

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"A fool in revolt is infinitely wiser than the philosopher forging a learned apology for his chains."

—KOSSUTH.

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Threepence

Reflections on Wildcat Strikes and America's 15-week Steel Strike

STRIKES & PUBLIC INTEREST

UNOFFICIAL strikes—declared the *Guardian* in its editorial columns last week—"are a running sore on the body of British Industry" and are making trade unionism hateful to many people who do not understand "how alien they are to the spirit and traditions of the trade union movement". It is quite true that the T.U. leaders condemn unofficial strikes and for the very obvious reasons that they tend to undermine their authority over the membership as well as in their day to day relations with employers and Government. The Trade Union leaders believe both in the closed shop and the silent shop; they will do all the talking, the negotiating and the decision-taking for their members. They combine the outbreaks of government and employers with their relations with their members; unfortunately they lack the powers of governments to coerce them into submission.

Sir Thomas Williamson, one of the many T.U. leaders who have been knighted for their devoted services to the Establishment (though their wages have been paid for by the "organised workers"), has been appointed by the T.U.C. to preside over its inquiry into unofficial strikes and their causes, and he gave a clear indication of the partiality with which he will conduct his enquiry when he told members of his own union (General & Municipal Workers) last week that

"The public are getting fed up to the teeth with these stoppages. It is quite clear to any sensible union member that if this were to become the pattern of union behaviour it could destroy the union movement."

Now why Sir Thomas should be so concerned with what the public feels in this matter, must have seemed to his members as being beside the point (especially with the next General Elections five years off!), for it presupposes that the purpose of Trade Unionism is to serve the best interests of the public, and contribute to the health of the system when its declared function is to defend and further the interests of its members. Indeed it is even narrower than that for the movement is divided into innumerable craft unions each exclusively concerned with the 'interests' of its members. So that official strikes may well be the result not of a grievance against the employer but between unions as, for example, in order to decide which union members should drill the holes when their drills have to pass through wood and metal. In a society in which "interests" are so divided (incidentally, it should be noted that it's not only the workers who squabble among themselves; litigation among employers and the moneyed class is, after all, the main source of income for a swollen legal profession!) it is sheer hypocrisy to talk of the public interest as if it mattered, or even existed today.

Public interest as we understand it has meaning in a society based on co-operation and a sense of community. Trade Unions, which are associations of employed workers formed primarily for the purpose of substituting collective for individual bargaining, and the F.B.I., which is "a voluntary association of Manufacturers and Producers for the promotion of their several and mutual interests", are organisations under-

lining the fundamental divisions of interests in existing society, which will persist in spite of a wave of "prosperity" or the "fairer" sharing of the economic cake.

★

THIS basic incompatibility between employees and employers is well illustrated by the massive steel strike in the United States which has closed down 85% of the industry since last July and which but for the possible use by the Government of the Taft-Hartley Act* shows no signs of coming to an end. If any signs of weakening are visible it is on the side of the employers, three of whose number (including the Kaiser Steel Corporation) have deserted the ranks and signed new contracts with the employees. But the 500,000 striking workers remain solid in their determination to resist though they have been without a pay-packet these past 15 weeks!

*As we go to Press the Supreme Court is deciding whether the Government is justified in invoking the Act—which would oblige the workers to return to work for a period of 80 days pending further negotiations for a settlement.

It may be said that they can hold out either because they are militant though starving, or because they had well paid jobs and are managing on their savings. Whichever argument one uses by way of explanation it is clear that the steel workers have not come round to identifying their interests with those of their employers! In a most revealing article in the *New York Times* (Oct. 18), it is pointed out that last Spring, the chances of the United Steelworkers of America surviving a protracted strike without signs "of internal stress and possible revolt" seemed slight.

The recession of 1957-58 hit the steel workers harder than any other group except the auto workers. Many men with long seniority were off the payroll for four to six months. With bills still unpaid, the steel unionists made little secret of their hostility to the prospect of quitting work in July in a fight for higher wages.

And it was not until the steel firms, in the final phases of the pre-strike negotiations

indicated that their principal interest was in winning more freedom to change

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School Rules and School Fools

READERS of the gutter press will remember the unfortunate girl of 14 who was refused admittance to her school last month because she was wearing high heels and a tight skirt. Her picture was published, looking as tarty as the photographers could make her, and a lot of silly remarks were made by the school authorities and her father.

The latter was what is called "pig-headed" and "bloody-minded" when people disagree with you and "standing up for yourself" when they agree—something like "resistance" and "terrorism". He was perhaps unfair to his daughter to make such a fuss in public, but as matters stand *someone* has to make a fuss from time to time to draw attention to the asininity of school uniform.

Just who do the authorities think they are, saying that a girl's clothes are unacceptable? Thousands of teenage girls wear tight skirts and high heels these days, and good luck to them. Why not in school? The same goes for fancy hair-styles and make-up. Why shouldn't they look as they like before 4.0 as well as after?

A teacher I discussed this particular case with said you can't have such clothes in a school because they're dangerous. Not to the boys (as the idiot of a headmaster said), but to the girls themselves: they might fall over. Then why are tight skirts and high heels all right for

offices, shops and factories? And if we really want sensible uniforms, why make boys wear ties and long trousers, which are most unsuitable for a schoolboy's life? At my own school they were both forbidden, which was at least intelligent.

But the usual argument is that such clothes are too "old" for girls, or too provocative. Now just why *should* adolescent girls have to look as dowdy and sexless as their gloomy teachers can make them? Because sex isn't quite nice until one is 21? Or perhaps because they are so much more attractive than their teachers?

Some people say girls must be taught "good taste", and in fact there are some schools that genuinely try to teach it. But let's face facts: most girls' school uniforms are revolting. We have got away from gym tunics and black stockings (indeed, the latter are often forbidden now!), but one school in North London has a bright purple uniform, while another has one of a dark-brown shit colour. Good taste? Come off it! Pure, bloody authoritarianism, however much it is rationalised.

There is perhaps some point in voluntary schools with genuine traditions having uniforms, as there is for some professions. But why in state schools? It isn't even as if the teachers wore uniform in them. How much more unpleasant can we make it for school children? And how long will people go on being surprised that the kids hate school and look forward only to the time when they can get away from it?

A revealing point is that when this matter came up on *Any Questions* not one of the four panellists mentioned the point of view of the person chiefly concerned—the girl. The teachers, the parents, the school, our vital interests almost; but the kids? Who cares what they think? Nick.

The Legitimacy Act 1959

FROM October 29th, the Legitimacy Act, 1959, came into force. We discussed a few months ago in *FREEDOM* some of the consequences of the Act which gives the father of an illegitimate child rights of custody "and access which the English law has denied him from time immemorial".

In other words, before the Act, the illegitimate child was regarded as belonging to no "known-body" except its mother, now the law recognises that there may be cases of real paternal affection although the parents may never marry.

In principle the concept of "equal access" is reasonable, but the unmarried mother has nothing like the financial legal rights accorded to the married woman, a fact which might have been taken into account* when changing the law. Assuming of course that the father of an illegitimate child wishes to take some responsibility for his child.

In July when the Legitimacy Bill was debated in the Lords the clause "legitimising the child born of an adulterous union" was deleted. This clause has now been restored. The effect is to obviate the need to claim an adoption order which under the old Act could be obtained at "little cost" if the parents decided to marry.

We are given an interesting insight into the minds of legislators over the question of the child born of an "adulterous union" and the child born of "fornication". Since 1927 it has been possible to legitimate, if the parents subsequently married, the child born of the latter, but it has taken many years to convince the law-makers of the fact that children will continue to be born in "adultery" whether or not the law enables the legitimisation of a child if the parents subsequently marry. It seems obvious that if two people are determined to have a child, born in an "adulterous union", they are not going to be put off by the consequences of illegitimacy.

It can be argued that illegitimacy is often the result of an irresponsible act the consequences of which some people do not want to accept, therefore, the law must not make their sexual irresponsibility any easier; but this new law clearly applies to the former group as well as to the "affectionate father" who wants access to his illegitimate child.

(In passing it should be noted that many legally married couples have children which neither want, the results of which can be just as bad for the children; this kind of irresponsibility is acceptable because it is legal.)

Discussing the Legitimacy Act the Legal Correspondent of the *Guardian* writes that:

"Legitimation is not legitimacy. It does not make a child legitimate nor does it operate retrospectively. It merely removes, from the date of legitimisation, most, but certainly not all, the consequences of illegitimacy".

This, not surprisingly, particularly applies to property. The Legitimacy Acts contain the following clauses:

If a person is legitimated under the Legitimacy Acts they may succeed only if the title through which they claim is subsequent to, and not prior to, the date of legitimisation (under English law this is the date of the marriage of the parents). And there are no rights to any dignity or title of honour. They can only succeed to property as if they had been born legitimate in three cases: (1) in the estate of an intestate dying after the date of legitimisation; (2) under a disposition coming into operation after that date; and (3) by descent under an entailed interest created after that date.

We are less concerned about succession rights than with the absurd notion that a child born out of wedlock has either to be pitied or treated differently, either by law or society.

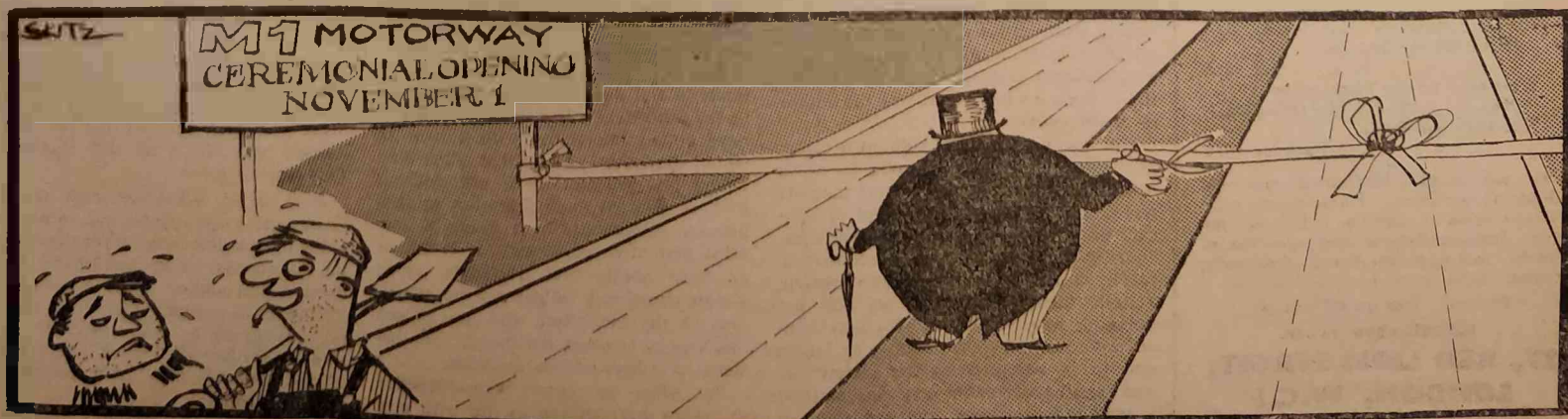
When we point to the difference

in status between the unmarried mother and the married one we are not suggesting that there should be more laws or that the unmarried mothers have necessarily more, or less, rights over the fathers of their children, we are merely drawing attention to the structure of the law which disregards the needs of those who do not live by its tenets.

There are signs of a gradual change in attitude towards the illegitimate child, but as long as monogamous marriage is held up as the necessary ideal state for the conception of children, there will be difficulties for people who do not conform.

But the difficulties will seem to amount to more if we allow ourselves to be affected by the pressure of "public opinion" or the absurdity of the law. R.

*Since the "poor innocent child" is supposed to be the real concern of the law it seems odd that it does not take into account the possibility that the unmarried mother may need more money than she can legally claim for her illegitimate child.



'He must be fair wore out with all the work he's done!'

DOLCI AND THE SITUATION IN SICILY

THE author of one of the three remarkable books about Sicily reviewed in last week's FREEDOM was Danilo Dolci whose work in Trappeto and Partinico, and especially the organisation of the famous 'reverse strike' of February 2, 1956, has brought before the conscience of an ever-widening circle of people in many countries, both the problem of abject poverty in Sicily, and the need to develop techniques of non-violent revolution as a means of aiding the victims, forcing the authorities into ameliorative action, and of altering the status quo. Dolci's activities were described in FREEDOM for 18/2/56, 31/3/56, 28/4/56 and 8/3/58. The last occasion was the time of his visit to this country, and it may be of interest to describe his history since then.

Dolci was awarded a 'Lenin Peace Prize' and went to Moscow to collect it. Asked in London how he reconciled his acceptance with his philosophy, he replied that he was just as willing to accept money for his work from Communists as from capitalists. In Moscow he made a speech declaring his belief in "the non-violent struggle and revolution, pure in its methods and without compromise . . . To shoot is an act of violence; but to deprive anyone of the possibility of awakening, of participating in life, is violence as well." He visited Sweden and other European countries and in Stockholm where an Association of Friends of Dolci had been formed, the Swedish press reported that "the Italian Government, for reasons of prestige, refuses help from abroad, particularly from Swedish technicians, and prefers to meet the situation with the single contribution of the police." On Dolci's return to Italy he lodged an appeal against the suspended sentence of fifty days imprisonment imposed on him two years earlier. Within a few days he was charged with insulting public institutions and spreading false reports likely to disturb public order during an address to a students' meeting in Sienna, and a fortnight later the Minister of the Interior, Fernando Tambroni withdrew his passport on the grounds that he had "defamed his country abroad". Two

days after this, on May 2nd last year, the Appeal Court at Palermo adjourned his appeal indefinitely. (Earlier in the year another Appeal Court had quashed the sentence of two months imprisonment on Dolci and Alberto Carocci, editor of *Nuovi Argomenti*, on the charge of obscenity brought by the Rome Public Prosecutor in connection with the first chapter of the book *Inchiestra a Palermo*.)

On November 27th last, the Public Prosecutor's appeal against the original sentence of 52 days (which they had already served while awaiting trial) on Dolci and twenty-two others, for the 1956 reverse strike, was heard at a new trial in Palermo. The sentences were increased to eight months. This sentence has now been suspended pending a review by the Supreme Court of Italy.

It is difficult to see what the Italian authorities hope to gain from these continual court proceedings. They certainly don't intimidate Dolci, and they provide excellent publicity for his campaign. Dolci believes that what they are seeking is an unqualified legal condemnation of the non-violent method.

One result of his European visits and his Lenin Prize has been the extension of his work and the increase in the number of his helpers. He has divided Western Sicily into zones and is using the prize money to set up pilot centres in each and aims at installing an Italian agricultural expert in each. The Danilo Dolci Committees of various countries have 'adopted' the zones in order to finance them and to provide voluntary helpers. The Italian zone is Partinico, the Swedish, Roccamena, the British, Menfi, the Swiss, Corleone and the Norwegian, Cammarata. The British *Danilo Dolci Committee*, of 29 Great James

Street, W.C.1 are at present seeking as well as money, their first 'Community Development Officer', someone with experience of this kind of work and a knowledge of Italian, to begin work at Menfi, which is a town on the south coast of the island.

The official obstruction to Dolci's work has been accompanied by the hampering of his foreign helpers. Last year a Swedish economist, Gunnar Adler-Karlsson who had been making a survey for Dolci of economic conditions in Roccamena was refused permission by the police commissioner in Palermo to address a meeting on 'Social Life in Sweden on the grounds that "a tourist may not study or participate in any other cultural activity whatsoever without special permission". In January this year three of Dolci's Swiss and French technical assistants, Dieter Stucky, Claudia Ruffly and Rene Rochfort were refused an extension of their permission to stay in the country. On February 9, the Swiss nurse Meta Berchtold and the French journalist Alain Godon had their permits to stay at Roccamena withdrawn by order of the Minister of the Interior. Two other helpers, Margherita de Vincenti and Madeleine Bonnet were escorted back to the Italian frontier by *carabinieri* on declaring that Partinico was their destination.

"The authorities" wrote Dolci, "do not want any publicity given to the country of the Mafia, they don't want anything said, they don't want a scientific investigation, they don't want a parliamentary enquiry. This means, and it is well that it should be clearly understood, that they are entering into complicity with the assassins." (Readers of Gavin Maxwell's *God Protect Me From My Friends* will not doubt this).

However, Pierre Martin, the former editorial secretary of *La Liberté* in Paris, who is working with Dolci at Partinico wrote in April that the movement seemed to have taken notice of foreign protests and was not putting any more difficulties in the way of foreign volunteers, and the Rome anarchist paper *Umanità Nova* reported on 21/6/59 that "the police measures against Danilo's foreign collaborators have been revoked (thanks, we must not forget, to the firm protests from all over Europe)".

The Italian anarchist press is firmly behind Dolci (Federico Ernovino is among the anarchists working with him in Sicily). In the wave of prosecutions of anarchist propagandists in Italy during the last year, the two editors of the Sicilian anarchist monthly *L'Agitazione del Sud* were each given one year sentences by the Court at Catania on December 2nd last. *L'Agitazione del Sud* has recently moved from Ragusa to Palermo (Via Manno, 9).

THE political situation in Sicily is curious. The island was granted a certain measure of political autonomy in 1947, and until a year ago the Regional Government was a coalition dominated by the Christian Democrat Party which is of course the ruling party in Italy as

a whole. But in November 1958 of the Christian Democrat leaders in the Regional Assembly broke away from the party and formed a new coalition with the Communists, the (Nenni) Socialists, the Monarchists and the neo-Fascists headed by the 'rebel' Christian Democrat leader Silvio Milazzo who, after his expulsion from the party formed a new 'Christian Social Union'. In spite of the Vatican's threat of excommunication for those who vote for the Communists and their supporters' and Signor Nenni's declaration that he would not allow members to take part in a coalition which included the neo-Fascists, the Milazzo government survived until the elections last June. The elections gave the Christian Democrats 34 seats (previously 37), the Communists 21 (20), the Socialists 11 (10), the neo-Fascists 9 (9), the Monarchists 3 (9), the Social Democrats 1 (2), the Liberals 2 (3), and the Milazzo Union 9 seats. Signor Milazzo has formed a new coalition government in which, as before, the largest single element is the Communist Party. The only thing which might unsettle this is a new alliance between the Christian Democrats and the parties of the extreme Right.

Bruce Renton, reporting in the *New Statesman* (6/6/59) declares that "The ideological line-up behind Milazzo is something new in Italy and Europe. There is an agreement between the Sicilian capitalists and the Sicilian Communists by which industrial agitation has ceased. Anti-Communism has been

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Occupations—for Ladies

STREETWALKER. The Bodley Head Ltd., 12s. 6d.

IT has been said before, but it is nevertheless true, that most of us are square pegs in round holes. In this society where codes of conduct are rigid and unyielding, the individual must attempt to assert his individuality, to stamp his personality upon the indifferent world around him. There is no prepared place for him in society. There is no job on the files of the labour exchange which lists his particular capabilities and talents and declares them to be wanted. He knows that in order to survive he must 'take' or 'get' work. Work is something outside him, something he goes out to look for, something for which he receives his unequal share of the daily bread. Therefore he must force his unwilling, dancing, rebellious spirit into the structure of an economic system too lacking in life to accept it.

We each achieve a degree of freedom which varies according to our capacity to be free and to our social and economic environment. We have to face the world for what it is and seek "to create a cell of good living in the chaos of our world" as Eric Gill put it. As the author of *Streetwalker* observes: ". . . And there are the ones I like best—the individualists, the wanderers, the eccentrics, who, whilst living to the various codes they have formulated for themselves, skip the bounds of the social code where it seems to them unnecessary, unjust, or simply not in keeping with what they want from life . . . You find they have the strength to walk beside the world and yet not damage it by cutting into it as a criminal does . . . They have a basic granite in common, a self-centredness which will enable them to shake off whatever becomes a load and evade whoever tries to change them."

But often force of circumstances, combined with an inherent weakness of character and an inability to face reality and to live creatively in spite of it, force an individual outside of society. Such an individual may well become a prostitute. Such an individual was the author of *Streetwalker*.

She had been a rebel without a cause. Motivated mainly by a desire to prove to her convention-bound parents that she was a law unto herself she went to London and had a series of wild affairs. Inevitably, as do most 'unconscious' rebels, she became conscience-stricken. "Guilt, though, grew in me, and the battering society gives its rebels weakened my resolve." Her longing to return and to be accepted by the society she had rejected overcame her. She married a young Scot whose confused state of mind matched her own. They tried very

hard to make their marriage a success, but it failed. Their marriage had been built only on a temporary need. Fleeing once again from her parents and the prison they offered for a home, and pursued by creditors, she returned to London. She was 21. Guilt was growing inside her again. "She was bad, 'they' said so." The next and inevitable step was to prove it, to 'show them'. She was hungry, cold, isolated. It was easy to be sucked into the vortex. She became a prostitute. Society had no place for her. "I am a nomad and want to be no more than just this. I have two suitcases and I am independent. I stand on my own two feet and ask help from nobody, and this is compensation enough for the means I have chosen to achieve self-sufficiency."

When she sacrificed her individual integrity by becoming a prostitute she also forced into dormancy her innate sensitivity and fair-mindedness. But one aspect of that sensitivity she could allow to remain on the surface—her ability to intuitively perceive subtle differences of character in the people she encountered. This served her well when dealing with a prospective client—and she was aware that, socially acceptable or not, the prostitute is as necessary in this society as the washing machine or the television set. She writes of 'the vast army of lonely, unloved and unwanted men' who seek out the prostitute and she eloquently condemns the blind hypocrisy of the social code and its respectable upholders. "We come into continual contact with upright, respected citizens whose voices are loudly raised against us in public, and yet who visit us in private, or make use of us in some way . . . these pillars of society are harder to bear than all the rest of one's night visitors put together . . . Ranged against us also are the women, who would bring back the public stocks if they dared, but who skin their men of their wage packets every week, offering them a perfunctory Saturday sop in return, and very little more."

The evil of prostitution lies in its insincerity and its effect upon the integrity of the individual. If a woman wishes to have sexual intercourse with a man to whom she is not married that is her own affair, but prostitution is sex without love, or without mutual passion or even physical attraction. In it desire is one-sided and often perverted. It is sex at its most sordid and degrading which almost completely obliterates the awareness of the individual who has chosen this way to secure a livelihood. She becomes a dulled, lifeless machine.

But when the author was compelled to review her position in life with new eyes and to question what previously

... and Gentlemen

AN OCCUPATION FOR GENTLEMEN, Fredric Warburg-Hutchinson, 21s.

An Occupation for Gentlemen is not a Guide to Leisure. Under this contradictory title the author writes about his own genteel origin and his subsequent career as a publisher of books, some of which would look awkward on the bookshelves of any Gentleman.

The publishing house of Secker & Warburg was founded in the spring of 1936, a year in which the 'left' in Western Europe acknowledged the strength of the Anarchist Movement in Spain and supported (some dubiously) its resistance to General Franco.

A few years later, after the Nazis broke their non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, Stalin had become "that rugged old warrior chief" and an ally of the Democracies—in the eyes of the 'left', Anarchism was no longer respectable and their "heroic struggle" against Spanish fascism was forgotten.

But in 1936, woolly-heads, opportunists and others, united under the anti-fascist banner. The Left Book Club was born, shrewdly fathered by Victor Gollancz, its economic success assured by the energetic support of the Communist Party and fellow-travellers of all kinds.

Secker & Warburg (then Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd.), under the policy directorship of Fredric Warburg, was then in its first year, struggling, in the words of the author, towards a "distinguished loss".

Mr. Warburg had decided views about the place of his firm "in the war of words and the clash of ideas". Sanity must replace the perversion of reason. To destroy the maniacs by force "was to reduce oneself in the process to an identical level of barbarism". Some time later the author was to change his views on barbarism. Had he lost his faith in reason and become unreasonable in the process? Whatever the cause, in the months before 1939 "He prayed and worked for war". Defeated it seems in the "war of words" he writes: "A man must fight when there is no other way . . . Even in the age of the H-bomb a

she had accepted, she had to conclude: "No, there is no choice. Man who perceives, however indistinctly, what he has become and what he will be if he continues on that road, commits the ultimate and most unforgivable sin against himself and life if he still chooses it. This much I know."

Here is an individual truth wrought from experience. Here, too, is progress—the unconscious rebel gradually becoming conscious. The publisher's blurb declares the author to be a gifted and introspective writer. For once this is no exaggeration. *Streetwalker* is a sombre shadow-filled book but, because of the author's new-found courage, it gives out hope.

PATRICIA BRITTEN.

man must stand up". He does not explain how a man stands up to an H-bomb!

But the author's ambition to publish unusual books which other publishers would not handle resulted in a number of lasting books, among them Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*.

Before this John Langdon-Davies' *Behind the Spanish Barricades* (Secker & Warburg) brought Mr. Warburg in contact with the Communist Party. The editor of the *Observer* refused to print an advertisement for the book, but the Communists were on hand with promises to boost the little firm through their contacts "in every Literary magazine in London", in exchange for Party support.

Perhaps it is the author's admitted lack of political understanding at that time which nearly persuaded him for a short spell that the Communists were the strongest political force truly rallied against fascism, but before the end of 1936 he was in contact, through Fenner Brockway, with the I.L.P. and socialist writers, including Reginald Reynolds, Jomo Kenyatta, Ethel Mannin, George Orwell and Maxton.

Supported by his wife in this undertaking, he published a number of books by Socialists and Trotskyists, also Rucker's *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, thus ending his fleeting flirtation with the Communists.

Anarchists of this reviewer's generation, who grew up in the last war and were not involved in the significant political period before and during the Spanish War will be interested in the references to writers and their views, many of whom are more than just 'names' to us.

The Spanish Civil War is of lasting interest to Anarchists, an epoch which at the time was best documented by *Spain & The World* the forerunner of FREEDOM.

Of all the socialists who were involved in some way in the Spanish Civil War, the Anarchists have the greatest affinity with George Orwell. One of the editor's of *Spain and The World* who knew Orwell relates how when he completed *Animal Farm* no publisher at the time would handle it because it was anti-Soviet (it was later published by Secker & Warburg), Gollancz of course turned it down although he had an option on all Orwell's books.

Whether Secker & Warburg postponed the publication of *Animal Farm* for reasons of expediency is not disclosed in this first volume of Mr. Warburg's autobiography. It may be that there is another explanation, if so we await the next volume with interest.

Secker & Warburg is a commercial concern, its aims are not the same as ours but its policy director seems primarily interested in publishing books more than in profits, and in freedom for both author and publisher.

But the firm continues to expand (between eighty and ninety books a year), and we can only hope that in attaining material 'success' the founders won't lose sight of the original aims. R.M.

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Anarchist Organisation and Propaganda—5

Strikes & Public Interest

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local work rules that the first signs of militancy emerged among the rank and file. Confronted with an issue that seemed to imperil their seniority, their job security and the effectiveness of their union, the members exhibited a solidarity that had been invisible when the strike goal was more money.

According to the *N.Y. Times* writer the union's morale, with the strike nearing its hundredth day, appeared firmer than ever.

The lost wages and the hardships of feeding and clothing their families with no money coming in have brought no hint of readiness to capitulate on the rules issue. On the contrary, the sentiment in the mill towns is to "stay out forever" rather than let the industry have its way.

Workers with whom he spoke about the union's willingness to compromise over wage demand declared that

"The money doesn't mean a thing to us now. I just want to have the same rights under the contract I had before the strike, and I think other men feel the same."

WHAT emerges from this 15-week struggle is that even in the United States where one looks upon organised labour as being more capitalist than socialist-minded, more Tory than Socialist, more gadgeted and "prosperous" than workers in any other country of the world, the class antagonisms persist nevertheless.

But what is also clear is that neither side is in the least concerned as to how the "public interest" is affected by the loss of some 25 million tons of steel! The only arbiter in that respect is the Administration which sets in motion the machinery created in Title II of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 when it considers that a stoppage affecting an entire industry or a substantial part thereof "will if permitted to occur or to continue, imperil the national health or safety . . ."

Why Eisenhower waited 13 weeks before intervening has probably less to do with the fact that there were ample stocks of steel to keep the wheels of industry turning, than with political considerations. After all, as the *N.Y. Times* Washington correspondent points out,

[the leaders of the big companies] over-estimated the degree to which the Administration would back them in the end. They have not had as much support from President Eisenhower or Secretary of Labour James P. Mitchell this week as they thought they would get. (Our italics).

Why? It would appear that "with a Presidential election coming on, political considerations, as usual, are beginning to affect official attitudes on the strike".

This Administration is not in a mood to start a Presidential election by smacking down labour once more. Secretary Mitchell and Vice President Richard M. Nixon, who has been more active behind the scenes in this strike than is generally realized, remember the Republican defeat in the last Congressional election when organised labour got stirred up over the "right to work" issue in California, Ohio and other states.

So, whatever may be the "public interest" all from the workers and the employers to the Administration are motivated only by their sectional and personal interest. And as we have written on many occasions, this is as it should be, and those who think it should be otherwise in the circumstances are either

It is understandable that anarchists should be impatient. In the first place they are by definition people who are discontented with existing society. They may not be discontented in their own lives and circumstances, but their deeper understanding of social problems and their vision of how things could be inevitably make them impatient of the error and apathy which surround us.

Secondly, if we do not believe in God and the hereafter, we can be concerned only with this life on this earth. We cannot console ourselves for the frustrations of today with the thought that in the afterlife we shall be all right. It is here and now that we want our heaven.

But most of us get mellowed with time, if not actually resigned. As revolution after revolution fails to change society—either before or after succeeding, in overthrowing the régime it attacks—we see that sharp and sudden social upheavals are pointless if they are not the culmination of many years of social education, of growing awareness, of preparation for freedom through responsibility, of building the new in the shell of the old.

This is why, to my way of thinking, the assertion of responsibility on a small scale is of more social significance than the large-scale schemes of government. We may believe that the almost 100 per cent. literacy in the West is a grand thing, for example, until we stop to ask ourselves what people are reading? How is the ability to read being used? By whom? For what?

The compulsory education which is part of the State's achievement, has virtually eliminated illiteracy. But far more important, for the values for which anarchists stand, are the attempts of a small handful of educators—inside and outside the State's educational apparatus—who seek to draw out of the child his innate abilities, preferences, potentialities, by giving him responsibility in a freer environment. Literacy in itself is no advance if it simply enables the mind to be filled with rubbish and then closed. Yet that is its value for the State. Added to the ability to read must be the social awareness which can put that ability to uses which we consider valuable, if we are to be impressed with the increased literacy of our time.

This kind of criterion can be applied to all of what is called progress. After all, many of the outstanding achievements in the revolutionary sense have been performed by people regarded as

hypocrites or fools (or just politically naive!).

THERE will be a definable public interest when there is a socially educated, vocal public; when social organisation springs from, and is controlled by, the people. Trades Unions are an essential part of the unjust, class divided, authoritarian society. In a free society, in fact and not just on the glib tongues of the politicians and the rabid anti-Russians, Trades Unions would be looked upon as, at most, the necessary instruments of worker's defence in a society based on privilege. Those who today are so proud of the Trades Union movement would do well to temper their enthusiasm with the question: "But why do the workers still need to organise—and against whom?" And the shocking truth might dawn on them that the fact that after 90 years† we still needed the protection of the Trades Unions was the measure of their failure and that of parliamentary socialism. They have all the gadgets of the industrial age; they have the very latest in the weapons of destruction; and even the book industry was boasting last week that it had sold us six times as many books as in 1939. Indeed, a third of the voting public are in agreement that we "have never had it so good". All we now lack is the free society to make us feel free!

And that can neither be supplied in tins nor legislated for. You fight for it when you know what you want, and want it more than all the pre-packed tit-bits that are dangled before your eyes by the salesmen of capitalist security and servility.

†The Trades Unions secured legal recognition in 1871-75.

backward by the intellectuals. In Spain the peasants were mostly illiterate and certainly poverty-stricken, yet they had a dignity, a sense of responsibility, a willingness to organise and a feeling for their community which enabled them to understand and put into operation a social pattern far in advance of what most literate, well-breeched products of Britain's educational system can even envisage.

Nevertheless, just as in Spain the revolutionary achievement came after years of educational work by an energetic anarchist movement, so, in this country, must our task be one of education and preparation for the changes we want to see.

It is impossible to imagine a revolution taking place in this country under anything like the present circumstances, but even if it did, it would be of little use to anarchists for although in the several ways we have discussed, libertarian trends are observable, as far as social and political alternatives are concerned, authoritarianism is triumphant. A social revolution in Britain in the foreseeable future would result only in the establishment of another government—most probably of some authoritarian socialist kind.

But, although revolutions always take by surprise those who talk about them most and social upheavals depend upon a lot of imponderables which can seldom be foreseen, nevertheless such discussion now must be purely academic. The only reality we can face up to now is the need for propaganda for freedom—the need for education to encourage people to think in our direction.

In discussing effective propaganda we must first ask 'Effective for what?' And if our answer is 'Effective for Anarchism', then we must be prepared not to be directly effective in ways which are legally or politically noticeable. We may be indirectly effective in that if we help in the reaction of a body of opinion, that may find immediate expression in pressure on the government to reform a law, but the crux of the anarchist's propaganda should always be to encourage people to see the importance to them of a condition of expanding freedom and expressing freer and freer attitudes within society.

After all, in spite of our all-pervading and powerful legal apparatus, few of us are really governed in our behaviour by what the law says. If we are homosexuals or conscientious objectors or thieves or litter-louts we behave accordingly and either evade or take the consequences. What binds society together is the sociality and mutual need of people, not laws forced upon them from above. We may be able to do good for others by attacking repressive laws; we may save life by working for the abolition of capital punishment, prevent misery by changing the laws relating to homosexuality or abortion, and legal reforms along these lines may be incidental results to the general educational work of the anarchist, but specifically anarchist propaganda will not be for these reforms.

If anarchists lend support to campaigns on such issues, it can only be incidental to their full demands, based upon their opposition to the whole con-

cept of punishment, of moral sanction and taboo.

Now the anarchist as an individual may be able through his own strength to achieve a life of dignity and self-realisation, but his social impact will be limited unless he is so outstanding in his field of work or expression that he becomes a public figure well-known and respected.

For less-favoured individuals, social expression can come only through work within a movement, or at least a group. And just as we have discussed earlier that the authoritarian basis of socialism quite naturally creates an authoritarian organisation to express it, so the libertarian nature of anarchism can be expressed only through an organisation based upon free association, not party discipline.

It is a common sneer used by our enemies that anarchists are opposed to organisation and to all forms of discipline and authority. To discuss fully these points would take another lecture, but briefly, our position is that we are not opposed to organisation as long as we are organising ourselves for our own purposes. Nor are we opposed to self-discipline or the discipline of the task, nor to the authority of function.

And work that any group does in common entails organisation. What anarchists object to is being organised by somebody else for somebody else's purposes. Any task carries with it its own disciplines—ploughing according to season, planing according to grain, building, making, driving, whatever it may be—and every person who has mastered a function—a doctor or a bricklayer—deserves to have his authority respected in that function.

What anarchists do oppose is discipline and authority imposed from above for purposes of exploitation, and organisation for its own sake.

In this country these are hardly dangers within the anarchist movement today, but they still represent what should be our concern even if we had a large movement, which ideally should be nothing more than a linking of functional groups. These groups may have different purposes, although the main purpose of an anarchist movement is propaganda, through publications, meetings, agitations. But there are also the purposes of mutual aid and of communication with other movements and demonstration, where possible, of our ideas in practise.

What is important is that the structure of our movement should be itself a demonstration of our ideas. Just as a socialist party acts within itself as it would act in society if in power, so the anarchist movement should be a microcosm of a free society, that is, a libertarian, federative structure with the accent on the individual member, not an authoritarian organisation with directives handed down from above.

Within the movement, the personal relationship between individuals should (ideally) also be an expression of libertarian tolerance and respect for others of divergent interpretations.

In this way, the anarchist movement can represent the seed of the new society growing within the shell of the old, while the anarchist individually aims to live his life here and now as closely as possible in accord with how he would in a free society. P.S.

Four Bob a Whacking

WHEN I read it I thought, "What fools we were never to think of doing it ourselves at school."

I refer of course to the enterprise of two Lowestoft schoolboys in organising an insurance scheme against caning, lines and detention, which has been publicised in the national press. The scheme involves a weekly payment of 3d. a week in the kitty and a pay-out of 4/- for a caning, 3/- for detention and 1/- for 1,000 lines. There is a no-claim bonus for those who keep out of trouble for long periods, but "bad risks" who get caned more than twice a week can only claim 2/- a beating.

What particularly impresses me about the scheme is that it is fool-proof, sneak-proof and teacher-proof. Perhaps one cannot help but have a certain sympathy for the poor teachers who are accustomed to maintain their dignity and boost their self-esteem by threatening all who challenge it with the cane, etc. One can well imagine the impotent rage of the teacher who, when he threatens flogging, sees a slow smile spread over the intended victim's face as he envisages a pay-out from the kitty.

"Good 'ole Freddie," his pals will whisper as teacher gets out the cane, "he'll be standing us all Woodbines tonight!"

What can the school authorities do about it? Flog a boy and he is enriched, keep him in detention and he will ride home in a taxi. The only answer that they might make is to flog the children so often that the kitty will become exhausted. It therefore behoves children in other schools who adopt this insurance scheme to keep it secret. The two Lowestoft schoolboys who publicised the scheme have done good work, but their imitators had best avoid publicity.

In many schools of course a certain number of teachers will turn a blind eye to the scheme if they become aware of it, for it is likely to act to their mutual advantage. It is no secret that many schoolteachers are in fact addicted to "the English vice", that is, taking a quasi-sexual pleasure in beating children. It is encouraged of course by our Public Schools, where flogging is a tradition, almost a sport. It is practised by the staff, and the prefects are encouraged to flog the younger boys. It is part of the neo-Grecian, homosexual way of life of the Public School. Buggery and other physical aspects of homosexuality are frowned on in boys' schools, and even severely punished. So too are the tender aspects of homosexual attachment between boys or between teachers and boys. But the sadistic aspects of homosexual attraction, as manifest in flogging, are encouraged as being a clean, manly activity.

In former times, the ethos of the Public Schools was confined to schools for "gentlemen", but in our modern age every little Grammar School, Tech., or Secondary Modern can seek social status

for itself by apeing the traditions of the Public Schools. If Puddleston Boys' High, has no ridiculous and meaningless traditions, then it can gain status by inventing a few. An ambitious headmaster and snobbish assistants can step up their local reputation by trying to import customs which have been going strong at Harrow or Rugby for a few centuries. The easiest for snob-appeal, is of course the ritualisation of flogging. I know of one such school where the staff are not expected to flog—but the head encourages the older boys to do so.

Most children resent caning but treat it as a sort of grim joke, something that is instituted and they cannot do anything about it. Many adults boast of the whackings they received in youth and stoutly defend the continuation of the practice. It is probably healthier for a boy to be flogged than to do the flogging himself, but it is a truly nasty vice for which the English are notorious, and it corrupts those who have less direct means of sexual expression. All institutionalised methods of punishment are corruptive because they undermine the sense of individual dignity and responsibility which should be part of the development of children.

A punished child is an irresponsible child. I therefore welcome this little insurance scheme among schoolboys. It is a sign that they do not regard themselves as being quite impotent before a system which is imposed upon them. G.

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Are the Union Leaders Afraid?

THE proposed action of the Municipal and General Workers' Union to outlaw wildcat strikes is nothing unexpected to those who have taken the trouble to examine the past behaviour of the trade union movement, nor to those who have experienced the industrial double cross at the hands of joint tribunals.

To be as perpetually gullible as some of the believers in political action, despite constant experience with the ineffectuality of it all, is asking for trouble. These people believe it possible for the unions—or governments or police forces—to act in a way other than they do. But they cannot. The hierarchy of the unions is parallel to that of the State. The functions of both are based on the acceptance of a particular set of circumstances without question.

The unions, who want power to reform a situation—and not too much reform at that—are faced with the problem of having to discipline a minority, who might not necessarily want more, but who, in terms of influence among the workers, constitute a threat. The believer in trade unionism has no real gripe with the actions proposed by the Municipal & General Workers, for this union is acting according to the rules of the game.

Ideals Fulfilled—but Faulty

We cannot deny that the unions, in their context, have fulfilled pretty well the aspirations of their founders and martyrs. But dedication to an ideal is of no avail if the idea is faulty. Many a false concept—even Hitlerism—has had its martyrs.

The defence of the working class cannot be effective if we get bogged down in the idea that defence means only defence of the wage packet, or standard of living. As long as the wage packet exists there will be someone to work for it. This is a situation which the unions do not wish to change, therefore again the action of the union bureaucracy

must of necessity mean calling to order the wildcat strikers who might, by their irresponsibility, damage the cogs of capitalist enterprise—on which the trade union baronets depend for their power.

An organisation should be built which by its mere function does not allow itself to be used by the first hucksters to come along. It is quite possible that the knights of the TUC entered the working class movement with inspired ideas on how to better the lot of the downtrodden millions, but by refusing to adopt a revolutionary approach to capitalism they have become bogged down in the 'liberal-bourgeois' concept of economic justice.

Sir Tom Understands

Because of this, and in order to keep their prestige, their faulty ideals makes their behaviour what it is, and compromise with the rulers of industry is only a part of it.

Sir Tom Williamson of the Municipal and General (sounds like an insurance company, which, after all, it is) sees the unofficial struggle carried on by his members to better their conditions of employment as a threat to the officially blessed activity carried on by himself and his fellow knights. Also he might well understand the feelings of the employers, who may be ready to concede to the 'responsible' section of the unions (Sir Tom and his friends) the practice of the closed shop in exchange for the promise of industrial peace. Especially if the alternative is the unofficial rank and file putting a spoke in the wheel of mutual understanding between the union leadership and the captains of industry.

Those who are expelled from the union as well as those who are not, are bound to suffer a spate of disillusionment and doubt. The workers who even yet believe in labour politics and reformist unionism present to us anarchists an opportunity to canalise their doubts in a constructive way. It is our task to point

out the fallacies of present-day unionism and how the fundamental issues are, by the very nature of trade union organisation, either missed out or deliberately misrepresented.

The Only Method

Here the anarcho-syndicalist can point to a way closed to the communists and Trotskyists, who are bound by their ideology to use means which eventually engulf them.

Anarcho-syndicalists recognise the need for an organised working class movement created by the workers themselves not just to wrangle for a penny or less but organised to present an intelligent and revolutionary front to the employers.

If the union leaders are afraid that direct action might win the workers something—which they obviously are—and take steps to prevent it, then our answer must be to help build an organised and educated body of opinion within the working class to demonstrate that direct action is the only method with which fight capitalism. F.H.

Where are Freedom's Supporters?

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Deficit on *Freedom* £880
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Total	4	2	0
Previously acknowledged	730	1	6
1959 TOTAL TO DATE	£734	3	6

*Indicates regular contributor.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Pastoralist Anarchists

DEAR FRIENDS,

Well, I do seem to be putting my foot in it. Yes, of course I was knocking down something of an Aunt Sally (a lovely noise as it went down, though!), but I think there is a pastoralist attitude of mind that finds itself particularly at home among contemporary anarchists, and it was really this that I was attacking.

Again, of course, Mr. Uloth is right that the danger is not towns as such, but *subtopia*—the whole complex of semi-planned suburbs, exurbs and conurbations which *are* (I agree) threatening English life. But what are we to do? Where are we to put all the people? Leave them in slums, or pack them in flats, or what? I don't know. But the danger is that people will just say, "Oh, my dear, how disgusting that all is!" and then go and live in Buxted or Hampstead. I suppose the ultimate solution (pardon the word) is intelligent birth-control, but what is to be done in the meantime?

To get back to King Charles' head, the situation Graham Carey postulates is

Anarchist Activity

DEAR COMRADES,

Among the various suggestions which are put forward from time to time for increasing the circulation of FREEDOM is that of more regular and concentrated efforts at street selling, at Hyde Park and elsewhere, and in covering demonstrations and meetings. In all these activities it has been found that the regular appearance of FREEDOM sellers builds up sales much higher than those achieved by isolated efforts. Furthermore, to quote a proverb: "Many hands make light work".

Our idea is to arrange an informal meeting of people willing to help in this kind of activity, and work out a plan of campaign together.

Would anyone interested please get in touch by writing to Philip Holgate, c/o Freedom Bookshop, 27, Red Lion Street, W.C.1.

LILIAN WOLFE,
PETER FEAK,
PHILIP HOLGATE,
PETER TURNER.

impossible, since no one ever knows beforehand how effective his vote is going to be. Incidentally, his attitude in doctor's bills and old-age pensions suggests that he opposes public health and social insurance in general; what does he propose to have in their place? In reply to Philip Holgate, spineless dilutant I may be, but I haven't even the tiniest stake in authoritarian society, and I think electoral abstention would be an excellent idea if it were selective.

Yours
London. N.W.

MONKEYS ARE RARER

Small plaster effigies of Lord Hailsham, Mr. Macmillan and Aneurin Bevan are being marketed this Christmas by Tri-ang Toys (Hamleys' Regent Street, 6/11d.). The same store displays a chimpanzee which dips a spoon into a bowl of soap, raises it to its mouth, and emits a cloud of bubbles. (Price 49/11d.)

SELLING POINT

We chicken farmers have been finally persuaded that the best name for chicken is, in fact, chicken.

MR. TONY PENDRY,
(The Guardian, 28/10/59)

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

Meetings now held at

The White Bear (Lounge Bar)

Lisle Street, W.C.2. (Leicester Square)

Every Sunday, 7.30 p.m.

NOV. 8.—Jack Robinson on

PLEASE TO REMEMBER

Election Guyed

The London Anarchist Group's leaflet "Election Guyed" met with a good response from many comrades and friends. Seven thousand copies were printed and distributed. The L.A.G. concentrated on the Holborn area, while friends in all parts of the country obtained quantities by post and distributed them in their own localities.

The total cost of this propaganda, which was greeted by *Punch* as by far the most stimulating piece of election material published, was only just over thirty pounds, or a fifth of the cost of losing one's deposit.

The cost of printing the leaflet was £30 10s. 0d., and sales and donations during the campaign brought in £19 7s. 0d., leaving a deficit of £11 3s. 0d. At the L.A.G. meeting on Friday, members made a spontaneous collection and produced £1 17s. 0d. towards this. We are appealing now to others who appreciated the campaign to contribute towards paying off the remainder. Contributions should be sent to Philip Holgate, c/o Freedom Bookshop, 27, Red Lion Street, W.C.1.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP.

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Dolci and the Situation in Sicily

Continued from p. 2

abandoned by the Sicilian industrial class. Macaluso, the Sicilian Communist leader, maintains that the most important task of Marxists in Sicily today is to support the local capitalists in their fight against the monopolies."

The explanation of this is in the industrial disparity of North and South in Italy. The concentration of industry in the relatively prosperous North is so absolute that when, a few years ago, Adriano Olivetti opened a typewriter-cover factory in Naples, it counted as a revolutionary step. The *Confindustria*, the monopolist association of Northern industrialists, which exerts great influence on the Christian Democrat party in Rome, regards Sicily as a colony, a useful source of raw materials. The small Sicilian industrialists, supporters of Milazzo, besides "fighting to free themselves from the clutches of the Italian electricity monopoly which charges fantastic prices for its energy", are maintaining, as Bruce Remon says,

"that the Italian state should participate in the creation of Sicilian industries (steel-works, chemical factories, etc.) in order to raise immediately the standard of living of the Sicilian people. They maintain that Sicily's subterranean wealth, of recent discovery, should be transformed into surface wealth, i.e. that the petrol and the deposits of potassium salts should become the raw materials of local Sicilian industries and not taken away from the island. At Ragusa I saw the pumps of the Gulf Oil Company extracting the petrol from the ground and piping it straight to the ships. The pumps worked by themselves, there was not a Sicilian in sight, and the scene was a grim symbol of what big capital is doing in Sicily."

"Hens, pigs, mules and goats tumble about the unspalted earth streets of Gela, Modica and Ragusa, yet the northern monopolists have built at Ragusa an enormous asphalt factory. Outside the house of Danilo Dolci in Partinico the barefoot children scream to the four winds that all their fathers are in prison. At Augusta, the NATO naval base, not far from the rich petrol-

eum fields and the new chemical factories of the Montecatini, the children leave school at the age of nine to beg in the streets. The U.S. sailors are no longer allowed to land there: it is undignified for them to be besieged by the hungry children of Sicily."

The small-time capitalists and the Communists in Sicily want State intervention to establish Sicilian industries and to end the exploitation of Sicilian resources by the State-protected monopolies. In terms of politics the Milazzo government's intentions are 'progressive'. The Communist Party (unlike its position in Italy as a whole) has steadily increased its vote in the Regional Assembly elections of 1947, 1951, 1955 and 1959.

★

It is possible to draw a number of historical parallels with the condition of Sicily. The books by Dolci and by Gavin Maxwell on the urban poor which we reviewed in last week's *FREEDOM* remind one irresistibly of similar books on 19th century London—of Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*, a century ago, and of Charles Booth's monumental survey of poverty, *Labour and Life of the People of London* seventy years ago. Dolci's own activities are in many respects similar to those of the pioneer 'social workers' in London in the nineteenth century—Canon Barnett and Octavia Hill (though he is personally a more sympathetic character). Like them he has very much more influence in society at large than the modern British professional social worker because of his influence among those who shape the 'climate of opinion', and eventually upon the government. Aldous Huxley in his introduction to Dolci's book writes:

"Meanwhile from his base at the bottom, Dolci has reached up to his friends and sympathisers near the top of the social pyramid. The government has been persuaded to build a dam in the valley below Partinico. When it is completed, a good many thousands of acres

of now sterile land will be watered and (at least until such time as the population outruns the new resources) there will be work and food enough for everyone in the district."

A similar influence on official policy was exerted by Canon Barnett and Charles Booth in the Victorian age. One might conclude that the Sicilian pattern will be that of the social welfare agencies elsewhere in the Western world: individual pioneers penetrating the jungle, followed by voluntary societies, and finally by the departments of the welfare state. The students of Sicilian peasant movements might draw a similar evolutionary pattern: sporadic banditry and millenarian revolts giving way to organised political movements. This is the interpretation given in E. J. Hobsbawm's *Primitive Rebels*, which contains much interesting material on the Sicilian *fasci*, and peasant communes like that of Piana degli Albanesi. It is also the implication of Carlo Levi's infinitely moving account of the story of the murdered peasant organiser Salvatore Carnevale, and Dolci's testimony from the Communist peasant union secretary Gino O. Another parallel is that between the present entente of Communists and local industrialists in the Regional Government, and the alliances of nationalists right and left in colonial countries and countries whose natural resources are being exploited by foreign capital—a very similar situation to that of Sicily.

Seen in this light Sicily is much like anywhere else in the Western world, but sixty years behind in its political evolution, and Dolci is simply one of those 'neutral' middle-class 'do-gooders' who are treated with such patronising indulgence by the politically conscious Left. The writer Elio Vittorini, one of the many prominent Italian intellectuals, who from Moravia to de Sica, have declared their support for Dolci, declares that "In the North, Danilo's work would surely seem ridiculous." But where Dolci's approach differs, it seems to me, from that of the philanthropist and that

of the conscious precursor of official action, is in his belief in non-violent revolution, in his complete identification with the people he has chosen to work among, and in his passionate belief in planning from below instead of from above. Bruno Zevi made this very clear in his article in *L'Espresso* on the Palermo conference on "National and Local Initiative for Full Employment" (see *FREEDOM* 8/3/58). Planning from above cannot solve Sicily's problems. Many illustrations of this can be drawn from the books discussed last week—the disappointments the peasants have suffered from the actual working of the land reform legislation, the story of the peasant given a cow which he has to house and keep and is forbidden to sell, when the trouble is that it is the wrong breed of cow. Take this account by Joan Sinclair of the British Dolci Committee of her visit to the Carboi-Bellice Dam built four years ago near Menfi:

"The visit to the irrigation system was most revealing. The canalisation has been poorly constructed, and there are many leaks which, though reported, remain unrepaired. Thus, the precious water drips out in unwanted places, where it is not only wasted but causes the heavy clayey soil to become sour and immovable. Nor has the water been brought right into the fields where wanted, unless the proprietor was rich and influential enough to persuade the authorities to do it for him (at public expense), so one gets the illogical spectacle of the rich man's fields being irrigated at the town's expense by the irrigation system which was intended to supply the small farmer's needs.

"With some bitterness, one farmer pointed to the property of a rich absentee landlord, watered by the system, and with a private electricity cable supplying his luxurious holiday house, installed at public expense, and passing within a few yards of the fishing village of Porto Palo, which still has no electricity supply at all."

The only adequate solution, as the Dolci Committee observes, "lies in thoroughgoing social regeneration. Nothing injected from outside can reach the roots." C.W.