legitimate gripe against officialdom, that of the teachers has enlisted much sympathy and little active support. No one questions the justice of the teachers' cause, but as usual justice must take a back seat to expedient iron-bound principle, this time the one that denies public expediences the privilege of striking.

back seat to expedient iron-bound principle, this time the one that denies public employees the privilege of striking.

This obviously places the teachers in an unenviable position, for above all professionals they are expected to hew close to the line rigidly grooved for them by form, taste, and puritannical standards of morality. For even Sanitation Department employees, were they to threaten a walkout, would not reap such general condemnation and calumny as would smother teachers similarly determined to improve their lot. Perhaps this is our tardy retaliation for the distasteful discipline to which teachers are called upon to subject us during our adolescent years, but whatever it is, for them we set up special rules as though at best they were three rungs beneath a jaded pickpocket, whose elementary rights we take such formal pains to protect.

As part of his strident campaign for

rights we take such formal pains to protect.

As part of his strident campaign for re-election, His Honour Mayor O'Dwyer had pledged an "adequate" adjustment to teachers' salaries, but as is not infrequently the case, a flexible memory is Circea handmaid to political opportunism. The situation in New York, moreover is uniquely contributory to such artifice, for all else failing, the mayor can claim impostence before the stern stewardship of the state, which is to say the governor. When backed against a wall the mayor neatly passes the buck to the state, hoping thereby both to shirk responsibility and to sidle out of an embarrassing predicament. In fairness to him it must be noted that the mayor is far from sovereign in fiscal matters, even purely municipal enes. That this anomalous situation is as though a bank president cannot receive a raise without the approval of one of his junior tellers, apparently does not discommode the majority of the citizens of New York oparently does not discommode the

The Mayor's Nest-Egg

Came budget time early this year, and His Honor pulled every parliamentary trick in his extensive repertoire in the attempt te curtail discomforting districk in his extensive repertoire in the attempt te curtail discomforting discussion of such matters as promises, privations and principles. Actually, if one can temporarily inactivate his orientation to a sense of fair play, one must accord His Honor some sort of palm for unadulterated gall. For here was an official who had just swilled at the public trough to the tune of \$1\$,000 per year heaped upon his former pay of \$25,000 (and has led his cronies to proportional gluttonies with the explanation [sic] that "in this kind of a job you have to put something away for a rainy day"), an official who had just returned from his third extended vacation since election day

to be planning a fourth), an official who had gained re-election on an anti-racketeering platform, an official who had cut innumerable political throats to promote his own aspirations—here was an official who was bleating inability to pay, etc., etc., etc., municipal morale, etc., etc.,

Finally, and still bemoaning a deficiency of ready cash for the purpose (latest indications point to another boost

NEW YORK LETTER

in subway fares—the second in two years—to help raise the money), he petulantly begrudged the teachers an increase of \$150 to \$250 per year.

The teachers, charging betrayal, retaliated by discontinuing their supervision of students' extracurricular activities.

His Honor's dignity was affronted. The action of the teachers was nothing less than less majesty.

Students Skip Class-Struggle

On Monday, 27th March, several hundreds of high school students, aggrieved as much by the curtailment of their extracurricular activities as by any concern with the wage dispute itself, went to City Hall and requested an interview with His Honor. Insulated by a cordon of guards and secretaries, His Honor, wounded panjandrum sulking over this patent "lack of respect for lawful authority", angrily rejected the petition. "Communists!" he screamed.

The next day the demonstrators grew

The next day the demonstrators grew to several thousands. His Honor called out the police. No one, apparently, is quite so suspicious of the democratic process as those who materially benefit most from it.

most from it.

Wednesday the demonstrators came to cight thousand at City Hall, with supporting rafties and walkouts mushrooming in high schools throughout the city.

On Thursday about double that number of students marched on City Hall. This time, club-wielding police—mounted, on foot, in squad cars—were deployed in force to handle the enemy. As, incidentally, was a small army of truant officers. The so-and-so kids had to be taught a lesson. His Honor had so ordered.

Friday the number of demonstrators before City Hall had dwindled to a few thousand. On Saturday none appeared. Nor, not unexpectedly, on Sunday.

On Monday, exactly one week after the eruption of this school-hour rebellion, City Hall and its environs were deathly quiet. Perhaps many of the students had repaired instead to Chelsea to cook up a hot reception for the May Day paraders, but His Honor saw fit to dispatch no truant officers to snare the ringleaders of this gang.

A Monday-to-Friday, nine-to-three-o'clock insurrection of schoolchildren in New York had petered out.

It is superfluous to dilate upon the press and radio comments evoked by this affair. The comfortably unimaginative

reporters, given their lead by His Honor, dusted off the standard bête noire of the day: the Communists had fomented the uprising, they solemnly averred in consort, and eagerly let it go at that. It always has been easier to sloganize than to think. And safer, too.

The truth is that the authorities—municipal, parental, educational, social—are in mortal fear of the truth. When a flood threatens, flee. That's the way to live to see another day, and as a rule-of-thumb policity it is protective, if not exactly valorous.

The youths had gone to City Hall in orderly fashion. It was only when they found themselves confronted point-blank with the cloven hooves of police mounts, with hastily improvised barricades, and with the captious condescension of city officials that they kicked over the traces. It was borrowed license.

Nor was it difficult to sense that they were seeking something—something in compensation for having been cheated out of the grace of general profligacy relished during the war by their older brothers and sisters. Perhaps they resented the fact that another war would necessarily assume such shape as to deny them similar freedom.

Or perhaps they just went along for a

Or perhaps they just went along for a

Let Truce Prevail

Let Truce Prevail

With truce declared, His Honor has consented to meet with "duly accredited delegates" of the students to thrash out "misunderstandings". Each high school has what is known as a General Organisation, the principal function of the elected officers of which is to rubberstamp official school policy. It is with these "accredited" delegates that His Honor will discuss the "issues". And who is to "accredited" he delegates that His Honor will discuss the "issues". And who is to "accredited" them? None other than the president of the Board of Education, a venal politician of rather ill-repute himself a recent recipient of a salary increase from \$25,000 to 32,500 per annum.

In such an atmosphere flourishes this

In such an atmosphere flourishes this ademic microcosm of the outside world.

It is useless to speculate on the outcome of whatever meetings His Honor will vouchsafe the "accrediated" delegates. He will talk, talk, talk; they will listen, listen, listen; and the upshot will be the same \$150 to \$250 per year increase he had already decreed, an upshot to which the "accredited" delegates will give their sober endorsement. Perchance His Honor will toss in a few playgrounds as bribes for future good behaviour. In well-fenced playgrounds, remember, restless high school students can dissipate their pented energies in activities more socially pented energies in activities more socially acceptable—and far less embarrassing to constituted authority—than public demonstrations not under the girdle of "accredition" deleance.

One cannot help reflecting upon what certainly would have resulted had a mere one-half of one per cent. of the student bodies decided, without fanfare, to absent themselves from classes until their teachers won their drawn-out battle.

reachers won their drawn-out battle. Fifteen hundred quiet but determined absentees would quickly have succeeded where 30,000 noisy agitators, enjoying their circus while some teachers were fighting for bread, could not but fail.

SEYMOUR GREENBERG.

FOUR FREEDOMS TWO TOO MANY?

RECENTLY San Diego set about to dedicate a veteran's memorial building to "those Americans who have fought for the Four Freedoms". A hot protest from Admiral Standley, wartime Moscow ambassador, stopped it. He argued that we don't want to achieve freedom from want and fear-we need them as stimulants to free enterprise. San Diego City Council acquiesced, instructed city manager to find some choice ex-pression in U.S. Constitution to use

instead of the Four Freedoms.

Maybe four is too many. One—
just plain freedom—might be better.

Industrial Worker (U.S.A.)

THE MAN WHO KNOWS HIS VILLAGE

AMONG the more acute observations of modern sociologists is their emphasis on the fact that people who know one another well are able to solve what problems they have in common much better than those who are united only by the bonds of the social contract. Ideological hates do not prosper within the life of a village. Face-to-face experience of one another, through the years, produces too much common sense in people for them to believe very bad things of one another, or for them to fear one another very much. As Gordon Taylor, the sociologist, has said:

"Members of these groups . . . form

"Members of these groups . . . form assessments of one another, but they go further: each individual establishes positive links of affection or regard for other members. These links seem to

be based largely on shared experience, and acceptance of the other individual for what he is, good or bad.

for what he is, good or bad.

This is the case of social psychology against the large city, where a man can live all his life as stranger to the rest of the population. He can die of loneliness; he can turn into a criminal; he can become a philanthropist or a grafter, and not one of his next-door "neighbours" need ever know the kind of a men he is. The more closely packed together people live, the less they may understand of human beings, and the more isolated from natural human contact they may be. So, the sociologist proposes, let us divide our cities up into smaller units—into groups small enough for people to know one another. Let us abolish this anonymous mass which, knowing little, fears much, and feeds on suspicions and dehasions.

Manas (U.S.A.), 17/4/50.

Manas (U.S.A.), 17/4/50.

__ FOREIGN COMMENTARY -

If You Accept Government You Accept War

REW laymen knew anything about the

EVERY country in the world to-day declares that what it seeks above all things is Peace. Yet every country in the world is crippling its economic recovery by rearmament on an unprecedented scale, and scientists are using up their lives and knowledge in searching for ways and means of sowing death and destruction on

means of sowing death and destruction on an ever-increasing scale.

The April number of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists (Chicago) contains a long article by Dr. Hans A. Bethe, Professor of Physics at Cornell University, on the Hydrogen Bomb. In the section dealing with the Effects of the Hydrogen Bomb, he points out that "its power would be essentially unlimited and would increase as the amount of heavy hydrogen that can be carried in the bomb." He then goes on to deal with the effect of bomb with "an energy release a thousand times greater than the Hiroshima bomb and demonstrates that it would cause "almost complete destruction of buildings up to a radius of ten miles. A single bomb can obliterate almost all of greater New York or Moscow or London or any of the largest cities of the world". Or an "all-out war" fought with H-bombs, but he would be the world war fought with H-bombs, and possibly of many more people by radioactivity. Many of the survivors would perish for lack of shelter, others from hunger. The devastation that we have seen in Germany, and which overwhelmed many American visitors when they first saw it, would be nothing compared with the effects of hydrogen war."

On the moral issues involved in such a war, Dr. Bethe makes this very significant

"It is argued that it would be better for us to lose our lives than our liberty; and this I personally agree with. But I believe that this is not the question; I believe that we would lose far more than our lives in a war fought with hydrogen bombs, that we would in fact lose all our liberties and human values at the same time, and so thoroughly that we would not recover them for an unforeseeably long time."

Now the is an important admission for

time, and so thoroughny man he tender to not recover them for an unforeseeably long time."

Now this is an important admission for it destroys the arguments of those intellectuals who have taken sides in the cold war on the ground that a Russian victory would be the end of all culture, moral values, etc., etc. (or in the case of the pro-Russian section, that an American victory would have these same results). For, if Dr. Bethe is right, whichever side were to win the H-bomb war, all human values would be destroyed.

But even Dr. Bethe does not seem aware of the significance of his own statement for he then takes up a further two pages discussing questions of strategy and diplomacy, and pins his hopes for lasting peace on some sort of agreement being reached between Washington and Moscow to control the use of A and H-bombs. That idea "If you accept government you accept war" is too simple for intelligent and even sincere men like Dr. Bethe, who can only clearly understand such statements as E = mc².

Does the world face annihilation because we cannot see the wood for trees?

Libertarian.

Alex Comfort: BARBARISM AND SEXUAL FREEDON Boards 3/6. Paper 2 Alexander Berkman: A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM ABEC. OF ANARCHISM
George Woodcock:
ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6
NEW LIFE TO THE LAND
6d,
RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY
HOMES OR HOVELS?
ANARCHISM AND MORALITY
WHAT IS ANARCHISM?
THE BASIS OF COMMUNAL
LIVING 1/-Rudolf Rocker: NATIONALISM & CULTURE NATIONALISM & CULTURE

Harbort Read:
POETRY AND ANARCHISM Cloth 5/Poper 2/6

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM
Boards 2/6, Paper 1/ENISTENTIALISM, MARXISM &
ANARCHISM.

ANARCHISM.

ANARCHISM.

ANARCHISM. STATE Cloth 2/6, Paper I/Peter Kropotkin:
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE
HE WAGE SYSTEM
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT
SETECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS
(Choisen by Herbert Read)
3/6 ORGANISED VENGEANCE CALLED JUSTICE 24. FREEDOM PRESS

27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.I.

LETTER FREE UNION AND FREE LOVE (See last two)

I FREE LOVE (See last two issues

I AM afraid that Alex Comfort's letter concerning my article clouds rather than illuminates the issues I raised. He does not seem to have entirely understood the article himself, and hence he unwittingly misrepresents what I had to say. I feel that it is important that there should be no ambiguity about these issues, as the legacy of wilful moral obscurantism is too often replaced by intellectual haziness.

I wish to clear up five of the main points of confusion arising from Comfort's letter.

points of Confision
Comfort's letter.

1. Changes of parents. What
Comfort means, presumably, is repeated
changes of those in loco parents (as one
cannot change ones parents); this must
logically include nurses, schoolteachers
and family friends, who make up the
adult medium on which the child lives.
I certainly did not advocate such
changes. The concept of the monogamous
family does in ract, imply divorces,
broken homes, struggles for the custody
of children, as the outcome of sexual
diversity. The concept of free love
entails a recognition of the true importance of motherhood, and it follows that a
greater number of adults have an
affectionate interest simultaneously in the
children, irrespective of their own sexual
relationships. This means, among other
things, that children have a broader
things, that children have a broader
basis of both emotional and economic
security than is possible when they are
at the mercy of the unstable existence of
a separate family in a jungle-like society.

2. "Extra-marital continence" and

a separate family in a jungle-like society.

2. "Extra-marital continence" and "Intra-marital continence". The former means sexual abstinence outside marriage, and the latter means sexual abstinence within marriage. The latter is advocated as a birth control method by some Catholics: what it has got to do with free love or monogamy I do not know. Perhaps Comfort confused his terms and meant "Inter-marital continence—chastity between marriages, which makes better sense but is still hardly relevant.

3. "Cases of partner-switching which pass through the hands of the psychiatrist". These show adult immaturity, says Comfort. Of course they do—among other neuroses—precisely because they are, by definition, psychiatric cases! Presumably if we limit our study of cases of persons with liberal opinions, or anarchist tendencies, or Anglican principles, to those cases which pass through the hands of the psychiatrist, we will discover the neurotic roots of their personalities. Such an argument is not scientifically sound.

meetings and announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

INDOOR Lecture-Discussions eve Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at the Trade Union Club, Great Newport St., W.C.2 (near Leicester Square Station).

June 11th Speaker: Sam Fanaroff
"COMMUNITY LIVING" June 18th Speaker: John Hewetson
"THE FRENCH TERRORISTS AND THE
PROPAGANDA OF THE DEED"

June 25th Anarchist speakers
"OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM"

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP OUTDOOR MEETINGS every Sunday at 7 p.m. at .
MAXWELL STREET

Frank Leech, John Gaffney, Eddie Shaw.
J. Raeside

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST GROUP Open Air Meetings every Sunday, 7.30 p.m. on Lewis's blitzed site

COLNE & NELSON DISTRICT Discussion Group held fortnightly, Sunday, June 18th, at 3.0 p.m.

at
Twisters and Drawers Club,
Cambridge Street, Colne (Lancs.)

NORTH EAST LONDON GROUP sion Meetings fortnightly, 7.30 p. JUNE 13th TED MA

JUNE 27th Don Taylor
"TRENDS OF MODERN CAPITALISM" Enquiries c/o Freedom Press

HAMPSTEAD

Discussion Meetings are held every Tuesday at 8 p.m. prompt

5, Villas-on-the-Heath, Vale of Health, Hampstead, N.W.3

TO THE EDITORS

4. "Isn't the need for a perpetual sexual adventure being rather overstated?" I don't know why Comfort insists on the romantic convention of insists on the romantic convention of calling sexual activity outside marriage "adventure". However, accepting his terms, I would flatly answer—no. Freedom and the Journal of Sex Education are among the very few reputable journals published in this country which will give the matter any consideration. In general, there is a huge understatement of the case.

5. "I would derive pleasure rather than pain from other people's admiration of the woman I loved." In my discussion of jealousy, I was not concerned with admiration. Basking in other men's admiration of our womenfolk is, ocurse, common enough; and it does not contribute to women's freedom. The bourgeoiste lavish jewels upon their wives to this end, and show them off like their fine cars and horses to excite admiration. The emancipation of women involves a departure from this male attitude.

departure from this male attitude.

Comfort and I obviously have a great measure of agreement on the importance of emotional security and happiness as being the prerequisite for the healthy development of children, and also on the necessity for self-regulation in conduct. But I think he greatly underestimates the vast misery inflicted on children by the love-starved adult world; he seems to see in the revolutionary attack on conventional morals a bogey, since it threatens the security of theoretically established social customs. That these family and sexual customs exist in theory only, is revealed by all honest studies of the question—notably by the Kinsey Report; the reality is a welter of contradictory and unstable practices, which we need have no compunction in trying to replace by saner habits in accordance with the experience of our own lives.

G.

FROM PAGE ONE .

Rationing: the consumer of the lower in-

come groups—were only recog-nized when, during the first

world war, the capitalist classes

of the various warring states found that their survival de-pended on their ability to enlist the working-class in their

economic battles. For the workers, rationing is justified on

moral and equalitarian grounds; for the ruling-class it is a matter

of necessary manœuvring at par-

ticular stages of their struggles,

and the moral gloss is far thinner—an argument in pro-paganda, hardly more. It is as well to remember that this double conception permeates almost all progressive legislation, and largely vitiates it.

Success of Rationing It must be conceded that wartime rationing has been on the whole successful in pro-viding that adequate amounts of

the limited food supplies have been available to society in general and not merely to the

rich. The rather obvious mal-nutrition of the inter-war years

nutrition of the inter-war years has been for practical purposes wiped out, and there seems no reason to doubt the part that food rationing played in maintaining health in wartime, and improving it. To say this, however, is by no means to say that they practically resolved.

that particular problem is now solved, or that no further im-provement is possible.

And it is well to remember that, even during the war, there were a considerable number of

persons in poorer districts who could not afford to take up all

their rations. In well-to-do districts of the towns, people got

tricts of the towns, people got their rations and no more, be-cause everyone took them up; but in poorer districts the better-off could often secure slightly more by taking up the surplus at the retailers left by those who could not afford to buy all they were "entitled" to. Nevertheless, the purpose of rationing was not, in this coun-try, defeated and demoralized by the existence of a large black

From the International Congress—7

ANARCHISM AND ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER MOVEMENTS

Our position towards the I.W.M.A.
[The International Working-Men's
Association, or A.I.T. is the anarchosyndicalist International to which syndicalist trade-union movements, particularly
those of the Latin and Scandinavian
countries, are affiliated. Its headquarters
are in Stockholm.]

REAFFIRMING what has been said REAFFIRMING what has been said in the resolution on Syndicalism (see Freedom, 27th May), in which industrial action was considered as the most approximate the most approximate the property of the broad popular support which it engenders, the International Anarchist Congress declares its support of the I.W.M.A., considering it a genuine workers organisation with a truly international character, and whose revolutionary aim is clearly defined.

In consequence, the Congress recom-mends support for the development of the LIW.M.A's activities by participation, where possible, in the organisation or among the rank and file, always stressing its ultimate afms .

ABC OF

Below we continue the publication of translations of the resolutions passed at the International Anarchist Congress, held at the end of last year in Paris. (Previous articles appeared in our issues of 21st January, 4th March, 1st, 15th and 29th April, and 29th March, 1st, 15th and 29th April, and 27th May.)

As a specifically anarchist movement our relations with the I.W.M.A. could be of the closest and most active kind; even more than relations, a frank and cordial collaboration in all possible fields.

Youth Movements

We must point out the necessity to maintain and to establish fraternal and constant relations with Libertarian youth movements, with a view to influencing the greates; number of people with our ideas. We believe that by this method we can effectively contribute to awaken anarchist personalities and to retain them in our movement.

Believing that relations between dif-ferent nations and their understanding of one another are the most solid basis for an effective internationalism, the congress

expedient. Called into being, not by the claims of social justice (though not wholly uninfluenced by them), but by the necessities of wartime, if retained certain ruling-class characters. Distribution still depended, in part, upon spending power, and operated more to prevent the superior purchasing power of the rich from sending prices rocketting up, than by enhancing the purchasing power of the poor.

Through and through the bourgeois conception of rationing is permeated by this conception of "purchasing ability"—which has nothing whatever to do with fairness or social justice—and by economic considerations regarding limitation of spending. It can be regarded as a shallow compromise with the growing idea that everyone, regardless of birth or income, is entitled to a fair share of the available necessities. It does not show any realization that production should be directed towards providing an adequate supply of commodities for all. In any case, the interference with the capitalist method of production for a market which rationing and price control demand, are almost certainly too dislocating for so hazardously poised a system of economy.

Socialist "Control" and

Bourgeois "Freedom'

AUTHORITY

Q is for the Question of How? How can a minority begin to rid the world of Authority, seeing that it tends to perpetuate itself? We admit that getting anarchy (or society with Authority) is much harder than keeping it, but we believe, nevertheless, that freedom can arise, even out of this Authoritarian chaos. Four of the ways in which the abolition of Authority may be brought about, may be alphabeticalised as the Running Away method, Syndicalism, the Teaching method, and Unauthoritarianism.

R is for Running Away. One way of fighting Authority is to run away from "normal" society in groups, and to set up free communities, more or less isolated from Authoritarian society. This is being done now by the Doukhobors on Vancouver Island and by some of the Jewish settlers in Israel. It was done by Russian workers in 1916, and both Russia and Spain might still have been working anarchies, had not Authoritarian neighbours intervened.

(To be continued)

D.R.

suggests that closer ties should exist be-tween young inbertarians throughout the world, either by direct contact or with the fraternal support of the international anarchist movement.

Pacifist and Anti-Militarist Movements

The International Anarchist Congress considers that the fragmentary and partial content of the pacifist and activation of the congress of the pacifist and activation of the protein of the protein of wars. The anarchist position on the questions which pacifism is related, implies the complete analysis of all the social certradictions which are, after all, the cause that engender militarism and arm conflicts.

conflicts.

Nevertheless, the Congress man sympathy for all those movement are genuinely anti-war becaus answer a deeply-rooted desire in a peace which is becoming stronge day as a result of the painful car of successive wars. The anarch will consist in encouraging an expression to this desire by go social and constructive content from any unitateral position.

Notwithstanding, it is impedeclare that to constitute paint militarist organisms in the Anarchiam represents in princip

Anti-Religious Moveme

Anti-Religious Movem
The Gongress points out the
questions cannot be limited to t
of ideas, since one must analyse
them as an integral part of a c
of authoritarian manifestatic
have attempted and still tend
the social problem as a whole.
This statement therefore at
regard to anti-religious act
adoption of a pluralist attitu
to the one suggested above wit
pacifisms an absolutely integr
towards all that religion repengenders, without forgetting
phases nor any of its manifes
with the anti-militarist problem
draws attention to the dangers
by specialisation in this fiein a probable weakening of
ment as a whole.

(To be concluded)

"GIVE FOOD AW U.S. FARMERS

"WE of the U.S.A. must give the food that we can't eat an sell—give it away quickly and g away generously," a farm grou declared here after conferences government and agricultural leader

That was the conclusion of 50 fa farm wives and others in farm-relate farm wives and others in farm-related who spent two weeks in a sem sponsored by the Friends Committee National Legislation and the Ameri Friends Service Committee.

"We believe we must drastically cut our budgeting for war, and spend m real money on peace," the farmers st ment went on.

Special Appeal

May 19th to June 1st

Anon 2/6; London: B.G.D. 2/6; London: B.H.Y. 1/6; London: W.E.D. 10/6; Sa Francisco: T.C., 2/7; San Jose: G.P. E1/15/Thundersley: C.W. 1/5; Glasgow: A.Mcl. 4/-: Anon 2/6; Vancouver: M.P. & Cambridge: C.L.D. 5/-; London: L.G.W. 5/-; London: L.G.W.

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12 months 8/6 (U.S.A. \$2).
12 months 8/6 (U.S.A. \$2).
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Another Aspect

munity.

poorer sections of the community.

It is likely also that there is considerable truth in the Conservatives' complaint that rationing, price control, and all the other instruments of planned production, do, in fact, tie up industry and obstruct its capacity to expand. That it is the Socialists and not the Torics who are effecting the relaxation of controls need oceasion no surprise. In post-revolutionary Russia, the years of "War Communism" not only failed to draw the country's economy out of disaster, but resulted in the ghastly famines and revolts of 1921. Even for such a ruthless doctrinaire as Lenin, the only way out was to relax controls, to reintroduce private enterprise, to make in fact the partial return to private capitalism which constituted the New Economic Policy or "Nep" of 1923. Ironically enough, the Nep did rescue Russian economy and is looked back on by workers and peasants as a kind of golden age of comparative prosperity.

Of course, parallel with British controlled economy is slight only. But this instance serves to show that Socialists in power are more concerned with retaining power than with the application of their economic principles.

The Claims of Justice

A Shallow Compromise market enabling the rich to escape the rigours of a more equitable distribution of goods.

Rationing had also, however, another aspect quite uncon-cerned with justice and ideas of fairness. It was part of the great wartime campaign to limit spending, and as such became increasingly irksome as limiting variety in consumable goods. In recent years this aspect has become more and more important to the Government and also to the Opposition. The abolition of this or that form of rationing was freely promised during the election campaigns, and there can be little doubt that the present relaxations are motivated in considerable part by the desire of the Government to woo the voters with an eye on the General Election. There can be no doubt also, however, that when goods are taken off the ration, their prices tend to rise, and of course they pass out of they spending range of the poorer sections of the com-

At its best, therefore, rationing in our kind of society is a most imperfect

Socialist "Control" and Bourgeois "Freedom"

Anarchists neither support bourgeois rationing nor fall for Conservative demands for "freeing" of production and the market. The one is at best a half-hearted compromise, shot full of loop-holes; while the latter, although it may increase the total volume of production, nevertheless benefits the rich while worsening the economic position of the lowest income groups.

What is required is not rationing in the sense of a nice weighing-up of so much of this and so much of that for each individual member of society rather is it the general application of the idea that everyone has a right to free participation in both the necessities and the pleasure-giving things of life. Everyone needs to have a feeling of responsibility in the organization of production, so that production is designed to meet the needs and the varying desires of all. To try and achieve a socially desirable result through modifying a market economy in such trifling measures such as price control (coupled inevitably with wage control) and rationing, while increasing confusion by a rigorously centralized economic planning which only divorces production still further from influence by consumers—such as price control eclearly foredoomed, and has now been repeatedly shown to be worthless. The astonishing thing is that intelligent men and women should bend their energies and blunt their feelings in trying to make so cumbersome and destructive a machinery work.