

Freedom

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Threepence

NATIONALISM IN THE PERSIAN OIL DISPUTE

Sham International

THE decision of the International Court at the Hague on the Anglo-Persian oil dispute illustrates the hollowness of current ideas on internationalism.

The British press acclaims the decision, for it favours them. For the same reason, the Persian press and government depounce it and repudiate the competence of the Court. British diplomacy very seldom has to go in for such crude repudiation of "internationalism". For one thing, Britain has taken a leading hand in the formation of international bodies and has not been so altruistic as to allow them to be used against them. When there is danger of that they withdraw, usually with dignity, as in the case of the World Federation of Trade Unions some years back.

All nations pay lip-service to international principles, but act on strictly nationalist ones. For this reason international bodies have no independent power. Thus a small nation like Persia can flout the International Court of Justice. So did Albania, when

ordered to pay reparations for British lives lost through the mining of the Corfu channel. Not a penny has been paid.

We have not much use for an internationalism which is only recognised

when it serves national interests. If the term is to have any meaning at all it should embody the idea of human solidarity and be a destroyer of narrow and false group loyalties under national flags.

SYNDICALIST NOTEBOOK

RESTRAINT PLEASE—says T. & G. W. U.

THE Transport and General Workers' Union, at its conference at Whitley Bay, has done what was expected of it. It has steadfastly refused to admit any criticism of the Labour Government "however nicely worded", and has been super-sensitive in smelling out any hidden Communist influence in the various resolutions dealing with "Peace", the rearmament of Germany, and other subversive topics.

Arthur Deakin, C.H. (the Union's general secretary) was, however, nicely slapped down, even if not very hard, when delegates voted against accepting a statement by him asking, in effect, for the automatic rejection of resolutions of which he did not approve, and a minor storm arose in protest against the "steamroller" tactics of the executive.

In spite of the soaring cost of living and the obvious worsening of the workers' economic situation, the union's executive appealed most strongly for "restraint" on the part of its members. It warned against a policy of "smash and grab"—by which derogatory term is, of course, meant any action by the workers on their own behalf.

The executive's only apparent solution is to ask the Government to re-impose controls (which will probably entail subsidies) in an attempt to keep prices down. They support rearmament, and apparently are asking their members to believe that Britain could re-arm without the inflationary trend that is now so rapidly gathering speed.

Appealing for "responsibility" (i.e., blind loyalty to the Labour Government), chairman Edgar Fryer said:

"Full employment and all the ad-

NEHRU PUBLICLY SUPPORTS BIRTH CONTROL FOR INDIA

IN a public speech on July 8th, Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, declared that the State must encourage birth control to check the rapid increase in the population, which has risen by the fantastic figure of 42 million in the past ten years.

"From being the fad of some individuals in India, this has become one of the important issues before the

"Liberty is something you have to take for yourself. It's no use begging it from others."

IGNAZIO SILONE (Bread & Wine)

country," he said. "It seems clear that the State must encourage this family planning or birth control."

This is a most momentous statement. It is the first time that any government has openly advocated or supported birth control. The government of India has obviously been driven to do so by sheer pressure of population—as the above extraordinary figures show. It will be interesting to see what measures are taken to implement Nehru's statement, especially since India's Minister of Health is a Roman Catholic.

The encouragement of birth control may well be a revolutionary step in India, for it aims to place in the hands of individual men and women the ability to control the number of their children. In doing so it gives much greater responsibility over their lives to the individuals concerned. It makes it possible for sexual life to be the servant of individual happiness instead of indirectly serving authority by the inevitable poverty and squalor that attend large families in a country like India.

As we have pointed out, India has been driven to this step by pressure of population. Anarchists, however, should support the extension of birth control because it aids individual liberty. By relieving sexual activity of the fear of undesired pregnancies it relieves it, potentially, of fear and economic ruin. It is also a prerequisite for the ability to achieve a desired pregnancy when the time arrives.

Nehru's statement, if translated into effect, may exert a more momentous effect on human history than all the wars and economic struggles of recent centuries. It is indeed a momentous one.

LIVING IN SOCIETY

Housing: the Cinderella

IT is truly fantastic how social life is breaking down and retrogressing owing to faulty political organisation and a decaying economic order, while at the same time science and practical knowledge expands. It might well be that mankind will be able to reach the moon before it has learned how to live sensibly on its own planet. A few hundred years ago each Redskin lived astride his own horse and proudly surveyed the lordly acres that were his. To-day civilised man crowds itself together in the underground railway, packed like sardines, fainting in the crush, and imagines its mode of transport is superior. No simpler illustration of how technical progress does not necessarily mean social progress could be adduced. Centuries ago, the ancient Hebrew prophet looked forward to each man dwelling in peace beneath his own vine tree. No doubt if he had his name down on the Ashton-under-Lyme Borough Council housing list in the pre-atom-bomb era, he might be less sanguine.

The task of the present-day eclipsing all others, is to bring social organisation on to a level with scientific progress, and instead of enslaving us to the achievement of science, to use those achievements for a freer and happier life. The anarchist is often accused of seeking a "Utopia". He does not, however, wish for a Utopia of his own design, to which all mankind must conform—he leaves that to the authoritarian planners who seek to acclimatise the human race to their own hygienic, dehydrated blue-print paradise. The anarchist sees the uselessness of government and plans a freer society in which the deciding factor is the individual, and not some abstraction called the State or the Nation.

In viewing the housing "problem" from a libertarian point of view that there is no real difficulty involved whatever, and that in fact a housing crisis does not really exist, for it is only the decayed economic system that prevents the materials from reaching the available labour. The people as a whole are bamboozled into believing this an insuperable difficulty and the excuses put forward—such as recovering from, or preparing for war—are often accepted as genuine. At one time in history no politician would have dared to say that the people went hungry or homeless because of war. On the contrary, they were offered the most extravagant promises of booty, spoils, plunder. (Some of the descendants of the brigands who came over with William the Conqueror are still living on the proceeds of the thefts and nobody is prouder of their lineage.) To-day, the politician need offer nothing but blood, toil, tears and sweat. Now that the common people

must take part in wars as well as the chivalry, a vast propaganda machine has been contrived to limit their requirements. In our own lifetime it has been found possible to cut down the promises from "homes for heroes" to nothing whatever, for surely having found out what the result of World War II brought, nobody is fool enough to imagine that service in World War III will bring any particular reward.

Housing is not treated as an essential prerequisite. It is treated to-day as a "social service" without a particularly high order of priority, and alternatively as a means of profit. And of course it could be provided if there was any sincere wish to do so. Ask yourself (or a Government spokesman) a simple question: *If we were involved in a third world war and the only problem standing between us and defeat were of the magnitude and importance of the so-called housing problem of to-day, could that problem be solved or would we face defeat? Have no fears. Problems of far greater magnitude would be solved in a few weeks. This would be a matter that would be clearly understood by the mentality of the class of persons in official positions. They would raise no objections.*

This is not to say that housing can be treated "like a military operation", because nothing could be more blundering and more in the hands of the dead-wood of society. It could, however, be treated with the urgency that is given to a military problem. There are reasons why it is not. The primary one is the fact that a solution to it demands a re-casting of our social system and there are people concerned in preventing this. It is for the people concerned in achieving it to show at least some signs of impatience, and not to accept the excuses which they have accepted for so long.

Centralisation

The biggest drawback to settling each man "in his own vineyard" is the accumulation of men in cities. So far as this island is concerned, London is the greatest housing problem and until London loses its artificial character there is no hope whatever that the housing lists all over the country will lose the poignancy and despair with which they are soaked. London is fast losing its character and cohesion, it is becoming a vast sprawling mass of brick that will cover the whole of Southern England if not checked. I know several old people who still remember Cockney London, when it was a city with its own traditions and character (which persist in some isolated corners lost in the jungle of buildings, such as on the

Thames-side, in dockland), and knew where it stopped and where the country began. Some of the working-class suburbs were on an industrialised fringe, but industry has since then been drained from every part of the British Isles determined to magnify and swell industrial London. Only decentralisation will solve the concentration on one town of the whole national economy. Decentralisation will not spring out of the planned desire of the central authority, it is something which must come from below. By creating the spirit of decentralisation in their activities, the people themselves can overcome the dead hand of Whitehall. Some idea as to what I mean was shown by the Peckham Experiment, which among other things stood as a symbol of how decentralist activity from below could achieve far more than the State could do, however well-intentioned. Had this experiment taken place forty or fifty years ago in another country it would have been forcibly suppressed, blood would flow in the streets and the Centre would have by now been a byword in social progress. In this country to-day it was merely allowed to pass into oblivion by the cold hand of finance and will no doubt soon be forgotten. (This is what the Whitehall boys mean when they say that "we do things differently here").

A.M.

(To be continued)

Z-MAN ANARCHIST

A FORMER Army officer, and Territorial, appealed against his Z call-up in Edinburgh to-day because he is now an anarchist.

It was the first time that views like his had been put to the Scottish Appellate Tribunal—he insisted he wasn't a pacifist. But he lost his appeal.

The appellant was 36-years-old Joseph Mardell, of 27 Douglas Crescent, Edinburgh. He said he "took a poor view of all politicians, who all gain power through incompetence, venality and corruption".

"It strikes me as perfectly obvious," he told the court, "that the individual is reasonable, but when he gets into a herd he ceases to be an individual."

"You object fundamentally to the organised society in which you live?" asked Chairman Sir George Morton, K.C.

Said Mardell: "All that is necessary for human beings is that they should contract with each other. As a result, everybody would be entitled to do as he likes because he could do as he liked unless he formed a contract."

Glasgow Evening News, 2/7/51.

vantages from it ought not to be used as a lever and an opportunity to take ill-disciplined action which, I am confident, would not be taken in other circumstances."

But we remember an old working-class saying: "The bosses' need is the workers' opportunity."

STEEL "SHORTAGE" MAY CLOSE CYCLE FIRM

THE large Raleigh cycle factory in Nottingham is in danger of having to close down between July 27th and August 7th for want of steel supplies. Already some workers have had to be put on short time.

The Government's method of diverting supplies from civilian goods to war industries is its way of avoiding the hated direction of labour. The effect will be the same, of course, and there is most unlikely to be any shortage for the manufacture of guns or tanks—only for the things we need.

We need 1,000 New Readers this year. Are you introducing FREEDOM to your friends?

Music and Politics

THE dispute between the London Philharmonic Orchestra and the London County Council illustrates the extent to which politics now enters into everyday administrative activities. Briefly, the facts are as follows: The L.C.C. for some years extended a grant of £25,000 a year to the L.P.O. as part of a general cultural programme. This spring they discontinued the grant.

At first the L.P.O. protested that the discontinuance of the grant would threaten the financial stability of the orchestra, while the L.C.C. stated that they now wished to spread grants available for musical activities over a wider field. Gradually, however, accusations of political considerations began to enter in.

Now, it appears that the attitude of the L.C.C. began to cool in 1949, when Thomas Russell, the chairman and managing director of the orchestra, himself a Communist, went to Moscow for a cultural congress.

An Innocents' Club?

The L.C.C. have denied that political considerations entered into their decision, but it is quite clear that they feared that the L.P.O. would be used as an "innocents' club", for they sent a six-point memorandum to the L.P.O. asking for its agreement, the aim of which clearly was to block any attempt to use the L.P.O. for Communist ends. Here are the points:

1. That there shall be no use of the orchestra or its organisation for the purposes of political propaganda.
2. That there shall be no discrimination on political grounds in favour of or against any employee, musician, soloist, or conductor.
3. That there shall be no discrimination on political grounds in respect of the choice of music for programmes.
4. That the council's payment of a subsidy shall not be represented either at home or abroad as implying the council's acquiescence in any party

allegiance on the part of individual members of the orchestra or the organisation.

5. That responsible officers of the orchestra shall use reasonable discretion in exercising their private political activities.

6. That the placing of advertising matter shall be governed by commercial consideration, and shall not be influenced by the political affiliation of the advertising media.

J. B. Priestley, chairman of the orchestra council, has said that politics has always been irrelevant to its work. It is obviously quite wrong that grants should be made or withheld because of political considerations, and the L.C.C. has been at some pains to pretend that nothing of the kind has happened. They even point to a letter from the L.P.O. stating that the orchestra accepted as a fact that no political considerations had influenced the discontinuance of the grant. The orchestra also undertook to remain silent on this aspect of the affair.

Sir Stuart Wilson's Intervention

On June 15th, Sir Stuart Wilson, formerly music director of the B.B.C., published in *The Times* a letter which put the case against the L.C.C. in virtually unanswerable terms. And it has, in fact, remained unanswered. But it looks as if the orchestra, finding so strong an ally, decided not to keep silent despite their undertaking. They now say that their letter accepting the no-politics story, was extorted from them by the threat that the L.C.C. would break off all relations with them (the L.C.C. are extending £13,000 to them in the current year). Obviously, they should never have made such a bargain.

Effect of Communist Tactics
The L.C.C. having declared that "purely musical and financial grounds" influenced their decision could hardly go back on it. But it now seems clear in fact (Continued on page 4)

PIONEERS OF EDUCATION-7
HOMER LANE

WERE there no other reason for discussing Homer Lane, he would have to be included because of his direct influence upon our own contemporary educationists of the progressive school movement. Neill, for example, used to claim with characteristic exaggeration that he derived entirely from Homer Lane and that Lane taught him all he knew about education. Actually, however, Lane's work was of tremendous importance in itself and its revolutionary nature would make his inclusion essential.

If Homer Lane had to be given a label, he could be called the pacifist educationist and this in spite of the fact that he has been virtually ignored by the pacifist movement. But Lane's work has received very little recognition anywhere, except within a comparatively narrow circle. This obscurity is probably due to the fact that he got into trouble with the authorities and ended his life officially in disgrace, a sufficient reason in itself for society to draw a veil over a person's achievements. Fortunately, the fruits of his work can be studied in *Talks to Parents and Teachers*, his only book, consisting mainly of manuscript lectures posthumously published, in E. T. Bazeley's *Homer Lane and the Little Commonwealth*, and, from a rather different aspect, in Lytton's *The New Treasure*.

Training in America

Homer Lane was an American, born at Hudson, New Hampshire, and it was in America that he got his early training. By the beginning of the century he had married and was living in a village of Massachusetts. It was the birth of his first child that aroused his interest in education and his first experience of educational work was as a handicraft teacher. He did his training at Boston, where he studied at the Lloyd Training School, but he was much more interested in the lectures in psychology at Harvard which were part of the course. This was a far cry from his days of achievement

as a consulting psychologist in Bloomsbury, but it was the beginning of his life-long interest in psychological re-education.

After his first teaching post in Southborough, he began to be interested in so-called delinquent children and took a job for a short time working with them. Later, he became an instructor in manual work in the public schools of Detroit, where he took an active part in settlement work and became the founder of the Try Square Club whose members had formerly belonged to a tough lot of boys notorious as the Riverside Gang. Here, too, he made a systematic study of children's free play in the summer playgrounds organised by the city to keep children off the streets during school holidays, and he became a director of the Detroit Playgrounds. At one time he had spent a long period observing in the babies' ward of a hospital, making a special study of the problems of nursing and weaning and a comprehensive survey of the activities of the infant in general. By now, therefore, he had made a scientific study of the history and development of the child from birth to adolescence and was ready for the great work which lay ahead of him.

The Ford Republic

In 1906, Lane was asked to become the superintendent of a rather progressive home for delinquent boys. He agreed on condition that the home should be moved into the country and that he should be given a free hand. And old farmhouse was secured and the home became a farm colony consisting of about sixty boys from nine to seventeen years of age. The name of the home was changed to the Republic to mark the change in its system of government which Lane effected. The system up till then was described by Lane as a benevolent despotism differing little

from an ordinary reformatory. But now the community became self-governing, though not to the same extent as the subsequent Little Commonwealth. For at this Republic, there was a right of appeal from the "Citizens' Court" to the "Supreme Court" presided over by the superintendent and the decision of this Court was final.

Lane won wide recognition for his work here and did a considerable amount of lecturing on it as a result. He was not, however, satisfied with the Republic and he wanted to make a lot of changes. For one thing, he wished to substitute for the institutional system of one large building, a number of cottages each holding its own family of boys. He failed to get the consent of his committee for the changes and in 1911 he left the Republic.

At this period, because he could find no available opportunities for putting his theories into practice, he took work as a navy in a gang which was laying side-walks in Buffalo. Here, after about a year, he had been put in charge of part of a contract with a larger gang of men under him. While he was in charge, he abolished all foremen and clocking-in and yet his part of the work was done more efficiently than any other. The importance of this incident is the illustration it provides of the fact that whenever he was given authority he instinctively divested himself of it.

The Little Commonwealth

This interlude was soon terminated for the fame of his educational work had spread. In 1912, he was invited to England to become the superintendent of

a reformatory school which had just been established at Flowers Farm in Dorset and which became known as the Little Commonwealth. He came over at once and his wife and children followed later. Now this school was a certified reformatory to which children could be sent by magistrates or boards of guardians, but it had been established by a group of progressive people who had a liberal humanitarian approach to the problem and, which is far more important, were prepared to give Homer Lane a completely free hand.

The exciting story of the beginning of the Little Commonwealth and of its first

BOOK REVIEWS

THE BROKEN ROOT by Arturo Barea.
 (Faber & Faber, 15/-)

ARTURO BAREA is a distinguished writer because his sharpness of vision and strength of feeling are modified by detachment, which lends distance to the first quality and sobriety to the second, and enables him to control and balance both. His novel deals with the Spanish situation to-day, a bitter situation which he is equipped to see truly and to feel deeply, but he does not give us mere bitterness or a scaring series of sensations; his material is subordinated, as it should be, to his creative purposes.

The story he tells is simple in outline. Antolin Moreno, a Spanish Republican socialist, returns to Madrid after ten years of exile in London. His intention, prompted by a feeling of estrangement

arrivals has been told with all its wealth of significant detail by E. T. Bazeley in *Homer Lane and the Little Commonwealth*. Miss Bazeley's book is a valuable record of this wonderful experiment in communal living. If space permitted, it would be tempting to quote copiously from its pages but it would probably do the book less than justice, besides presenting the difficulty of deciding what incidents and developments in the life of the community could possibly be omitted. All that can be usefully done within the scope of this short article is to point to the broad principles of Lane's work in the Little Commonwealth in order to show his general attitude to education.

First and foremost, then, is Lane's complete belief in freedom, a belief he held more passionately than any of the other people so far mentioned in this series. It is interesting to notice how Lane came to this idea of freedom. It (Continued on page 3)

from his old way of life and a desire to 'find' his earlier self, is to meet his family and if possible to help its members. He discovers that they, too, have been cut off from the old life by Franco's victory, and have grown up stunted or distorted. His son Pedro is a Falangist pimp who hopes to use his father's money to better his position in the black market; his daughter Amelia is a Catholic who wants money to enter a convent; his son Juan is a Communist Party member, spying on him; his wife, weakly conniving at the demoralisation of her children, has taken refuge in spiritualism. Behind these four characters the author assembles the forces strong in Spain at the present time: the Falangist power and that of the Church, the communist underground using corrupt methods, and popular superstition. In society and in the family, love has gone rotten, has turned into greed; Antolin meets with little love. His presence stimulates greed in his wife and two of the children, each of them calls in the larger power to support this desire, the social system makes a few blind movements, and the results are that Pedro betrays his mother and brother, Juan is shot, a sincere old man is killed, and Antolin is ejected. He takes with him, however, Juan's girl-friend, who is too young to have been much harmed by the prevalent sickness.

Like many naturalistic writers, Mr. Barea is inclined to characterise his people by unobtrusive means, assuming that things are what they seem and that men and women as moral agents can be classified, like the things, in a simple scheme; thus some of his characters here lack a dimension and are typical rather than individual. Dictatorship does have the latter effect on people in life, probably, but it also falsifies appearances. The conversation of the women is vigorous but it lacks the personal rhythm, imagery and tone which gives so much variety to Silone's voluble peasants, enforcing the difference and dramatic play between them. Something of the keen sensuousness of Mr. Barea's earlier books is missing in this one; perhaps he needs for this an unobstructed exploration of the past. For these reasons the novel is not altogether satisfactory; but it is sincere, wise and moving, it contains scenes one cannot forget, and it should enhance the author's deserved reputation.

L.A.

CONCLUDING ARTICLE IN THE SERIES ON

THE PACIFIC COAST INDIANS by **GEORGE WOODCOCK**

THE present social and economic status of the Indians of British Columbia varies a great deal from tribe to tribe and even from village to village. In general, they are subjected to the disadvantages of people under tutelage of a "superior" race. Most of them still live in reservations, they are taught in segregated schools, their old-age pension is half that given to non-Indians, an unworkable prohibition system is applied to them—which merely results in the drinking of hair tonic when they cannot buy bootleg whisky, and, though now allowed to vote in Provincial elections and sit in the Provincial legislature, they are still denied the status of Dominion citizens; the last in itself would, of course, mean little were it not for the stigma of discrimination which it confers.

Economically, many of them live at a very depressed level. Not being "treaty Indians", they do not even receive the meagre pensions which are allowed to tribes in the other parts of Canada, and have to rely on their own efforts and the resources of their reservations. This means that some of the coastal tribes, particularly the Tsimshian around Prince Rupert and some of the Kwakiutl and Nootka, who have mastered modern fishing methods and who have been able to acquire boats and equipment, live in reasonable prosperity. We visited one village, Metlakatla, where the houses and the standard of living compared favourably with those of the majority of non-Indian settlements around it. But this was certainly an exceptional case, and was largely due to the fact that this particular tribe had sold the site of Prince Rupert for a considerable sum, which was put in trust for the tribe and enabled them to buy good equipment and to install lighting and water systems into their village.

So far, however, as we could see, Metlakatla was unique among the Indian villages of the province, and the more usual pattern, particularly in the interior and along the east coast of Vancouver Island, is the collection of miserable

tar-paper shacks or tiny log cabins in which the people live with very few of the conveniences of Canadian life—and at the same time without the compensations of the primitive existence. Tribes in the interior have usually been left poor farming land, and, although they have herds of rough horses, they can rarely afford anything in the way of modern equipment. Trailing the roads in their horse buggies, the women clad in bright skirts and shawls, they look very much like Central European gypsies, but the colourful appearance hides poverty, malnutrition and sickness. The tuberculosis rate among Indians in British Columbia is about eight times as high as that among the non-Indians. The heritage of disease even affects those tribes which have lately become more prosperous, and it is also a fact that among them malnutrition is still surprisingly high, since, though their native pattern of diet has disappeared, many of them have not yet learnt how to feed in a balanced manner on European foods.

This last fact is an indication of the general disruption of the Indian social pattern, and also of its cultural manifestations. This, again, varies in different parts of the province. But the general tendency seems to be for the hollow forms of tribal life to survive without any of the good features with which they were accompanied in the past.

However, the general tendency in the province has been for the Indians to rise out of the morbid depression into which most of the tribes had sunk by the end of the last century. Many Indians have left the reservations and have gone to work in the towns as unskilled labourers. The men who stay in the reserves often do casual logging and farming work, and sometimes earn good wages, since they are paid the usual rates for the type of work they undertake. These circumstances have brought them more closely into contact with non-Indian life, and has led to a modification of their way of living, and also to an increase in their feeling of equality and self-respect.

Thus, there has been a recent tendency for the Indians to assert themselves once again. The Indian no longer regards himself as material for exploitation; on the contrary, we found often that he quite cynically sets out to get everything he can out of his white neighbours, and takes advantage of situations where his labour is needed to drive a good bargain.

From a cultural point of view, the new self-assertiveness of the Indians shows itself in two conflicting ways. There has been a recrudescence of tribal customs which had fallen into desuetude. We found that new totem poles were being erected, that the winter dances were being held on the coast, that the secret societies still existed here and there, that the pot-lashes were flourishing more or less publicly, with a few slight modifications to evade the legal prohibition.

But in some ways this revival and reinforcement of old customs comes into conflict with the tendency of the younger generation to accept freer western patterns of behaviour. The exogamous clan system

is a case in point. For the first time, through the films, through reading European books in school, the young Indians have discovered romantic love, they have come to the conclusion that sexual relationships are not to be arranged by the mothers and maternal uncles of the boys and girls in accordance with the strict exogamous rules of the traditional phratries. An example of the kind of situation which arises from this conflict occurred while we were in the north of British Columbia. A young man of the Eagle phratry fell in love with an Eagle girl. There was no known blood relationship between them, but the parents on both sides nevertheless refused to sanction the marriage because they regarded it as incest. So the couple went off to live in common law marriage. The girl's brother decided that she had dishonoured the family, so he took his rifle and started to shoot into her house. The terrified couple fled into the bush, and it was only the help given them by the Indian Agent, in this case an unusually able and sympathetic man, that allowed them to find a peaceful home in another area.

The revival of traditional patterns thus tends to take on a somewhat reactionary tendency, and it is significant that it is not accompanied by a revival of that high level of artistic achievement which marked the peak of Coast Indian culture. The new totem poles are badly carved and designed, and it is clear that the artistic abilities which these people showed so abundantly in the past are not likely to be resurrected in terms of a culture which has no reference to their present way of life. On the other hand, it is significant that a few young Indians who have studied European art have succeeded in producing paintings in which they have used their native patterns and concepts with considerable freshness and vigour—I would mention particularly the young Tsimshian painter Judith Morgan—and it seems to me that through such work a new regional culture might well begin to appear.

The new Indian self-consciousness has naturally led to the formation of a movement among themselves, aided by a few non-Indian sympathisers, which aims at the removal of all the discriminatory laws and conditions. The Native Brotherhood, which runs its own journal, is particularly strong among the Indians in the north of the province. Since the CCF is the only political party which has shown a consistent interest in Indian problems, the more socially conscious tribes tend to give it their support. At the present time, their tendency is to think in political terms, and there has only been a slow development of those methods of direct action among themselves which could radically improve their positions.

Co-operation, for instance, spreads somewhat slowly, in comparison with the recent rapid growth of producers' co-ops among the non-Indians of the province. This fact is due partly to the circumstances which arose after the impact of European life on the old Coast Indian society. As the tribal economies broke up, and as it became possible for individual Indians to earn money as fishermen or

working in the canneries, the first tendency was for every man to work for himself in order to get the cash which would allow him to give extravagant pot-lashes and thus assume the right to chiefly status. Thus a strong competitive individualism appeared, and delayed the growth of co-operation. Now, at last, co-operatives are beginning to appear. The large fishermen's co-operative organisations which have grown up on the coast since the 1930's have made a deliberate attempt to recruit Indians members, and with some success, while their policy of opposing racial discrimination has done a great deal to dissolve European prejudices against the Indians. In the Queen Charlotte Islands, the Haida Indians have formed their own co-operatives for the working of the extensive clam beaches. These beginnings are small, but it seems clear that, even when the discriminatory laws against the Indians have eventually been eliminated, the way to a revival of Indian life lies through such enterprises based firmly on the principle of mutual aid.

COMMENT

ELBOWLIFTING GEORDIE!

George: This beer's not too bad, is it?
 Jack: Yes, it's alright, but what a price!
 —Opening words of Freedom Press pamphlet, *Vote—What For?*

SOME years ago, a very distinguished reader who is renowned as an authority on the contents of bottles, sent us a press cutting describing some twenty working men's clubs in Leicester owned and run by their members who had established their own brewery, selling better and cheaper beer and making a profit during the last year quoted of over £50,000 for the members who all had £10 shares.

In our careless way, we lost the cutting and as our Northern readers have their minds fixed on higher things, none of them has written to us about this admirable enterprise, which is the sort of thing you don't often read about in the daily papers, which rarely publish anything detrimental to the interests of big brewers. (Did you know, incidentally, that "the trade" publishes its own daily newspaper in London?)

You can imagine our pleasure therefore, at reading in *Reynolds News* recently, an article by Harry Loftus describing another co-operative brewery in the North. He says:

"Ted Slee, North Shields bus driver, chuckled when he heard, one morning last week, that M.P.s had discussed his brewery. Pushing aside his pint of 'Federation' brew, he read the report of the Commons debate on brewers' profits and his grin broadened. 'Why, man, there is only one way to cut brewers' profits and that is to brew your own beer,' he said, tilting his glass to his lips. 'On Tyneside we have been drinking the cheapest and the best beer in the country—it's our own brew, mind—for years.' Ted is a member of Percy Main social club, one of 370 working men's clubs in

the north-east that own and control Northern Clubs' Federation Brewery, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Ted's beer is certainly the cheapest in the country. In the past year there have been times when he and his fellow brewery-owners have paid only sixpence a pint for their 'wallop'. And the dividend paid back by the brewery—£415,200 last year—has helped improve club amenities, met the cost of old folk outings and provided benefits for the sick. It was a revolt of the sturdy, independent-minded clubmen against the private breweries in 1921 which gave them their own brewery—and Ted Slee his cheap pint."

The £4-a-week part-time chairman, Sid Lavers, showed Mr. Loftus a caseful of silver cups and bronze medals won at the Brewers Exhibition for the best beer of the year.

"Sid Lavers, like his fellow directors, is a working man elected by club members to serve voluntarily. His director's fee is £2 per meeting plus bus or train fares.

A miner, a shipbuilder, a club union secretary, a trade union organiser and a traveller—a typical cross-section of North-East coast workers—share with him the responsibility of handling the £3,000,000 a year brewery output."

Workers are not fitted to control industry, said Sir Stafford Cripps a few years ago. A government commission of enquiry into brewery employment last year told the Federation that they had the highest pay and best conditions in the industry.

★

As a tailpiece, Mr. Loftus quotes the gross profits of the 153 private breweries in the United Kingdom as being £48 millions. The Guinness profit alone was £4,787,000.

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RUINS OF EMPIRES

"And now a mournful skeleton is all that subsists of this opulent city, and nothing remains of its powerful government but a vain and obscure remembrance."

Volney's Ruins (1791).

THE current issue of the *Architectural Review* publishes a remarkable photograph. A flock of sheep are grazing on a scrubby pasture among bushes and half-grown trees in front of a building whose façade consists entirely of tier upon tier of hound-headed arches through which you can see daylight and nothingness. Other photographs show tall unfinished colonnades, huge statues lying tumbled on the grass, great stacks of unused marble slabs, an immense flight of stairs, leading nowhere, which has already caved in under the weight of the cheering masses who never went up it.

This is not a lost city of antiquity, it is the Third Rome which, says, the inscription above one building, "will spread over the other hills along the sacred river to the beaches of the sea". It was begun in 1937 to celebrate Mussolini's victory in Abyssinia. The first instalment of the new capital was, through the ingenious expedient of holding a World Fair on the site, to be paid for very largely by the countries which had applied sanctions to Italy during the war it was designed to commemorate, and was to have been opened in 1942, the 20th anniversary of the Fascist régime.

"It is an ironical comment on the ways of democracy," says the *Review*, "that when the United States entered the war in 1941, its soldiers had to undergo indoctrination courses accompanied by moving pictures in which fascism was depicted as repulsive. Some soldiers must have been able to remember that only a few weeks before Mussolini's armies invaded France, a senate committee in Washington had appropriated \$2,000,000 for U.S. participation in the fascist anniversary exhibition."

There is much satisfaction to be got from the photograph of sheep nibbling around the empty marble halls of the *Palace of Italian Civilization*. See, it tells us, how the instinctive life—the farmer raising his crops and animals—triumphs in the end, over the illusions of grandeur of the dictators and the world-changers. "No man," said an American ambassador, "will exhibit dimensions of permanent greatness equal to those of Mussolini." The end of that "great man" at the Milan filling-station, however, repellant its details can only be condemned by those who refuse to recognise the validity of Whitman's words:

Pale, silent, stern, what could I say to that long-accrued retribution?
Could I wish humanity different?
Could I wish the people made of wood and stone?
Or that there be no justice in destiny or time?

Those who regard the future with despair, and have contemplated the apocalypse for so long that they are almost impatient for its arrival, should reflect on the fragility of the empires of inflated nonentities, and frightened bullies and the obduracy and persistence of the ordinary life of men and women cultivating the land, rearing their children and making their homes, even amongst the debris and the odds and ends of the world of power and greatness.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia and the American Way of Life in the United States are equally precarious as were the New Order in Germany (it was going to last 1,000 years, remember?) and the Third Rome. They rest ultimately on people's willingness to put up with them. Those who think that the empires that deny life on a human scale are impregnable and eternal will, in the caustic words of the *Architectural Review*, "find greater edification in the peripatetic perusal of the Duce's ruins than in poking around in the nose of the Statue of Liberty."

An Eyewitness Account of the Recent Budapest Trial

In its issue of June 25th, the Swiss paper *St. Galler Tagblatt* gives the following account of the trial of Archbishop Grosz, head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Hungary and eight others, on charges of treason. The trial has since ended with the sentences of imprisonment and death. "Whatever one may think," writes A.P., "of the personality of Archbishop Grosz, and the rôle of the Church of which he is the lamentable representative, the trial remains nothing but a frame-up by the 'Red Jesuits' in order to discredit the popular and peasant resistance in Hungary, of which Catholicism is at present one of the moral mainstays. The trial must be denounced by all lovers of liberty."

A THEATRICAL trial? No, a surrealist farce, played in a lunatic asylum. From a distance we see only a fog of judicial debate. But that dreary routine serves only to accentuate the terrifying character of what took place. The news agency reports, which in spite of it all, tried to present the unintelligible and absurd in a rational light, can only give an essentially false picture. To appreciate the horror of the spectacle it would be necessary at the least to follow it on the radio and to understand the actors—judges, prosecutors, accused and witnesses, and also the anonymous scene-shifters, the police who made up the evidence and stage-managed the cross-examination.

See first of all, the public prosecutor, Gyula Alapy, the scion of an aristocratic trans-Danubian family, who was also prosecutor in the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty. He is a fop with a honeyed smile and an evasive look, and an affected slowness. He reminds us of someone, but who? Ah, it was thus that the Budapest comedians always used to interpret the character of Count Bobby, the half-witted aristocratic booby.

See now the judge, Vilmos Olti, an ignorant lawyer, adopting a gentle manner. He expresses himself in a paternal tone, continually repeating, "Yes . . . good . . . good," and in fact asking no questions. But what rôle does he play? That of prompter. He waits for the reply. The accused recite their texts which they have learnt by heart, and when one or the other loses the thread, M. Olti gives him his cue. He adds an encouraging "Good . . . very good," to the speeches of the timid *avoueurs-automates*, to help them persevere on the right road. [We learn that Vilmos Olti was "formerly the secretary of the German-Hungarian Society and was closely associated with the expropriation of Jewish property which was carried out against the sentiments of the Hungarian public under German pressure."—Eds. *Freedom*.]

And now the accused. What they say brings to light two elements: on the one hand, the product of the bungling activities of informers and provocateurs, and on the other, that of the feeble imaginations of semi-literate policemen. Listen to the way they speak. Archbishop Grosz mumbles mechanically, Farkas stammers, Hevey is as obsequious as a model pupil, and when prompter Olti assists him, his lifeless voice glows with sudden enthusiasm. Ecstatically he cries, "Yes, yes,"

four times over, with delight in having found the *mot juste* for his self-accusation. What appears more strangely unreal than everything else is the language that takes possession of the old prior of Pauline Order, the monk Istvan Jenő Csellár. His manner of speaking is that of a corpse conjured up from the bottomless pit in a scene from a travelling show. And this is what he utters in his voice from the tomb:

"I have been obliged to leave Győr, because my relations with a feminine mistress (*sic*) have aroused public indignation. At Budapest, I continued relations with this woman. I have stolen 3,600 florins from the poor-box of our church to send them to her."

Count Bobby, or the prosecutor Alapy, always nasal and affected, then asks, "The members of your Order—did they know about this?" Csellár replies, "They knew it all, but they did not wish to say anything. They, too, had their little friends." The unfortunate monk floundered in these indecencies in a drawing voice, more like a wax-work figure in which the speaking mechanism is badly adjusted, than a human being. He sullied himself and his brotherhood, and accused the two bishops Péteri von Vac and Shvoy von Szekesfehérvár (who are still at liberty, but who were with Grosz, the principal object of communist attacks). All this is said in the most dejected and disinterested tone without trying to bring in a shade of extenuation, exactly like an illiterate police spy making his report. The priest, a cultivated man, an expert in the art of speaking, related how he possessed a Browning [revolver], pronouncing the word just as he would write it, *br-o-v-ning*.

None of the accused had a personal style, all repeated the clumsy prose of the verbal examination. They used expressions which would never in ordinary life come to their lips or their minds. Archbishop Grosz who had constantly accused the régime of "deviating from the democratic path," spoke now of his own "struggle against democracy" as something entirely self-evident. Each of the accused nonchalantly described his activities as "hostile to the people". Farkas characterised his own past as "chauvinistic and patriotic". He used these words perhaps twelve times in all: it was, no doubt, a favourite expression of his trainer. These conservative legitimists did not speak of "restoration" [of the monarchy], but of "seizure of power". They described them-

selves as "Horthistes", a catchword of the present régime, quite impossible in the mouth of a partisan of Admiral Horthy [the pre-war Hungarian dictator.—Eds.]

Through all this fog of depersonalisation appeared the faint image of facts revealed. On several occasions each of the accused spoke of the insistence with which an accomplice tried to obtain a signed declaration, a written plan. This insistence seems to have been above all, the work of a certain Gyomlay, who was arrested, but who was not to be seen in the dock. The height of absurdity was reached when it was explained that the United States' Ambassador had tried to extract from Grosz a signed declaration that he would be ready, in the case of a change in the régime, to present himself as provisional head of the State. It is clear that such a demand could only have been made by provocateurs in search of compromising documents. The accusation is, moreover, so clumsy that one might have expected, even from such a régime, a more satisfactory invention. It is intended to saddle the accused with a constitutional theory by virtue of which, since the imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty, Grosz as chief of the episcopal hierarchy, would be *homo regius*, that is to say, chief of the Hungarian State. This is a grotesque confusion between the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the succession to the Hungarian throne. But this is not too much to ask of an improvised accusation in which even the names of important personalities in the case are wrongly given.

Whereas the unfortunate prior Csellár accuses himself with his monks, with having violated the rule of celibacy and stolen the alms of the church, the priest P. Bozsik appears flatly as a witness for the prosecution. This man, though he had not been questioned in the Mindszenty trial, suddenly appeared in both the prosecution and the confessions of the Grosz

trial as having been the intimate political adviser to Mindszenty ever since 1945. How did the prosecution in 1949 come to neglect this fact? One might also ask who is Bozsik? The head of the Abbey of Gyöngyös, he was dismissed and censured by Archbishop Szemerecsényi. This happened in the 'twenties. It did not prevent him from playing a part in local politics during the Horthy period, but the Church never gave him its confidence. He had been accused of "unnatural offences" and it is inconceivable that Mindszenty would even have admitted him into his entourage. On the other hand, it is not impossible that his history would have made him interesting and useful to the A.V.R. (the Hungarian Gestapo). Bozsik could, for example, be threatened with the exposure of his past. It would not be the first case of police blackmail of this sort. The fact remains that Bozsik has suddenly appeared as conspirator-in-chief and has profited by accusing all and sundry.

There has been presented to the public in complete seriousness an affair of the concealment of arms (carbines and pistols) which would have put on the battlefield thirty or forty people. "We wished to seize the arsenal of the Army and thus complete our armament," declared Farkas. Forty men with carbines, attacking the military institutions of the Hungarian police state, in a country where soon, it is said, one will only be able to enter a public lavatory on production of one's passport and Party card.

One last point: illiterates, including the police pronounce the abbreviation U.S.A. in the Hungarian phonetic way, *Oucha*. No educated person does this. In everyday language one says simply, *Amerika* or *U-es-A*. All the accused, the archbishop, university graduates, advocates and priests, said *Oucha* at the tribunal.

African Education

THE Cape Town *Guardian* recently quoted a letter from Mrs. J. A. Eksteen of Grunau, South West Africa, to *Die Kruihorning*, official organ of the Nationalist Party. Mrs. Eksteen maintains that it is the schools that rob the European farmers of the non-European labour.

"As soon as natives have gone to school, you cannot get them as shepherds and cattle herders, and they only want to go and live in the towns and work in the kitchens or on the roads," she writes.

"It does not help to give the natives such high salaries. The more they get, the more they want. The value of the work does not improve with the higher salary."

"Here in our village a certain person is building homes for his farm labourers. It is right for the man who can afford it. But he does it because he would otherwise have to pay too much income tax and in this manner he evades the tax. But the farmer who cannot afford it will suffer, because he will later not get any labourers."

In her opinion and in that of other farmers, the building of farm labourers' houses will only lead to the further deterioration of the labour. The Ovambos are lazy, "and then one must pay them high wages. They also do much damage. The Tottentots are the same."

"If they are educated, they are cheeky to the farmers. If they have not gone to school, they honour the farmer and work diligently. I hope our Government will consult the farmers who know the Ovambo and Tottentots before they lay down big salaries," Mrs. Eksteen says in conclusion.

The high wages Mrs. Eksteen complains about are the £1 a month plus meagre rations which the majority of farm labourers in the territory earn. Only a small percentage of farm labourers earn the maximum rates of £2 7s. 6d. a month.

They Built Their Own School

Another issue of the *Guardian* reports a very different story. Four Africans of Blaauwlei, Cape Town, Mrs. Emily Gaika, Mrs. Tamone and Mr. and Mrs. Ntoko started a small business to raise the money they needed to build a school from wood

MARXIST THEORY OF THE STATE

Moscow's commentator, Titorenko, said in the U.S.S.R., "the lower state of Communism" had been achieved. Now the country was progressing towards a higher level, on which the predominant principle will be "to each according to his needs". But this transition period would be a "whole historical epoch", during which the fierce struggle against the forces of the past must be waged by all possible means, mainly by powerful socialist States. The Soviet people would assure the successful establishment of Communism by strengthening their State in every possible way.

and flattened petrol tins which to-day has an enrolment of 416 pupils.

"Blaauwlei Retreat, is one of the City of Cape Town's very ugly spots. Its population, mainly African, live in self-made huts on the sand dunes. There are no roads. In dry weather, you walk ankle-deep in sand. When it rains you walk ankle-deep in mud.

"That is how the breadwinners, mainly labourers, trudge to the station on their way to work in the early hours of the morning and back again in the evening. This is how the children go to school.

"There is much to be done before Blaauwlei becomes a place fit for human beings to live in. In the meantime the inhabitants, by their own unaided efforts, are putting the authorities to shame."

Pioneers of Education Continued from p. 2.

was an incident which occurred when he was director of the summer playgrounds in Detroit. He found that in another city the number of juvenile crimes decreased markedly after municipal playgrounds were established, but in Detroit there was a slight increase. He decided to investigate and found that the other city had provided similarly adequate equipment but the supervision of the playgrounds had been left inadequate. Detroit, which was richer and able to afford to be generous, had supplied in addition to the equipment several supervisors for each playground. In the other, city juvenile disorder increased because there was no supervision of the children. In Detroit the supervision was so adequate that the children could not indulge in free play.

Freedom and Approval

Lane had made an important psychological discovery. In future as supervisor he took on a passive rôle and merely watched and observed. In this rôle he made a careful study of the spontaneous play of free children and he noted and recorded the various types of play at different ages and different stages of development. It must be repeated that Lane had learned an important psychological truth and it was one which he never found cause to relinquish. By the time he came over to England to found the Little Commonwealth, he was a confirmed advocate of freedom as the necessary basis for the re-education of the delinquent child.

But he went further than this. At the Little Commonwealth he came to believe that he must not only allow the children freedom but he must actively approve of what the children did with their freedom. What these so-called criminal types in fact did with their freedom was to create a happy family atmosphere which impressed even the most sceptical of visitors and what is perhaps more difficult, created after a few false starts, their own form of self-government which efficiently covered every aspect of their work and of their social life. At the Little Commonwealth

there was no authority to defy except the authority of the whole community and no group to appeal to in defying that authority. Consequently, with the few inevitable exceptions, the whole of the members' activities were turned into social channels.

Approval and Love

The second important principle upon which the Little Commonwealth was based was the principle of love. This word "love" is probably the most abused word in our language and its meaning has become completely debased. Lane did not use the word in any sloppy or sentimental manner. To quote him from *Talks to Parents and Teachers*: "When authority, in Shelley's sense of power, is recognised for what it is, the only revolution that is of any vital importance will begin to take place and it will take place in the hearts of men. This will affect not only the attitude of parents and teachers to children but also the attitude of men and women to each other and to themselves. Then it will be seen that love, the creative impulse, is a deeper and stronger instinct in human nature than fear, upon which the fabric of our society is at present constructed; and that love is indeed, as Shelly declared it, synonymous with life."

To most people love means affection, but to Lane it meant more than that; it meant approval or championship. Love in this sense, he always said, had been destroyed by the moralists and man's best hope of salvation lay in its recovery. Lane translated love of the child, then, as approval of the child. It is summed-up simply and briefly in that phrase which Lane coined and which has since become famous: being on the side of the child. "Being on the side of the child," as Ethel Mannin put it, "instead of on the side of God and the policeman." It was this rôle which Homer Lane played with such conspicuous success at the Little Commonwealth.

TOM EARLEY.

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Identity Cards and the Emergency

THE High Court decision in the Identity Card case (*Freedom*, 7/7/51) which declared that we are in fact living in about thirty different "emergencies", is odd, but hardly surprising.

When people like us say that we are living to-day in a "permanent emergency" we are stating nothing more than the literal and legal truth. The National Service Acts under the provisions of which "Class Z" men are being recalled to the army for 15 days service is an example. The "emergency" for which they are being recalled is the emergency created by the German invasion of Poland twelve years ago. Lord Goddard's strictures on "the danger of legislation passed for one purpose being used for an entirely different purpose" surely apply to these Acts as much as to the National Registration Act, which he declared "is not being used for security purposes at all". In this connection we might draw attention to a further piece of official dishonesty. Many war-time soldiers will recall that in the entry in their A.B.64 or Service Book, "Enlisted for . . ." read "Duration" or "Duration of War", it was called in by the Company Officer and altered to "Duration of Emergency". If this was done to a civil contract it would be called forgery, or at least fraud.

For this reason there is not much point in being sorry that the High Court did not uphold Mr. Willcock's appeal and declared that the National Registration Acts were no longer law, because one may

be sure that legislation would be rushed through Parliament to make it so, just as the case of the redoubtable Mr. Butt in 1946. Mr. Butt denied the right of the Post Office to inspect his identity card when he went to take money out of his savings bank account. He succeeded in forcing the Post Office to withdraw the demand, and then what happened? A regulation was made, and is now proudly displayed in every Post Office, authorising it.

The Dutch had National Registration and when the Germans invaded Holland in 1940, the records were handed over intact to the Nazi authorities. (The

bureaucratic mind cannot bear to destroy the records it carefully collects. When in 1920 the German revolutionary, Max Holz organised a bonfire of the police records of the town of Plauen, the Chief Justice began to weep and implored Holz not to destroy "his life's work"). Because of the German possession of the Dutch national register, tens of thousands of Jews and other "undesirables" who might otherwise have escaped, were exterminated. When a new registration scheme was announced after the war, the Dutch protested "How do we know it won't be handed over again?"

C.

Music and Politics

(Continued from page 1)

that they feared that they would be supporting an organisation in which the Communist Party held a key post, and which might well be used to further Communist ends. The L.C.C. is well enough acquainted with Communist methods, especially the dictum laid down by Lenin in clear terms in *The Tactics of the United Front*, that the Party enters another organisation to dominate it or to break it up. While, therefore, the action of the L.C.C. is extremely distasteful and absolutely at variance with traditional ideas of no political discrimination, it must be

conceded that Communist tactics have brought the witch hunt upon themselves. And to the extent that such witch hunts break down established civil liberties, they have brought it down on other oppositional minorities also.

This instance shows how far, therefore, the factional struggles of the Communists within the Labour Party, and in more recent years the cold war, have poisoned the tradition of political freedom in this country. It is a bad day, indeed, when political discrimination enters the musical field.

J.H.

SYNDICALISM — THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP—9

THE PATTERN OF SYNDICALISM

SO far I have said little about the actual structure of Syndicalism. I have deliberately left this until now in order that all the basic ideas and attitudes could be presented first. When these are clear, it is possible to discuss further without being misunderstood.

Although Syndicalism aims at the organisation of all the workers in industry, it does not do so in terms of the mass to the exclusion of the individual. The socialist, totalitarian, conception of the collectivity being more important than the individuals composing it, of the majority having the right to override the minority, have nothing in common with the Syndicalist conception of voluntary co-operation.

This begins with the individual worker, at his place of work, coming together with his fellows to organise the job in hand. And the smaller the unit of co-operation can be, the greater the control will the workers have over it. Remember we are not concerned with building coffin clubs or any organisation divorced from the work concerned, but with an organisation through which production can be administered.

The first unit of organisation, then, should be the works council. (When I write "works", incidentally, I use it as a general term. In various industries the words mine, depot, yard, shop, station, farm, mill, ship, dock, factory, etc., may be the exact term.) This council would consist of delegates chosen by the workers to do whatever organisational work is necessary for the smooth running of the works. If the productive unit is large and several processes are involved, each workshop, designing office or laboratory could send its delegate to the works council, instructed to carry out the wishes of the rank-and-file.

This council must never be allowed to assume managerial powers. The good Syndicalist principle of no permanent officials will guard against that, and the fact that the council is composed of delegates, not representatives, means that all major issues must be decided by all the workers before the council puts them into practical shape.

The works council federates itself in two directions. First, "vertically" it links itself in a syndicate of all the works councils in the country from the same industry. Beginning on works level, then regional level, then national, finally international level, exchange of information, technical knowledge and mutual help, keeps all the industry in touch. The workers in a factory form their works council, all the works of that industry in a certain region send delegates to a regional council, then the regional councils send delegates to the national council, who federate with the syndicate in other countries.

Secondly, "horizontally", the works council federates with all the industries in its area, in the creation of a confederation, a federation of federations, beginning with local councils of labour, sending delegates to regional councils, sending delegates to a national council which maintain contact on the international scale.

This pattern of organisation is equally capable of fulfilling both the functions of Syndicalism:—the present-day job of waging the struggle against the owners and of organising for the expropriation of industry, and the task that follows the take-over, the running of industry in the free society.

Being decentralised, this form of organisation remains flexible and sensitive. No sooner have the men on the job taken a decision than it can be put into action. No permission has to be sought from an executive miles away, but each works council, knowing its own position best, is responsible only to the workers whose wishes it carries out.

During the time of preparation, it may be possible to go for long periods without any formal organisation at all. Syndicalists do not seek organisation for its own sake, but simply to act as the means through which the needs of the workers and

of society can be met. To-day, when workers go on strike, they form a strike committee, which is functional and temporary. When the function—of organising the strike—is completed, the strike committee dissolves, perhaps to re-form, with different individuals, when next the need arises. Syndicalists approve of this. It gives experience to the widest possible number of workers and prevents too much influence passing into the hands of a few. As the functions the workers take over increase, however, more permanent committees may become necessary, but the federalist nature of the Syndicates, and the care that must be taken to ensure control from the bottom up all the time prevent any kind of leadership developing.

This form of organisation may be thought to be complicated, but in fact it is not. The honeycomb is not more complicated a design than the spider's web, but in the first all the cells are of equal importance and fit into each other, in the second control is maintained from the centre. Capitalism and governments have created complications where they need not exist because both are artificial complications themselves. Where common interest lies in the fulfilment of common need, co-ordination can be a simple matter.

The creation of industrial syndicates rather than craft unions, would itself be a simplifying measure, as I have already pointed out, since it is presumptuous to forecast exactly how workers will organise when they once begin creating syndicates, I will not do more than indicate how I think they would form.

The most basic industry of all is agriculture. Without food we cannot live. The Syndicate of Agricultural Workers, allied to the Syndicates of Food, Drink and Tobacco Workers, would, therefore, come together with all their diverse occupations to ensure an adequate food supply, and to make each region as nearly self-supporting as possible. Through the local communes, which I shall mention in the next article, the syndicate would know what the food requirements actually are. Knowing its own capacity, it would know whether it could keep up supplies from local, regional or national sources. Or, through the national committee, it might arrange for the import of produce from abroad.

To do all this, close collaboration with the Transport Workers' Syndicate would be maintained. The elimination of profit-seeking middlemen would enable produce to go straight to distributive centres, where the Syndicate of Distributive Workers would present it directly to the public. And the same principle would apply to all industry. Syndicates would form, for example, in mining and quarrying, power (gas and electricity—perhaps later atomic power), textiles and clothing, building, wood-working, chemicals, iron and steel (closely linked with engineering and shipbuilding), paper and printing, glass and pottery, metal manufacture, entertainment and catering, all linked together by the Syndicates of Road, Rail, Air and Sea Transport.

But such a list can only be speculative. As the workers begin organising they will come up against all sorts of overlapping and borderline cases. What is important to suggest is that Syndicates should be broad rather than narrow and should strive all the time to minimise division among workers. To which syndicate workers belong is not so important as that all the workers in any given productive unit belong to the same syndicate.

I believe that on this sort of basis can be built the only industrial pattern which will prove workable in the modern world. The satisfaction the creative worker gets from his work depends most of all on the degree of responsibility he achieves, and the worth of his product to society. The abolition of money and the profit motive, the establishment of workers' control and the decentralisation of power would bring a dignity and efficiency quite unknown under capitalism.

PHILIP SANBORN.

Next Week: THE COMMUNE AND THE SYNDICATES.

Revolution & Delinquency

OUR reader André Prunier, ex-editor of *L'Espagne Antifasciste* in Barcelona (Aug.-Sept. 1936), writes:

"In your issue of June 9th, you quoted from a book by Mr. Gordon Walker, the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The book is called *Restatement of Liberty*, and your quotation expresses nearly the same views as did Robespierre, the French revolutionist of 1793. Robespierre advocated the idea that, the Revolution being the general replacement of the conditions of Vice by the conditions of Virtue, it must therefore bring to the highest degree the public exigencies of Virtue, and to the largest extent the punishment of Vice. Hence the necessity of the Terror by the guillotine. As for Mr. Gordon Walker, he says:

"The new State will also directly augment authority and social pressure by new powers of punishment and compulsion. So far from withering away as in theory both the individualist and the State should, the new State, if it is to bring into being and serve the better society, must create new offences and punish them. . . . For a higher morality implies a wider concept of sin, immorality and crime."

"You did not waste time discussing Mr. Gordon Walker's 'restatement of liberty'. You probably assumed that no reader of the libertarian papers would endorse it. It is an obvious truth for every intelligent person of the XXth century, that no amount of compulsion and repression would eradicate Vice and make Virtue grow, and that the conditions of moral progress lay rather in more liberty and responsibility from the part of the individual and less coercive and penal sanctions from the part of the State, Church or Society at large. Even those authoritarian Socialists who assume that the State itself 'is to bring into being and to serve the better society' feel obliged to add that it is by developing its new social functions of a positive nature—like organising education, production and distribution—that the State would do so, and not by keeping to its old negative tasks of police and repression—even less by 'creating new offences in order to punish them'."

André Prunier goes on to express his fear that there are some anarchists who "would be prepared to accept not only the theory of Mr. Gordon Walker but also the practice of that theory, if it were presented under the guise of revolutionary emergency or efficiency". And he draws attention to an essay by Gaston Leval under the title *Revolution Without Delinquency*, which appeared in *Le Libertaire* of Paris and was translated in recent issues of *The Industrial Worker* (Chicago). He quotes from the essay these words:

"When the Spanish Revolution broke out, there were, in Barcelona, many pimps, gigoloes, who had been tolerated by the State and capitalism. But the

Libertarian society, in its birth-time, did not want them. And all those who fell into the hands of our comrades were pitilessly eliminated from the number of the living. This simple fact proves that the Anarchists are not disposed to permit freedom of action to those who would not or could not adapt themselves to a normal life."

Prunier comments: "When Stalin destroyed all the Tartars of the Crimea as 'unpatriotic', when Hitler destroyed all Gypsies as 'unreliable', we, justly enough, called them tyrants and monsters. But the *Libertarian society* is said to have 'eliminated from the number of the living, all the pimps and gigoloes of Barcelona' on the mere presumption that they were pimps and gigoloes, and that 'they would not or could not adapt themselves to a normal(?) life'."

He concludes: "I have still one statement to make. I was unconsciously instrumental in the operation whose example is recommended by Gaston Leval to the revolutions of the future, and that I cannot describe otherwise than as the rounding of human cattle for a senseless butchery."

"Leval was not there. This may serve him as an excuse. I was there, and my excuse shall be to tell what I know, if I may do so in your columns; in order that the lessons of the past shall not be lost for the future."

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS at HYDE PARK
Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m.
INDOOR MEETINGS
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
at the PORCUPINE (corner Charing Cross Road at Gr. Newport Street, next Leicester Sq. Underground Stn.)
These Meetings are suspended for the Summer months. They will re-commence in SEPTEMBER.
Watch this column for future Announcements.

NORTH-EAST LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM

at 7.30
JULY 24—Discussion on FUTURE GROUP ACTIVITY.
Enquiries c/o Freedom Press

SOUTH LONDON

Fortnightly meetings, sponsored by the S. London Anarchist Group, are held on alternate Tuesdays, at 7.30 p.m. at the KENTISH DROVERS Public House, Peckham (corner of High Street and Rye Lane)
JULY 17—A Meeting to Commemorate the SPANISH REVOLUTION

GLASGOW

OUTDOOR MEETINGS at MAXWELL STREET
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.
With John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Jimmy Raeside, Eddie Shaw
KINGSTON
Any Comrades interested in forming a Group in the KINGSTON area, are invited to write to Freedom Press.



1951 SUMMER SCHOOL

This year's Summer School will be held in GLASGOW, 25th & 26th AUGUST
To be followed by a week's camping at the Gare Loch.
Applications to:
John Gaffney, 18, Finnieston Street, Glasgow, C-1.
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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