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Freedom

AN ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

"We are not yet resigned to
absurdity—and our only
salvation lies in not be-
coming resigned."

—IRIS MORLEY

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Threepence

FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS

Once Again the Carrot has Eluded the Donkey!

ANARCHISM is not thought by a majority of thinking people to be a practical proposition, although a very considerable number have regarded it as a desirable ideal. But it is surprising how much the theory of democracy concedes to anarchist conceptions. It claims to represent a means whereby the people as a whole can undertake a responsible share in their government—this in fact a form of self-government. And it claims to take the people into its confidence and permit the public to judge all matters of public concern by making a truthful statement of the facts. The United States Constitution provides (in theory only, of course) for the people to overthrow by force any government which does not conform to the democratic ideal.

Such a conception of government is not, of course, anarchism, but it clearly makes concessions to the idea that every man has a right to have a say as to how his affairs are conducted. Anarchists criticise the idea of democracy as an unworkable system and also because the idea that a minority should submit to majority simply by virtue of counting of heads seems to them to be nonsense.

But we more often find it necessary to criticise democracy, not to denounce it as a hollow system because it fails to fulfil its postulates. Because rulers

make their policy and then tell the public just as much as they think necessary to secure endorsement of it, and so maintain the illusion that the people have some direct share in shaping their own destinies.

News from Korea

It has become plain recently that news hand-outs in Korea are not particularly truthful. The *Daily Mirror* recently instanced many important statements about the fighting which it claimed bore very little resemblance to the actual fact. If such accusations are true, that more or less mendacious reports about an

important manifestation of public affairs being presented to the people at home, this fact strikes at the root of the whole democratic theoretical structure. No official comment has been directly made upon the *Daily Mirror's* revelations. But almost immediately afterwards a most stringent censorship was imposed on news from Korea. "The new rules for press correspondents in Korea" wrote the *Manchester Guardian* on January 10th, "seem exceptionally severe. They forbid any criticism which might tend to bring Allied forces into disrepute. This goes further than was the normal practice in the last war, when field censorship was concerned mainly with facts and rarely with opinions."

Now that the history of the last war is being written it is apparent that on very many occasions the facts were distorted or manipulated from above in a way which made a valid opinion the most important material on which an opinion could be based was concealed altogether. It is not difficult to see that such a situation permits the governing administration to manipulate public opinion to suit its own ends and policies. The ability to do all this is reinforced by the conception of "official secrets" and the laws which compel those in the know, to conceal their knowledge and so maintain public ignorance. In such an atmosphere even the limited pretensions of democracy become a farce.

From Crisis to Crisis

Nor is the deception of the people confined to news of a military nature. Every so often public anxiety is whipped up to crisis pitch and we are then adjured to do this, that or the other thing in order to avoid another more unpleasant one. To achieve comfort we must make yet another effort. But we never are allowed to reach the comfort desired. Inevitably the vision of the donkey with the carrot suspended in front of his nose arises.

One year ago, we were told about the dollar gap. All our sacrifices up to then had failed to balance dollar imports and exports. But, if we could make that extra effort and close the dollar gap, then the standard of living would rise and we could breathe more freely. Freedom, being a sceptical, unbelieving sort of paper, ventured to doubt the visions of a more rosy future after one more supreme effort...

But now the Chancellor of the Exchequer has made a statement on the matter which goes far to justify our former scepticism and our picture of the donkey and the carrot. It now appears that our efforts have closed the dollar gap and we even have a dollar surplus.

"The sterling area in 1950 had a net gold and dollar surplus of 805 million dollars—an improvement of more than 2,300 million dollars compared with the previous year, when there was a deficit of over 1,500 million dollars" (*Times*, 11/1/51). Can we therefore congratulate ourselves that sacrifices and hard work (etc., etc.) have brought the promised reward of achievement? Of course not, for Mr. Gaitskell says: "Although the past year has been one of outstanding recovery, the prospect for our standard of living was disproportionately gloomy." The carrot is still not between the donkey's teeth.

Now, it is not in a merely carping spirit that we draw attention to the carrot-like way in which we are led by the nose. Nor is our aim simply to criticise democratic theory and practice. Mature adults of to-day have lived their lives in this atmosphere of going from one crisis to another. There is always some new immediate problem which must, apparently, take precedence over everything else. Everything else... what does this mean but the problems of life itself? The hand-to-mouth process of coping with one crisis after another inevitably means deferring indefinitely the more radical process of re-organising

the whole basis of life. It even means the indefinite deferment of problems said to be of lesser importance but which touch us more nearly: the problems of wages, conditions of work, provision of houses, of social service. As one crisis succeeds another one may be forgiven for wondering whether they are all as important as the basic needs of the community.

Responsibility for our own Lives

But we are still more concerned with the implications of this day-to-day struggle with ever new "immediate problems", new "crises". In such an atmosphere it is impossible to plan one's life or take any responsible decisions regarding the future. The idea of personal responsibility which is the corollary of the idea of freedom is rendered futile, by such a way of life.

Moreover, we so often find afterwards that the "crisis" was a put-up job "necessary" to make the public accept more burdens or defer still further promised rewards. To the fundamental irresponsibility of crisis living, is added the disillusionment which is the inevitable response to the carrot régime.

Full human responsibility and full human stature are not achieved by these means.

The St. Pancras Strike

WHY DEFEND OUR CHAINS?

THE integration of road and rail transport services—in itself surely a sensible thing—has led to a conflict between the economic interests of the groups of workers concerned.

At the time of writing, some thousands of road haulage workers at St. Pancras and other London rail depots are on unofficial strike, suffering the loss of wages such a struggle always entails, because of a risk to their livelihood in the future. The strike is the result of decisions taken by the Railway Executive impatiently over-ruling the unions' request that safeguards be drawn up before new ways of working were begun.

The trouble dates from ten days before the strike started on Jan. 8th when the Railway Executive announced that the integration with the nationalised Road Transport organisation was going to mean the collection and delivering of some goods in special containers to and from St. Pancras by British Road Services instead of the normal carriage by road haulage workers of British railways. This would obviously mean a reduction of work available for the Railway workers (although it will actually mean an increase of freight carried by the Railways) and represents a threat to the jobs of those workers.

The Monopolies Co-operate

Now that both Rail and Road transport are nationalised, the old private enterprise competition between them is being eliminated, and the two services are seeking means of co-operating together for more efficient and, where possible, cheaper, transport. Whether it is at all likely that State monopolies can work cheaply or will use their monopoly powers only to stabilise prices for their

own benefit, is a point outside this present article. For what seems the important issue is the tragedy of conflict between workers when co-operation should lead to the benefit of all society, and the easiest way to transport goods should lead only to greater leisure and easier conditions for the workers concerned.

When trains are running from London to the North and have the capacity to carry more goods than they do, it is obviously silly for Road Transport lorries to be used to run parallel services. If, therefore, the lorries pick up the goods from the customers, deliver them to the rail depot, the trains carry them to the nearest rail point and other lorries pick them up there and deliver to their destination, it may prove the most efficient, quickest and cheapest method of goods transport, and the customers sending.

PAGE FOUR

REGULATION & HUMANITY

Shortly before Christmas, Charles Walker, a Lancashire firewood seller who lived alone in a hut, was refused admission to hospital on the grounds that he was not, properly speaking, ill but only suffering from cold, hunger and neglect. He was also refused admittance to a hostel because he was unable to walk without help and was, therefore, too ill to be admitted to an institution with no nursing staff. He died a few hours afterwards.

Technically speaking, it may be that no one was to blame. But when responsibilities are parcelled out and each authority's responsibility is hermetically sealed off from the next by regulations, greater and lesser disasters like this will occur, notwithstanding the fact that no one is to blame. The system is to blame and it is the responsibility of those who administer it and those who live under it to set it right. *Time and Tide*, 6/1/51.

Witch Hunting and Conscription in Australia

(From our Correspondent)

Melbourne, January. THE most important recent developments here have been the acceptance by the Labour Party of the Anti-Communist Bill, and its shelving of the National Service (Boy Conscription) Bill. Regarding the former, Labour was apparently determined to fight to the last ditch but not to die in it. They were obviously of opinion that he who fights and runs away may live to fight another day. I had previously written that I was of opinion that Labour would be badly beaten at an election on the Communist issue; the Labour Party Executive came to the same conclusion and ordered the Parliamentary members to drop their opposition. They had to do so, the Bill passed the Senate, but is now being contested before the High Court, with Dr. Evatt as one of its chief opponents. His role is certainly a singular one as the champion of liberty and democracy for he was he who, as Attorney General, put through in 1947, the Approved Defence Projects Protection Act, which in some respects was worse than the Anti-Communist Act. For instance, it provided for a fine of a thousand pounds against newspapers which even reported the fact that a defence project was going to be boycotted.

Consequently, Dr. Evatt, and the Labour Party's tenderness for liberty seems to have personal motives. They apparently fear that after the Communists have been dealt with, they may be next. The War Precautions Act of the first World War, and the persecutions endured under it, have never been forgotten by the Labour movement, and they dislike totalitarian powers in the hands of anybody except themselves! The acquiescence of the industrial Labour movement as regards the Anti-Communist Act is harder to understand, for it has outrageous provisions about the deprivation of office of Communist officials, even if they have been fairly and democratically elected. The mere fact that they have been declared to be Communists is enough to ensure their removal. Yet the Unionists have had little to say about this. One explanation may be that the Labour Unionist leaders are so "fed-up" with the Communist tactics (and they have good cause to be) that they will be glad to see the last of them. Another, and I think, more likely explanation is

that they intend to give Menzies enough rope and let him hang himself. The forcible removal from office of the workers' elected representatives is almost certain to lead to industrial upheavals, which will worsen the economic situation and thus react against the Government in office.

As regards boy-conscription, the Labour Party is awaiting the triennial meeting of its Federal Conference in March next, which has the absolute and final say on all matters of Labour policy. No one can go against it and remain in the Party. Its decision on conscription will be determined, primarily, by the state of the international situation and by the chances of an election. There is still an element in the Labour movement, headed by E. J. Ward, leader of the Leftists in the House of Representatives and Donald Cameron, leader of the Left element in the Senate, who are genuinely anti-militarist, and will resist conscription as far as they can consistent with loyalty to the Party. Another of these is Donald Grant, ex-I.W.W. leader, now a Senator.

But with Labourites in general, especially the younger generation, conditioned to war, regimentation and militarism, the old time-honoured principle of anti-conscription has scarcely any meaning. The Federal Labour Executive will keep this fact in mind and will decide the conscription policy according to the political situation existing in March and not according to any Labour principle or tradition. In fact, such Labour opposition as has already been expressed to compulsory military training has been on nationalistic grounds rather than on questions of working-class principles. The argument is that Australia needs all her labour-power to build up her industries and thus make her a strong nation.

The Korean war and especially Chinese intervention has, of course, materially strengthened the militarist cause and weakened the opposition to "defence preparations". Yet there is no enthusiasm for the Korean war, neither is there any opposition to it except from the Communists and their stooges of the Australian Peace Council. If a Third World War comes, I can see no effective opposition to it developing in this country. The actions of Russia and her satellites have been of great service to the cause of reaction. K.J.K.

SUBSCRIBERS! Don't Miss the last Column on page 4

"No book can help you much if you're near to the middle of an atomic explosion . . ."

—RICHARD GERSTELL.

1. *The Effects of Atomic Weapons*: prepared for and in co-operation with the U.S. Department of Defence and the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission under the direction of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, Los Alamos, New Mexico. Revised Sept., 1950. For sale by the Supt. of Documents, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Price \$1.25 (paper bound).
2. *You and the Atomic Bomb*: What to do in case of an atomic attack. N.Y. State Civil Defence Commission Public Pamphlet No. 1. Available at Time Inc., Radio City, N.Y. 10 c.
3. *We Are Not Helpless*: How we can defend ourselves against atomic weapons. By William L. Laurence. Published by and available at the N.Y. Times.
4. *How to Survive an Atomic Bomb*: by Richard Gerstell, Consultant, Civil Defence Office, Bantam Books, N.Y. 25 c.

I

THOSE who live out their lives in the long collapse of a culture, a collapse covering perhaps generations and generations sometimes it seems cannot realise when they are facing the end.

But I think we are now at that very end.

And as the sack of Rome or the slow sands covering Babel, the physical obliteration of a place sometimes seems to those who would be blind, the last and only proof they will accept.

New York is to be destroyed. America as it has been, whatever it was worth, is to go. And what is to come, who can predict? But not alone America, of course, but Europe is going down. Not in a blaze of glory but in the eerie phosphorescence of the old corpse of an unclear thing.

The Bomb is coming. Nothing will stop it. Nothing but vast thrust forward, nothing but a great step toward a vast and deep social revolution. A revolution deeper and wider and more unknown than any we have ever met in our torn and troubled history upon this earth.

And there are no signs of this to be seen. And there is no reason for hope, for immediate hope. There is no reason to prepare, in whatever dim way we can for anything but this: the catastrophe of the bomb.

II

In August, 1950, the United States Government issued a book called, *The Effects of Atomic Weapons*. This book was highly technical and designed to give local Civil Defence planners something to go by.

This book, coupled with the war, already three months old, created a panic

NEW YORK IS TO BE

*FREEDOM

in America. Although a minor panic to be sure. And panic, sheer fear for physical survival appears as a positive aspect (not unmixed) on the current scene. What we have to fear (as Paul Goodman has said) is not so much panic, as the lack of panic. And what best described the psychological atmosphere of the present-day war at least for America (until China) anyway, was not the panic, nor anger, nor opposition—but rather: no feeling at all. And this is what the smoothly functioning totalitarian system operates best on. As long as there is not sufficient deep opposition, the modern state can do as it wishes; this is the way society is organised. A twist of the wrist and the whole machine turns. But to stop the machine (if it can be stopped) requires fervour, will, even perhaps the deepest human sacrifices; the most positive and complete understanding, the fullest feeling, sympathy, courage. All qualities rare, lacking, and even then in this short run perhaps useless; perhaps useless, perhaps not.

In Greenpoint, sewer gas explodes iron sewer tops into the street. The panicked burghers run madly into the street: shouting "A-bomb—A-bomb".

In Lower Manhattan—deep in the subways—a flash, some smoke. The train stops. The passengers fling themselves wildly out: "The Bomb! The Bomb!" smashed windows and emergency opened doors. The passengers run to the nearest station: mild and crowd and run. Fortunately, no casualties and as yet: no bomb.

III

I read a review of the N.Y. State Civil Defence Commission Pamphlet; *You and the Atomic Bomb* in a local tabloid and decide to get a copy. I go to the Commission's headquarters on New York's East Side where, the newspaper says, copies are on sale. Here as I mount the brown stone steps, a dull-looking guard comes forward to meet me. "I want to get a copy . . ." "Oh, they made a mistake," he says, obligingly, and he writes out the address for me: Life Magazine, Radio City. I go there. It seems Life Magazine has printed this Gov't pamphlet for the Commission. The Civil Defence Commission has no copies available. Perhaps, after all, Life Magazine is sponsoring this war.

I am sure George Orwell would be happy to know that in N.Y. we do sit in our happy homes and see the Korean strafing missions, riding with the jets right in our own parlour on television, munching a Hershey bar and drinking Pepsi-Cola.

Get under a table is what I remember from this pamphlet, and throw yourself on the ground. Roll up into a ball. Put your hand over your head. Yes. Put your hand over your head.

We Are Not Helpless, is the N.Y. Times pamphlet summary of *The Effects of Atomic Weapons*. "So, while little

can be done for those unfortunates caught in the open within that central area . . ."

Small Bomb Found Impossible

"The phenomena of an atomic explosion are so spectacular, and they take place in such an incredibly short time, measured in split seconds, that individuals surprised by the awe-inspiring, dazzling spectacle may lose precious seconds that might mean the difference between life and death."

"The Plume and its mushroom top are without doubt among the most spectacular and awe-inspiring phenomena to be seen. It was like watching the birth of a new continent rising resplendent out of the sea."

"An ordinary explosion usually will damage only part of a large structure, but the atomic blast can engulf and flatten whole buildings."

"I. Virtually complete destruction will occur to a radius of about one-half mile from ground zero, corresponding to area of destruction of about three-quarters of a square mile."

" . . . 4,000 feet . . . Roof-tiles bubbled (melted by heat)"

Nuclear Blast Triple Threat

"It devastates by blast, by heat and by radioactivity. It has been estimated that the blast wave, in an air burst, is responsible for 50-60% of the deaths; the heat flash for 20-30% and radioactivity for 15-20%."

"All the neutrons from the bomb would reach a point 2,000 feet distant within less than a second. It would appear, therefore, that most of the neutrons reaching the earth would do so within such a short period of time after explosion that evasive action would not be possible."

World-wide Ruin by Contamination held Doubtful

"An illustration is the case of radioactive dust from the test explosion at Alamogordo (New Mexico) appearing in strawboard manufactured over a thousand miles away and spoiling sensitive photographic film wrapped in this material."

"Had the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki known and put into practise the defence measures outlined in the official handbook, or how to prepare against atomic attack, there can be no doubt that their casualties would have

been but a fraction of what they actually were."

And, of course, had but one more bomb been dropped on these cities the casualties would also have been but a fraction: i.e., 4/3 or 7/4 or 18/5.

IV

The Source Book Itself :

But, as the source book itself tells us, all this excellent information is only about a nominal atomic bomb, i.e., of the type dropped on those two Jap cities. But everyone knows that America already has a bigger and better atomic bomb. And who knows what those Russians have? And although the source book claims accurately and modestly, "While the predictions of this book cannot be guaranteed to be precise, nevertheless they probably represent the most nearly quantitative approach to atomic bomb phenomenology which can be published at this time,"

This same source book of 457 pages, devotes but two small sentences to the surprising hypothetical supposition that who knows maybe some crazy fool will get the idea of dropping two, three or four bombs on one American city—But, of course, scientists can only deal with what exists.

This book is a masterpiece of scientific reporting. Full of graphs, charts, maps, photos, tremendously complicated physical formulas. The graph we liked was the one on page 376, entitled: "Percentage Mortality as Function of Distance from Ground Zero." This in the section called: "Protection of Personnel."

Another interesting section is called: "Effect on Personnel."

You see no person was really murdered in Japan: Personnel was destroyed or damaged. People are not involved. This A-bomb is just an anti-personnel weapon. Nothing personal you understand. The word is personnel. Incidentally, an atomic scientist, a very unfortunate person recently died in America after a long struggle with beryllium poisoning.

The source book has an interesting section on the pathology of radiation disease which none of the digests I have seen bother to discuss.

Bantam Books has done the public a great service and made a lot of money by publishing Richard Gerstell's "How to Survive an Atomic Bomb." Gerstell is a consultant of the Civil Defence Office of the Natural Security Resources Board and was Senior Radiological Safety Monitor for Initial Bombing Teams in Operation Crossroads (Bikini).

His book tells you what to do. (It is only one of dozens on the market. I have not seen any of the others except those here reviewed.)

Some gems:—"When you get to your safe place lie down full length on your stomach. Fold your arms and bury your head tightly in your arms."

"(If you happen to be a pregnant woman, you will of course have to lie on your side. But turn your face away and cover it with your arms.)"

"Question: As long as we're in the truth, what are my chances of coming through an atomic bomb? What are the odds?"

"Answer: Excellent. One atom dropped on N.Y.C. would probably kill at most 1 in 100 people (there are 75,000 people—J.G.)"

"In a city of only a million people, Washington, the figure would be 1 in 1000."

"If an air raid warning were given, we might even cut our losses by 50%." "If the rays hit you strongly enough, you may be unable to have children. You probably hit you strongly enough to kill you anyway. (Even for the J.G.) when these Japanese could not have children they were still able to have sexual relations. There's a difference."

"Question: Wouldn't the best thing be just to get out of the neighbourhood and go to the country after a bomb?"

"Answer: No. No. No. (Continued on page 3)

Role of Educationists

IN the past few days, on both sides of the Atlantic, education has been the subject of discussion by leading members of the profession, and what they have been saying is of considerable interest, even if we may feel that they are somewhat utopian in a world becoming every day more geared-up for war, and the spirit of "my country right or wrong". In London, Professor Lester Smith in his presidential address to the annual conference of educational associations, suggested the three most important objectives in education to-day were "diversity, freedom and the intangibles".

The issue, he said, was what part education should play in moulding the kind of citizenship best able to stand up to the challenges of an unsettled age. Educationists should confine themselves to the task of helping children to become good citizens according to their lights and eschew all temptation to use education as a means of moulding society.

Schools, in fact, might purify the social tradition, but it was not for them to try to shape it or seek to produce a type of citizen. He thought that society would be enriched if children grew up in schools of many patterns and under the personal influence of their teachers differing in outlook and tradition. He submitted, however, that such diversity of pattern did not prevent unity of purpose, and this could best spring from that "commerce of thought" which was acquired from free discussion.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the *Devair Post* attacks the attempts being made to "extort" loyalty oaths from schoolteachers as "degrading" and a "meaningless piece of hocus-pocus. No oath so enforced on any free person is a guarantee of loyalty". And, one could compare such proposed legislation with the loyalty oaths that all schoolteachers had to swear in Mussolini's Italy, Hitler's Germany and, it goes without saying, in Stalin's Russia. The *Devair Post* prefers that of John Eklund, President of the American Federation of Teachers, which says:

"I pledge myself to the unceasing search for truth, to the increasing of the general human welfare, and to the full emancipation of the individual child. I will constantly seek to serve the basic tenets of democracy, knowing that democracy is a way of life, not a static credo, and that the democratic way of life is served best through the challenge of social and economic problems yet unmet or unconquered. The hysteria of fear or prejudice shall not enter my classroom. In my day-to-day duties I will strive to keep alive the optimism of youth, positively directed and tempered by the experiences of humankind as I have found them. My classroom shall be the shrine of the dignity and worth of each child; their confidences shall be inviolate; their growth and development the motive of my job. This to the end that voluntary discipline and interest may supersede external control in our individual and collective search for the good life."

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

Some books reviewed on this page in 1950 . . .

7/1/50	Insight & Outlook	Arthur Koestler	25/-
18/2/50	The Diplomat	James Aldridge	12/6
18/3/50	Existentialism, Marxism & Anarchism	Herbert Read	3/6
1/4/50	The American Democracy	Harold Laski	25/-
15/4/50	M. L. Berneri, 1918-1949—A Tribute		5/-
29/4/50	The Withered Branch	D. S. Savage	10/6
13/5/50	Men of Stones	Rex Warner	9/-
27/5/50	A Field of Broken Stones	Henry Miller	1/6
10/6/50	Africa, Britain's 3rd Empire	Lowell Naeve	12/6
5/8/50	Sexual Behaviour in Society	George Padmore	12/6
19/8/50	Earth Abides	Alex Comfort	8/6
30/9/50	Cities in Evolution	George Stead	12/6
30/9/50	The Colossus of Maroussi	Patrick Geddes	18/-
14/10/50	Theory & Practice of Hell	Henry Miller	1/6
14/10/50	Studies in Revolution	Eugen Kogon	18/-
14/10/50	Authority & Delinquency	E. H. Carr	9/6
14/10/50	The Death Ship	Alex Comfort	8/6
28/10/50	Scottsboro Boy	B. Traven	2/-
28/10/50	The 25th Hour	Haywood Patterson	16/-
11/11/50	Shooting an Elephant	C. V. Gheorghiu	10/6
11/11/50	The Spanish Labyrinth	George Orwell	10/6
9/12/50	The Anarchist Prince	Gerald Brenan	25/-
23/12/50	Journey Through Utopia	Woodcock & Avakumovic	21/-
		M. L. Berneri	16/-
		(Special edition for our readers, 10/6 post free)	

★
Some Periodicals . . .
Retort (U.S.), Anarchist Review, Vol. 4, No. 4 2/-
Resistance (U.S.), Oct.-Nov., 1950 3d.
Estudios (Havana), No. 6 2/-
Orgone Energy Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 2 6/-
Plan, No. 8 2/8
Journal of Sex Education, Dec.-Jan, 2/-
* * * Obtainable from
27 red lion st, london,
W.C.1

The Desire to Build

PLAN No. 8 (Journal of the Architectural Students' Assoc.) 2/6.

WE have remarked before that this beautifully printed magazine is of interest not merely for students, and not merely for architects, but for everyone who is interested in his physical surroundings. This present issue, whose outspoken anti-militarism has attracted alarmed comment in the building press, is the last from the present editorial group. We hope that their successors at Birmingham will produce something equally stimulating. In "How to Build", Bruce Martin makes a plea for new light and efficient building materials, and his theme is underlined by an illustrated account of the pioneering days of flight, and the development of new constructional techniques with the utmost economy and efficiency. Five students outline the scheme they have prepared for one of the "neighbourhood units" of the New Town at Stevenage, and W. B. Watson, an anthropologist, contributes an article on his two-year study of a Scottish mining community. He examines it in the light of the town-planners' proposals for the area, which bear on the sinking of a number of new pits and development of "secondary industries" to form a "balanced community".

He says that "The most 'intelligent', that is, socially ambitious, families now send their sons and daughters into non-mining activities, and the pits are getting the unambitious residue. It would almost seem as though the culture was deliberately organised to produce and eject intelligent people. In fact, there has grown up a carefully graded scale of job-desirability . . . based on five main factors: How physically demanding the work is; how dirty a man becomes while working; how much skill is needed (in terms of length of training); how much a man is paid; how secure the job is. At the lower end of this scale is casual labour, at the other end such occupations as teaching and medicine. Mining is not very far from the bottom of this scale in spite of the present high wages that can be earned by a minority of miners. For together with the scale of job-desirability goes the notion of status, and although people believe that high status confers material rewards, it does not follow that plenty of money gives you high status."

"So the planners prepare their plans for further development and the miners prepare their sons for some other occupation. Both planners and miners are victims of somewhat similar ideas: that there is something undesirable in being a miner . . . that the prime object of this life is to 'get on' and cease to be a miner; and that everyone ought to live in a community where there is the 'maximum opportunity'—which means in effect the opportunity to leave it." Mr. Watson concludes that the miners, "although they dis-esteem, are still proud of being miners. They know that mining demands intelligence, courage and loyalty, and is still of primary importance to the larger

WE choose to build; to give response to our urgent need for reconstruction for new places in which people can work more happily than they do now. We know that people need food, shelter whatever their social organisation may be; without building and farming we cannot exist at all. Yet our sole purpose only in destroying these things. "We insist that each human problem that we deal with in a constructive way will lessen this despair and make us more and more unreal as a way of life. New homes, new workplaces, new cities are some of the things that will make this possible. New wars will not help. To prepare for war is to beget fear and make enemies; and whether they are defending or attacking, guns can only kill. "We will not contribute to armaments. We will not support anyone who is blind enough to gamble with his own survival and the survival of us all, for atomic and bacterial war cannot be won but only suffered. To kill is to fail utterly; to farm and to build is to fail further." —Editorial of "Plan"

society outside. Both the non-mining community and the planners must be brought to see that mining is as exciting and technical as building bridges and steamships, as romantic as flying, and as vital as agriculture."

Now, what Mr. Watson says is true, and it is characteristic of our society that the most productive people in it are the least esteemed, except when their products are insufficient to satisfy all its requirements. But it isn't only a question of status. Isn't it natural that miners should try to get their sons into other jobs than mining—the most arduous and dangerous occupation in the country, in which an average of eight men are killed each week? A correspondent of the *New Statesman*, last week says: "All over the coalfields I was asked, 'Any jobs going down South?' If they want coal, they can come and get it themselves for all I care. And who is to say this is not justified? There are two prerequisites for a solution of the mining problem. One is workers' control, and the other is the development of less lethal methods of getting heat, light and power."

Plan contains also an informative article on conscientious objection to military service, particularly from the point of view of the "Class 2" serviceman. One sentence calls for comment. *Plan* says, "It is worthwhile mentioning that prison routine is mad but not violent; there is nothing whatsoever to worry about and for one who goes voluntarily it can be a valuable experience." There is only one valid reason for going to prison, and that is getting caught (and finding loss of physical liberty preferable to loss of self-respect). One can hardly call this voluntary.

DESTROYED

"If you and thousands of others take things into your own hands, you'll only make it impossible for trained willing people to help you."

"In case of a sudden attack in the country, even a furrow in a ploughed field will give you some protection." (Picture of a man lying flat in furrow, behind plough, head buried in crook of arm.)

VI

"Anyway, it's a silly idea that everyone can move out of cities. Where would they go? What would they do for a living? Who would run the big industries and do all the shipping of goods if everyone moved out? Any general rush out of our cities would make us lose a war before it started."

—GERSTELL.

Command Engel in *The Nation's* Science Book Section, reviewing "The Effects of Atomic Weapons," writes: "This really has finally come out. It will be a surprise to many, for on the whole it bears out Prof. Blackett's opinion that the atom bomb may be a more effective agent of unprecedented power than the 'absolute weapon.'" Then he goes on to say that the radiological effect of only 20,000 deaths and a complete annihilation of the types of casualty figures given in the book and other pamphlets of our so-called possible preventives, therefore, that as Prof. Blackett says, the atom bomb is basically a colossal piece of T.N.T. of limited value."

As we leave this liberal thinker blithely giving his slim scientific fingers in this eye-wash and turn to some other ideas.

Use the idea of death and total destruction. Society's and our own personal destruction. We can still imagine Mr. A. J. Drexel Biddle's Hydrogen Bombs (whose site has just been selected in North Carolina and where construction is scheduled to start) have wiped out the midwestern states, saying: "Stop! —we still have Missouri and Iowa. —are you fidgity?"

But most of us radicals are more nervous than that.

What is to be done?

My mind, atomic war and the bomb—N.Y. (London and Paris, etc., are really not worth the first atomic war) and other major cities of the U.S., Russia, are so close, and the possibility of stopping it in time so slim that the most sensible thing to do seems to me to escape if possible while there is yet

One cannot turn an atomic bomb into a rebelling revolutionary army. Atom war and destruction hinge on the active participation of an infinitesimally small percentage of the population (not continued war, of course, which will require the active will of masses and at least the apathy of all). But to unleash this terror, we need only one more strengthening whisky at Blair House, or a clear, cold day in Moscow. (Truman blew up at his last press conference on China. He took their attack as a personal insult. One felt he might drop the bomb as a personal reply.)

We are at a tremendous disadvantage. Only masses can prevent this war, but a few men can initiate it. This is because our whole rotten world is geared to that. And we are working against all the huge political, social, psychological and personal forces accumulated in thousands of years of evil class society.

Are we cowards? We who would run from this monstrosity? But what is to be gained by staying in these cities? What is to be gained by adding a few thousands or more martyrs to an unknown altar?

What (if we are able to leave, if our commitments, our resources—friends, money, etc.—allow this or we strain and force it, to allow us), what of those we leave behind? But we can tell them to come, too. Where? How? When? Not easy. Chaos. A vast migration from American cities would, if possible, break up her war potential.

A Warsaw ghetto dissolved by one bomb! Where is the heroism here? What meaning does this have? . . . The time of heroes passes.

Yes, some out of disinterestedness, some out of love will not leave. They will fight on—a perhaps hopeless struggle to the end. Call them Christ and bow your head to them.

I cannot do this.

And for those who cannot leave, even if they wish to for various (other) reasons, yes, they can preserve their dignity to the end; they can compromise as little as possible. They can act and speak as deeply, not loudly but quietly, deeply as possible. They can bear their testimony for themselves, for each other and for the future times.

Are we who want to leave rats, deserting a sinking ship? Or rather is not the whole culture nothing but a huge stinking rat afloat on a sea of death. We are frightened sailors, we who try to run, to leave this impossible evil (for what other unknown terrors?) The great wreck of the west is going down. Comrades, let us launch our little ships.

JACK GALLEGO.

Israel: Collectives & the State

A CLASH OF INTERESTS

THE development of industries in the Jewish collectives in Israel is discussed in a report from Tel Aviv by the *Israel Labour News*.

The opposition to an industrial branch, which at one time was quite strong inside the collective settlement movement, has abated considerably over the years. In the forty settlements of *Kibbutz Artiz* (20,000 members), the second largest of the collective settlement federations, the largest being *Kibbutz Hameuchad*, there are to-day thirty-two industrial enterprises, and *Hever Hakevutzot* (total population 10,500), the smallest of the major federations, which has forty-three settlements affiliated to it, has nineteen enterprises.

In *Hever Hakevutzot*, which at one time was differentiated from the other federations mainly by its beliefs in a small community with numerical limits on membership, there has been an evolution away from the strong opposition to industrialisation which was expressed at one time. The fear that development of industry would destroy the close communal spirit has also lessened. Although there is at present no plan for over-all co-ordination or for effort to introduce industry into the settlements of this federation, an unplanned development has nonetheless taken place, says the report.

spread industry in rural areas and that small enterprises of the type they run can reach a high degree of efficiency.

Conflicting Interests

As was forecast in the feature article *Future Role of the Palestine Collectives*, published in *Freedom* in 1949, the emergence of Israel as a national state, has brought special problems to the urban producers' co-operatives and the industrial enterprises of the collective settlements. *Hameshavek*, the non-profit supply and marketing company of Histadrut (The General Federation of Jewish Labour in Eretz-Israel), is responsible for supplying the collectives with raw materials. The Israel Government has introduced a system of allocation of materials, and *Hameshavek* receives a ration based on the overall percentage (16-18%) of its industries to the total of all industrial undertakings in the country. But actually in some branches of industry Histadrut industry produces a much higher share of the total output. Examples are irrigation equipment 60-70%, agricultural machinery 80-85%, poultry runs 70-80%. The result is suppliers have been seriously understocked with raw materials. It should be noticed that the industries mentioned are among those most vital to the real wealth and creative development of the land.

Balanced Economy

One characteristic is common to industrial enterprise in all the settlements; it is, in most instances, small-scale, employing from five to twenty workers. Enterprise has on the whole grown out of the small workshops which are maintained in every settlement to supply the internal needs.

All of the federations have expressed the view that industry has developed partly because of the existence of people with certain skills in a settlement or because of the proximity of raw materials. The federations say also that certain settlements, which have been set up in areas where the conditions for agricultural development are extremely unfavourable, have founded industries as a way of providing a stable economic foundation. In addition, *Kibbutz Artiz* believe that industrial enterprise serves a number of other purposes such as productively absorbing seasonal unemployed in farming communities, and giving lighter work to people in the settlements who are incapable of doing heavy manual labour. From the national point of view, says *Israel Labour News*, the settlements of *Kibbutz Artiz* believe that it contributes to the health of the economy to

Hameshavek is demanding a larger allocation of raw materials, and a distribution according to industries rather than by overall percentage. The need of the government to keep the support of commercial manufacturers may make it unwilling to agree.

This is a graphic example of the contradictions existing in Israel to-day. On the one hand, the production for use, in a communal environment, which has been the aim of the collectives, and on the other, the production for profit and for national aggrandisement, which is characteristic of the nation-state.

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EXIT GARRY DAVIS

THERE was once a soldier who longed for peace. As an aviator, he had rained death upon unknown children, women and old men. Now he was sorry and his mind would give him no rest. He resolved that this must never again be allowed to happen and he took steps to implement this resolution.

And peace can be assured only by those who have no stake in war—by the workers of all countries and not by any of their presidents, leaders, or diplomats. The many who desire peace have a latent power infinitely greater than the more apparent power of the few "leaders" who threaten one another with atom bombs. There can be no common meeting ground for those who oppose war and those others who plan and direct wars.

(Trans. from *Le Combat Syndicaliste*, (Paris).

He harangued the multitudes of his native country, declaring his guilt to any who would listen. And there were many who listened. It was somewhat in the familiar style of the Salvation Army, but people were impressed by this little man in the leather jacket. He assaulted them with an unfamiliar idea, namely, that the individual soldier must share part of the responsibility for the murders he commits. Untold thousands of his countrymen were stirred to a deep and abiding hatred of war and militarism.

He went to Europe, landed in France and took Paris by storm. Here people looked to him as to a messiah bringing a new gospel of peace. Wherever he went crowds milled about him, hanging on his every word. For them he had resurrected an ancient and dying hope. In a symbolic gesture, he tore up his papers of identity, to show that he no longer recognised any one government as his own and that, hereafter, he would consider himself a "citizen of the world."

He went on toward Germany, where man-made regulations that were stronger than man blocked his entry. The man in the leather jacket pitched his tent and waited. Later, he built a hut of planks and waited again. And, then, one fine day, he faced about and returned to America. A short time afterward he married.

SECOND ISSUE OF ALTERNATIVE BANNED

THE Editors of *Alternative*, American monthly anti-war periodical, announced to-day that the November issue has been banned from the mails. The September-October issue had already been banned (see *Freedom*, 2/12/50) because of an advertisement addressed to draft-dodgers which urged them "to go a step further by becoming open non-violent war-resisters". In the November issue, the Post Office Department objected to sections which urged people to become world citizens who owe no allegiance to any nation state. It also objected to passages calling on people to refuse to adhere to the provisions of the McCarran Act and to refuse to make or bear arms.

Peace on earth—for all time? Well, a man cannot marry a dream and now that one is older and "wiser", one takes steps to recover one's citizenship. One appeals to the attorney general. To the attorney general and the forces behind him this man in the leather is a prize. They will gladly take him back. For his return implies, among other things, a promise to fight in Korea, if necessary, for the preservation of peace, civilisation, justice, humanity, etc. (We know this song. It is also sung in high places on the other side of the Pyrenees.)

To the little man in the leather jacket, we say this: That which you have contributed to the dream of peace cannot be taken back. Men desert causes but what they have given remains. After your desertion is forgotten, people will remember your heroism and will follow suit. The battle for peace continues. It takes courage and perseverance and, above all, a genuine desire for peace. Certain conditions are requisite but *Utopia* is not one of them. The sophisticated are mistaken and the wise old statesmen lie. For we are concerned here with peace on earth, not peace on the moon.

The editors announced: "It is obvious that the government is afraid to have both sides presented to the public. Our democracy has room for minor disagreements and political squabbles, but it does not dare to let people read freely the point of view which is both anti-Communist and anti-war. The Post Office allows anti-Semitic and anti-Negro material to go through the mails unchallenged, but it bans materials which asserts, as the November issue of *Alternative* does, that totalitarianism should be combated not by the mass murder of A-bombs but rather by Gandhi's weapons of non-violent resistance and brotherly love."

The editors in a letter to subscribers said: "The only answer of *Alternative* must be to make a redoubled effort to make people resist recruiting and to stimulate soldiers to the point where they can no longer be murderers for the imperialistic forces of any country. Beginning with this issue we are printing twice as many copies as formerly. We are trying to set up centres of distribution throughout the country."

THE MIRACLE SHEPHERD

THE work of another false shepherd is reported from India. There, a 12-year-old boy, Nepal Baba, known as the "miracle shepherd" distributed the powdered bark of a mysterious tree as a cure for all diseases. People flocked to the village of Rantalai to be cured; 500,000 sick and disabled from all parts of the continent. As a result more than 1,000 died of cholera, smallpox and dysentery, the latter caused by the lack of sanitation due to the congestion of thousands of sick persons. Other deaths were caused by afflicted persons being overcome by fatigue and exposure which aggravated the sickness for which they were seeking a miracle cure from the "all-healing miracle boy."

As we have often pointed out in these columns, we anarchists want a world with neither "sheep" nor "shepherds", but of responsible men and women.

LIBERTARIAN.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

THE FALSE SHEPHERDS

ONE-TRACK MINDS

SINCE Stalin has taken the place of God for many Russians (and for many others, too, whether they want him or not) it is understandable that he should be always in their thoughts, as God is for the devout Christian. Now, an enterprising journalist on a Yugoslav provincial paper has taken the trouble to count and analyse the references made to Stalin in one issue of the Russian Communist Party's organ *Pravda*. Actually, he appears to have been discouraged by the magnitude of his task for he limits his

analysis to the front page only of that paper. He found that in the issue of November 17th, Stalin's name was mentioned 101 times in the following forms: Josef Vissarionovich Stalin—35 times. Comrade Stalin—33 times. Great leader—10 times. Dear and beloved Stalin—7 times. Great Stalin—six times.

The Zagreb daily, *Naprijed*, quoted in London by the official Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, also said:

"Other variations were 'Stalin the genius,' 'great leader of entire mankind,' 'great chief of all workers,' 'protagonist of our victories,' 'great fighter for peace,' 'faithful fighter for the cause of peace,' etc."

The paper added: "Now and then there is admittedly also mention of the Soviet people, but only by the way and never in such ecstatic form."

HOLY YEAR (CONTINUED)

HOLY Year has obviously been such an outstanding success for all concerned that the Pope has called "on all Catholics throughout the world to cooperate during 1951 in repeating in every city, village and hamlet the same marvellous spectacle of Christian faith and piety that has moved everyone in this Holy City (during the 1950 Holy Year)."

The Pope prescribes the same full indulgences (that is pardons of the punishment due to sin) as were granted to the pilgrims to Rome last year, but he bans such classes of particularly grave sinners, including proponents of Communist anti-Christian ideology who do not demonstrate themselves "sincerely and efficaciously" determined to reject their former ideas.

The recipe for indulgences is given in detail by his Holiness: each Catholic in addition to visiting four of the specially designated local holy year churches, recite 26 specially listed prayers in each of the churches, 11 more times in Holy Year pilgrims were required to recite in their visits to the Rome Holy Year basilicas.

Three of the prayers will consist of the single sentence, "(Mary) Queen of Peace, single sentence, (Mary) Queen of Peace, pray for us." The Vatican press office implied that the number of prayers have been increased because of the current threat to peace.

OH BUT . . .

We quote from "East Europe" a characteristic letter which stresses once more the lack of understanding by Western broadcasters of the position prevailing in Central and Eastern Europe.

"Our entire youth is to undergo military training. In my judgment, these young men will make quite good soldiers, who will not fight too badly for the regime. This will be due to three reasons: fear of reprisals; confusion of mind, fear of new regime. Our young people have lost the ground from under their feet, they do not know where to turn. They do not believe in the Communist doctrine and they do not like Communists, but they do not believe in the West, and its democratic way of life either. They are afraid that under the new regime they will be victimised; they do not know what the chances they will have. They reject the prospect of which they have no clear conception; they recoil from a future which they cannot visualise. Your broadcasts and messages do not take into account the mental make-up of the new generations; they do not answer their questions and do not allay their fears and worries."

Peasant International Bulletin, 9/11/50.

1984 in 1950

A special panel of professors in Moscow are producing a "completely new" history of Britain. This was disclosed by Prof. Boris Gregov, a Russian, when visiting Prague. Other European countries are being dealt with, and the work was said to have been simplified because "so much had already been done by Lenin and Stalin."

Daily Telegraph.

THE good old game of telling other people what to do is in full swing at the moment on the issue of raising that 3,000,000 extra tons of coal that Mr. Attlee has asked for.

As usual, it is the workers who are being told, and the pen-pushers who are doing the telling. The *Evening Standard's* editorial for 3/1/51, was headed "3,000,000 or bust!" but nobody imagines that the Fleet Street Stakhanovites will be heaving much coal. It is the miners who will be busting themselves to answer the "nation's call".

At the Cabinet conference with the pitmen's leaders, it was said, no mention was made of the need for more coal for the rearmament drive. But the Press has made no secret of the fact that it is the needs of "defence" that makes any coal shortage so serious.

So the gains the miners have managed to achieve through a century and more of struggle; the advances from bitter drudgery to a slightly more leisured life, are to be sacrificed for the sake of a suicidal rearmament. The five-day week, and the eight-hour day are being given up, in the name of saving "our Labour Government" but in fact in preparation for another imperialist bloodbath.

Where is the revolutionary consciousness that miners of all people should have that their loyalty, their blood and sweat are being exploited against their

own interests and those of their fellow-workers?

**METAL SHORTAGE
MAY CLOSE FIRMS**

ONE way the Government can "encourage" firms to switch to rearmament is to withhold raw materials if they don't.

In Birmingham, 50 firms employing 3,000 workers producing fancy metal-work since the war, are affected by the recent ban on non-ferrous metals, due to come into operation next month. One firm has already sacked 280, and all the rest will have to close down completely unless rearmament orders are placed with them.

Seventy per cent. of the products of these firms go for export. That dollar source will dry up if the switch to arms is made. Since Britain must "export or die", and the new arms drive will mean restriction of export, what is the result to be?

**DEATH OF A
BENEFACITOR**

WORKERS in Jarrow will no doubt long remember that public spirited gentleman, Sir Joseph John Jarvis, who died last October.

When the name "Jarrow" was synonymous with misery and hunger, Sir Joseph

(late chairman of Armstrong Whitworth, ironfounders) initiated a scheme which founded five new industries there, and brought some employment to the stricken town.

Sir Joseph's only thought, of course, was the welfare of the people of Jarrow, but he did not live in the industrial Tyne-side himself. He lived at Hascombe Court, near Godalming, in beautiful Surrey, where he bred racehorses and exported bloodstock. He left £348,344.

UP THE SMOUT!

MOST people realise that they can't get something for nothing, and yet Sir Arthur Smout, a director of I.C.I., has recently claimed that the propagation of the idea that we can is the greatest evil of the hour. Not merely one of the greatest, but the greatest.

MUTUAL AID

ONE often comes across examples of mutual aid and warm feelings of humanity over-riding the violence, base materialism and egoism fostered by the systems we live under. We gladly give space in *Freedom* to such items of "good news".

Deep snowdrifts lay between the doctor and the Highland glen house of a sick man to whom he had been called.

There was only one way to reach him.

The doctor mounted a horse and rode out from Dingwall (Ross-shire), plunging through five miles of deep snow to the bedside of 77-year-old Donald Ross, once a leading Scottish athlete. Influenza was the diagnosis.

Back rode the doctor along those five treacherous miles and on reaching Dingwall, he ordered Mr. Ross to hospital.

The district nurse went in an ambulance as far as it would go through the snow and then she, too, mounted a horse and so reached the sick man's home.

She found there 30 men, who had come from miles around as volunteers to carry their old friend to the ambulance.

Mr. Ross, standing 6 ft. 4 in. and heavily built, rose from bed, dressed, and got on the stretcher.

The 30 men took turns in carrying him through five miles of snow to the ambulance. Often they were waist deep. Mr. Ross placidly smoked his pipe.

Last night, in Ross Memorial Hospital, Dingwall, his condition was reported "fairly satisfactory".

News Chronicle, 9/1/51.

United States and British Marines gave first aid, food and water to about fifty wounded Chinese Communist prisoners-to-day and left them in a heated house, to be recovered after United Nations troops left here. This was a 'thank you' from the fighting forces in eastern Korea for similar treatment accorded United States prisoners on the

**CHILDREN'S
EMOTIONAL
DEVELOPMENT**

L.C.C. Psychologist Supports "Unauthoritarian Regime"

AT the conference of the English New Education Fellowship last month, Dr. H. A. Child, Psychologist to the L.C.C., spoke on "Emotional Development and the School of the Future." His theme had, he said many ready supporters in the audience. Intellectual development was long ago accepted as the standard by which education should be judged; should we not now, he asked, aim at giving equal importance to emotional development?

This country was gravely afflicted with what he called "emotional backwardness". One-third of all our illness was diagnosed as psychological in origin; the same proportion of industrial absenteeism was due to mental illness; and nearly half our hospital beds were reserved for mentally ill patients. How then could we provide an educational environment which would foster emotional development?

The first need, said Dr. Child, was for smaller classes, and the organization of schools on a basis that aimed at all-round—as well as mainly scholastic—development. Diagnosis and assessment of emotional needs must in future be more objective and scientific; and information was needed from social psychologists on the development of children's personalities by the group-life of schools and classes. The pioneer schools had established the fruitfulness of an unauthoritarian regime, the importance of the creative arts in the emotional development of children, and the need for attention to individual emotional requirements. But research by trained scientists was still needed, and the stress on scholastic attainment was still a cramping factor.

CORRECTION

In the article "Are We Civilised?" (last issue p. 4), the 23rd line from bottom, 2nd col. should read "during the period of capitalist expansion." The line at present in that position is correct for the 14th line from bottom.

In a speech at Birmingham, he warned against trying to "snatch more out of the kitty than we put in." But I remember seeing a short time ago, among the city columns, a financial report on I.C.I. when they announced record profits for the year and whopping big dividends for their shareholders. Sir A. Smout, I have no doubt, was addressing the workers of the chemical empire, for he also said, "Everyone has got to be made aware of the paramount need to earn what he is being paid."

Is Sir Arthur really convinced that when he pockets his director's fees for the year, which work out at about 20 times the average wage of a worker, he has done 20 times as much work? Or are the workers, who produce the wealth in the kitty, so very wrong in wanting a little more of it distributed in their direction?

north-western front two weeks ago by the Communists. The Marines placed a Red Cross on the house in which the prisoners were left, and asked United Nations pilots not to bomb in that area.

United Press, 10/12/50.

When all seems grim, let's remember the white residents of Orlando, Florida, who raised \$800 among themselves to cover the uninsured part of a Negro's home, which was burned by night raiders.

Woolover Press, 5/1/51.

Letter to the Editor

**Stalin the
Nerve Soother**

I WOULD like to express sympathy with the feeling behind I.A.'s comment. If we stop hating injustice we shall deserve every condemnation. I think if he re-reads me he will see that I do not minimise tyranny in any form. My own position is one which is likely to be repugnant to a great many anarchists and quite impossible to those who have suffered severely and personally from a tyrannical regime, but I cannot avoid stating it. The revolutionary has generally aimed to remove injustice by enlisting the oppressed against the oppressor. The psychiatrist aims to deal with the oppressor directly, as with any other delinquent. For this purpose he is obliged to set up a therapeutic, interpersonal relationship with the supporters, not the opponents, of what he is attacking—if we wish to remove the tyrannical element in Communism, we have to modify Communists, not their opponents. A description of the psychiatric relationship I am discussing is likely to make many people angry, and get me labelled a simpleton or a sentimentalist: it involves a combination of confidence and friendship, repeat friendship, with a refusal to compromise or to abstain from criticism. Oddly enough, the very people who consider this type of relationship towards Communists, Capitalists, and other opponents of anarchism, impossible or disgraceful are perfectly ready to accept it in the treatment of individual delinquency. They are apt to use the same arguments against its application to political contexts which are used by Judges attacking the humanitarian and scientific approach to crime. It is not a mystique, it does not rule out resistance, and it has no religious basis—it is simply the outcome of the study of human behaviour. I have seen enough both of tyranny and of individual psychotics to be under no illusions about the difficulties, personal and political risks, and prospects of success in such an approach, but it remains the only effective basis for social psychotherapy.

ALEX COMFORT.

**POLITICAL
CHRISTIANITY**

THIS book has three main objects: to reveal the universal misrepresentation of the Franco regime; to expose the determination of the democracies to foist their own form of government on Spain; and to demonstrate that the Spanish Government of to-day is applying the principles of Christianity to the political sphere.

Publisher's announcement of *Cinderella of Europe*, by S. M. O. Callaghan, 1/12/50.

THOUGH our announcement about the weekly *FREEDOM* coincided with the sending out of a large number of subscription renewal reminders the first list of contributors to our Special Appeal, is an encouraging one. Most encouraging, too, has been the speed with which many readers have renewed their subscriptions to *FREEDOM*. At the time of writing, we have received 150 renewals which is approximately 50% of the notices sent out, and each day's mail brings a fresh batch of renewals. If you have still not attended to your subscription we urge you to do so without delay.

A PAPER like *FREEDOM* depends very largely for its economic stability on its postal subscribers. Few new agents stock *FREEDOM*, and street selling is a variable asset, since it depends on the weather and for its success, wet week-end can mean several hundred less copies of that particular issue sold. On the other hand, many could be disposed of at the ever-increasing number of public indoor meetings held in London and the provinces if were the enthusiasts to undertake selling. But postal subscribers are virtuous to weather conditions or temporary street-sellers! And for this reason we appeal to all sympathetic readers to *FREEDOM* to induce their friends to become subscribers.

FREEDOM has many readers. Having "cleaned up" our subscription lists at home we are now going to our foreign subscribers' lists which are addresses to which *FREEDOM* has been sent for a number of years though we do appear to have had word from more for a long time. In the past, our restrictions have made it difficult for readers in such countries as France, Italy to send us their subscriptions. Arrangements can now be made for sums to be sent through the Post Office. We hope that when they receive our letters they will give the matter their attention.

FREEDOM has many readers in the United States, but few compared to the potential readership. At present our most active supporters are located on the West Coast, in California, and would like to take this opportunity to those comrades who have taken the initiative to raise the money (and who have generously contributed) who have benefited *FREEDOM's* funds in 1950 by nearly £100. From the America we have received about £200 just about covers the postage of papers we have sent. We need 1,000 new subscribers to *FREEDOM* this year. It should surely be an impossible task to find 500 of them in America. Will our comrades there help us to achieve this during 1951?

THESE, then, are the targets for 1951 to consolidate *FREEDOM* as a weekly 1,000 NEW SUBSCRIBERS and £600 FOR OUR FUNDS. It can be achieved if every comrade and sympathiser considers his or her individual effort an important part of the whole instead of looking to others to take the initiative first!

**Freedom — Weekly
Special Appeal**

January 1st to January 12th:
Stockton-on-Tees: R.H.M. 1/6; Merriott: M.A.W. 1/3; Cardiff: Anon 3/; Nayland: W.G.P. 1/6; Glasgow: A.M.C.D. 1/6; Belfast: D.M. 1/6; London: F.E.D. 5/6; Colne: L.B. 5/; Wooler: J.R. 4/6; Brighton: G.S. 3/; New York: M.K. 11/5; Birmingham: A.R.L. 11/6; Glasgow: J.T. 10/; Tregaron: D.E. 5/; Llanelli: L.W. 5/; Cardiff: H.L.D. 3/; Stowmarket: A.B. 11/6; W. Pennard: E.O.I. 10/; Edinburgh: F.R.M. London: A.B.F. 15/6; J.C. 3/; Gillingham: 1/2; Bletchingly: J.C. 1/6; St. Columba: M.C. 4/; Bardon: M.W. 2/; London: V.E.R. 6d.; Birmingham: B.S. 5/4; London: W.H.T. 1/6; Esher: R.T. 1/6; London: L.G.W.* 5/; Gosport: F.G.* 5/; Birkenhead: J.E.H. 2/6; Heston: G.T. 1/6; Bradford: D.R. 3/; London: N.E.L.G. 2. 11 Anon £10. TOTAL £20 2. 11

GIFT OF BOOKS:
Anon: W. M. K. Anon.
Initials with an asterisk (*) are readers who have undertaken to send regular contributions to *Freedom's* Special Appeal.

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The St. Pancras Strike

FROM PAGE ONE

paying for or receiving the goods are perfectly satisfied and don't care whether the lorries used belong to the Road Transport Executive or the Railways. But this is the method already used by the Railways, who maintain their huge fleets of lorries for the road coverage and it matters very much to the workers concerned whether they are doing the work or somebody else, for if somebody else begins to do the work they used to do, they are going to become "redundant" and will get the sack. And to these workers, nobody can deny, that is very important.

Neither is this purely a hypothetical case, for the container system with carriage by Road Executive lorries, has been in operation for some months at Broad Street depot—with the result of less work for the Railway carters.

The French Lorry

Another example of workers being forced into a restrictive and time-wasting practice to defend their interests arrived last week when a French carrier arrived at Covent Garden with a load of market garden produce from Lyons. With his mate, he had driven 600 miles, driving his lorry on and off the Calais-Folkestone cross-channel steamer. But his arrival at the market nearly caused a strike among the market drivers, who saw a threat to their work if this direct delivery idea should spread and oust the usual delivery method to a London rail station.

**Meetings and
Announcements**

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP
CENTRAL LONDON
Regular Sunday evening meetings will be held in future at 7.30 p.m., at THE PORCUPINE PUBLIC HOUSE, corner Charing Cross Rd. and Gt. Newport St., next Leicester Square Underground Stn. JAN. 21st
"GERMANY TO-DAY"
JAN. 28th
FEB. 4th
"BRAINS TRUST"
"1851—1951"
F. A. Ridley
A CENTURY OF BRITISH LABOUR"

COMRADES IN WEST LONDON
Will any Anarchists interested in forming a group in the West London area, please write to *FREEDOM PRESS*.

NORTH-EAST LONDON GROUP
Discussion Meetings fortnightly, 7.30 p.m. Enquiries c/o *Freedom Press*.
JAN. 23rd
SOCIAL EVENING
Feb. 6th Round Table
"ANARCHISM AS I SEE IT"
BRADFORD
PUBLIC MEETING
in the Mechanics Institute, Town Hall Square, Tuesday, February 13th, at 7.30 p.m. Speaker: Eddie Shaw

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP
INDOOR MEETINGS
EVERY SUNDAY at 7 p.m.
at the CENTRAL HALLS, 25 Bath Street, with Frank Leach, John Geffney, Eddie Shaw, J. Raeside Rita Milton (Jan. 21)