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Freedom

AN ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

"The State is always a conservative power that authorizes, regulates and organizes the conquests of progress; but never does it inaugurate them."
SISMONDI.

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Threepence

DOES BRITAIN SHOW THE WAY?

THE LESSON OF 1848

At the centenary of 1848, the year of revolutionary crisis which saw the first appearance of anarchism as a working-class movement, the anarchists of the world are once again calling on the workers not to be led away from their revolutionary aims, not to be led into political alliances which will result in their own disaster, but to go forward on their own initiatives and with their own strength to the overthrow of all forms of tyranny and domination, the "bad" as well as the "worse". Unless they do this, their efforts will be as fruitless as those of their ancestors a hundred years ago.

IN January, 1848, the first risings began in that year of insurrections which were to change the political face of Europe and to initiate a century of revolutionary activity, of great movements of rebellion and discontent, and of equally great failures and frustrations.

The year 1848 itself saw such an unfolding of revolutionary endeavour as had never been seen in the world before. Beginning with the January risings in Palermo and Milan, the insurrections spread to Paris, to Vienna, to Berlin, to Prague, to Rome and Venice, to the capitals of all the little German states. The Hungarians and the Poles rose against German domination, the Roumanians and the various Slav peoples rose against Hungarian domination. In England and Ireland there were riots and demonstrations, the Chartist movement showed its last flicker of life, and more widespread risings were only averted by the granting of various concessions to ease the severe economic burdens on the working-class.

All over Europe men were rising up and preparing to reorganise their world and their lives with an enthusiasm that seemed indefatigable. The representatives of the old order fled—Louis Philippe, the king of France, and Prince Metternich, who had done more than any other man to maintain the power of reaction in Europe in the thirty years from 1815 to 1848, were driven from their strongholds, never to return. The Emperor of Austria, the Pope, the King of Prussia departed from their capitals to secure retreats. For a few brief weeks men of all classes worked together to consolidate their gains, and a new spirit of brotherhood seemed to have been born in Europe.

Revolutions Betrayed

But it was not long before everything was changed, as had happened in 1793. Before the year was half out, a "revolutionary" government in Paris was slaughtering the workers who had put it in power, middle-class National Guards were shooting down their unemployed fellow insurgents in the streets of Vienna and Rouen, German radicals were supporting the Austrian attempts to suppress risings in Italy, and Hungarian patriots, claiming national freedom for themselves, were busy denying it to the Slav and Roumanian minorities within their frontiers. The army of the French Republic destroyed the Roman republic and replaced the Pope on the throne of St. Peter, while an army of Slav nationalist revolutionaries helped the Imperial government to crush the Viennese revolution. By the end of 1849, so far as the workers were concerned, the revolution might never have taken place. The bourgeoisie had thrust their way into the ruling classes of Europe, but for the European proletariat 1849 meant the beginning of a reaction as bad as that which had preceded it. The Europe of Bismarck and Napoleon III was not measurably better than that of Metternich and the Holy Alliance.

But the revolutions of 1848, while they nowhere enabled the workers to gain any permanent advantages, represented, in most cases, a means of preparing the real movements of working-class revolutionism which were to spring up in the subsequent decades. Some of the 1848 risings, it is true, had no working-class character whatever. The Hungarian revolution was one of landowners, the German revolutions, for the most part, were carried out by and in the interests of various sections of the middle-class, and the workers never really emerged as a separate force, while the Italian risings were almost entirely those of an oppressed people against its foreign tyrants and had little of the class struggle about them.

In Paris, however, and to a less extent

flict continued in the streets of Paris. But the middle-classes had already gained time enough to consolidate their position, and the revolution was destroyed with terrible cruelties, hundreds of workers being slaughtered in cold blood.

The Workers Become Conscious

But, though they were defeated, the workers from this time onwards were conscious of themselves as a separate force, and the real revolutionary movement of the working-class takes its birth from the failures of 1848.

The years that have followed 1848, with their revolutionary movements of 1871, of 1917, of 1945, have also been disappointing, and to-day, with the world still dominated by great power groups, it may seem that we are farther than ever away from our revolutionary objectives.

Yet, as 1848 showed, no tyranny, no ruler, however powerful, is immune from falling. In 1847, Metternich must have seemed irremovable. The next year, the united indignation of the people of Vienna had sent him into an exile from which he never returned.

The lesson of 1848 and the revolutions that have followed it in the last century, is not that governments are difficult to overthrow, since, given the right economic and social conditions, the strongest-seeming administration will fall, no matter how carefully it may have prepared its defences, once the people withdraw their support from it. The really difficult thing is to prevent the forces of the revolution from themselves turning reactionary as soon as they have gained power.

(Continued on page 5)

in Vienna, the workers appeared as a distinct force, at first supporting the middle-class in seizing power, but later showing their realisation of the need to fight for economic aims of their own. From the beginning, the revolution in Paris took on a strong social aspect, and the workers pressed their claims with vigour and a good deal of unity. This increased consciousness among the workers of their own claims to a better life scared the bourgeois revolutionaries into reaction, and, having achieved their own ends, they turned upon the workers, who replied by the June revolution. For days the con-

Preparation for War

THE two camps of the authoritarian world are steadily increasing their tension, and we are being faced once again with the old arguments which led up to and were used to justify the war against Germany.

A recent manifesto of a group of "prominent men and women", including Bertrand Russell, Clement Davies, leader of the Liberals, T. S. Eliot and, significantly, Lord Vansittart, draws the attention of the people to the danger of Communism and war, and then, after asking for an appeal to Stalin for agreement, goes on, in these words, to advocate a formidable anti-Russian alliance:

"If, however, this last and most powerful intervention were to fail, we suggest that the freedom-loving Powers closely associated with Britain and America should act in concert.

"They should together develop such a predominance of defensive strength, including atomic strength, that no Power would dare to challenge them. If this policy had been followed before 1939 there would have been no war."

We, on the contrary, believe that such so-called "defensive alliances", with their piling up of armaments and continual fostering of the war atmosphere, can lead only to another war in which the workers will be, as always, the losers.

We are as fully aware as anyone else of the dangers of communism. But we are also aware of the dangers of Anglo-American imperialism and of war, and know that through these means there will only be a continuance, on an even worse scale, of the old miseries.

For the workers, participation in either side is no solution. The only real solution is the creation of the third, revolutionary camp, which will oppose war and act against both the aggressive imperialist

camp. After the 1914-18 war, the workers of this country, by their resolute action, prevented a war with Russia. There is yet time, even now, for a strong movement of revolutionary opposition to show the governments of the world that the workers will not stand for another war; that is literally the only way out.

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION

BY the time this issue of *Freedom* has gone to press the first of the registrations under the new Employment Order will have taken place, and a considerable number of people who do not choose to fit into the pattern of industrial regimentation will have been forced into the net or will have rendered themselves liable to imprisonment.

The criterion, except for a number of specified employments, is whether the person concerned is actually "gainfully employed", for a period of no less than 30 hours a week. It is a curious reflection on a Socialist government that "gain" and not "usefulness" should be the standard. It means, for instance, that a man or woman who chooses to live poorly by working a few hours a week and devoting the rest of his or her time to some socially valuable work, will be penalised, while a man who works 40 hours on some useless occupation, such as producing luxury goods for rich Americans, will be free from interference.

DEMAGOGUES are always willing to take any excuse for changing a propaganda line that has worn itself out, and for Attlee the New Year was as good as anything else. Realising that the workers in Britain are becoming disgusted with both the American and the Russian regimes and are not inclined to be led away into support of either of them, he turned his New Year message into an attempt to represent "Socialist" Britain as being a third camp which alone shows the right way for the world to follow in its pursuit of social justice. Britain and the countries of Western Europe, he claims, are not "in any sense 'watered-down capitalism' or 'watered-down Communism'," but something quite different from either, and, adopting a Solomon-like attitude of self-righteousness, he condemns Russia for its lack of political freedom and America for basing its economy on capitalism.

It is true enough to say that "The history of Soviet Russia provides us with a warning here—a warning that, without political freedom, collectivism can quickly go astray and lead to new forms of oppression and injustice. Where there is no political freedom, privilege and injustice creep back."

But privilege and injustice exist equally well where there is no economic freedom, and it is completely inconsistent to claim, as Attlee does, that there can be any real political freedom in a society where economy is planned by the State, any more than in a society where it is controlled by capitalist monopolies.

In fact, there is only a difference of practice, not of principle, between the various social systems of America, Britain and Russia. All are based ultimately and fundamentally on coercion, and the amount of coercion they use is based on the needs of the ruling class. America has not a State-controlled economy, because private capitalism can still work there for the time being. Britain has as yet no full-scale NKVD because the government can rule without it by means of propaganda and deception. But America has its political pogroms, Britain has its interference with the freedom of workers to find their own employment, and if it were in the interests of the ruling class these institutions

could easily be magnified into something resembling the Soviet tyranny. These three political systems in fact are all versions of the same State society, and social circumstances are steadily making them draw together in their internal forms, if not in their external interests.

If, as Attlee contends, it is possible to have political freedom with a State-planned economy, then the first thing he should do is to repeal all the laws and regulations which hamper the freedom of the people of this country. In fact, he could not do this if he wished, since the structure of a State economy depends on compulsion, the degree of which will be dictated by the amount of potential resistance among the people.

Inevitably Attlee's speech has been widely interpreted as anti-Russian. It is true that he criticises American capitalism, but very mildly. On the other hand, he tells us that "America stands for individual liberty . . .", whereas in fact recent events have shown, through the political persecution of American minorities, that the governing class of the U.S.A. is only willing to recognise individual liberty where this suits its interests.

In the same way, Attlee condemns the Russian sponsoring of tyrannical regimes in Eastern Europe. But he does not say anything about the American support for reactionary governments in Greece and Turkey, which are just as prone to intense political persecutions as are the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. American warships are sailing in Greek waters, American soldiers are in Turkey, to ensure the stability of governments which at no stretch of the imagination can be called democratic, except in the perverted sense used by the Russian puppet States.

In spite of all Attlee's ingenuity of argument, Britain, by its own attacks on individual liberty and participation in American imperialist ventures, shows itself of a similar nature to the regimes of Russia and America—the difference is only in degree, and different social circumstances can readily change that.

There is indeed a third way. But it lies only in opposition to any kind of State, for, where the State continues, the restriction of freedom at home and imperialist ventures abroad are inevitable.

(See also comment in Industrial Notes, p. 3.)

THE WORK OF PATRICK GEDDES

KNOWING the importance of Patrick Geddes* it is extraordinary to find how little either his name or his work is known, even among specialists. To biologists, sociologists, and "town-planners"—there is, as yet, no adequate word for the science of region and city—Patrick Geddes is, perhaps, a name. Yet these people in particular owe to him for the present form of their sciences more than they do to any one other man. J. A. Thomson is more than well known to biologists who have hardly heard of Geddes although Thomson was not only Geddes' pupil but his partner and, one must say, the writer of the books which Geddes never had the time to write himself; a number of books bear both names and but for this fewer still would have the name of Patrick Geddes.

Geddes was instrumental in founding the Sociological Society in 1903 and, with Le Play, the brothers Reclus, Kropotkin and some others, among the first to approach the human environment from the sociological point of view. To quote Lewis Mumford from *The Culture of Cities*: "Charles Booth and his associates in London, Patrick Geddes and his associates in Edinburgh, were perhaps the first to undertake a thoroughgoing civic survey as a preliminary to town-planning and municipal action . . . Between them, long before industrial analysis had arrived at this systematic stage, they created a pattern for orderly diagnosis and treatment of civic

conditions. As an ecological sociologist, Geddes made the necessary passage from the civic survey to the regional survey; and at various removes his example has been widely followed: note the surveys of various industrial areas, by Abercrombie and others in England."

Influence on Mumford

The Culture of Cities itself is the continuation and development of Patrick Geddes' *Cities in Evolution* published in 1915. Primarily, however, Geddes was a Botanist and Biologist; he studied under T. H. Huxley and, still a student, came to the opposite conclusions. His tremendous range of interest and activity—and his activities covered all his interests which included education and university building and planning, cities and city development, economics and everything connected with sociology—was the outcome of the combination of a brilliant intellect, a background of sound, natural education, and a biological approach all with a tremendous vitality under an equally powerful personality.

The Biological Approach

Biology is the science of the life-functions and so one would expect that a biological approach to life or, more broadly, to life in society would show results; indeed any other approach to life would seem illogical.

One can, in fact, attribute the failures of all political and philosophical systems to the use of inorganic or unbiological approaches. The biological approach was certainly responsible for Geddes' success in his diagnosis of social factors, his brilliant analysis of the social complex and, perhaps most important of all,

his success in the synthesis and integration of all sciences and activities.

There is no room here for even the barest outline of his achievement and activity but a few quotations may help to form an impression; for instance, he analyses the three classes of occupations common to all organisms as (i) the operation of organisms upon matter and energy (quantity), (ii) services to members of society (quality), (iii) unemployed—diseased, disabled, criminal, etc.—(decrease), and from this, as he points out, they "are not simply analogous, but identical among bees, ants, and men". From this it is clear that for men "specialization of function has become division of labour".

He defines 'Production' as "the adaptation of the environment to human function", from which it is evident that political action must be to "maximise the maintenance and evolution of the community"; "when any given environment or function, however apparently 'productive', is really fraught with disastrous influence to the organism, its modification must be attempted, or, failing that, abandonment faced". Which, as Geddes himself fully realised, was about the last thing any politician would do . . . Yet, had Labour been in power it would have done exactly the same; the promises of would-be new masters under socialism cannot be trusted any more than those of the Capitalist. That's just human nature! Capitalism's nature, Labour's nature, your nature, my nature that's everyone's nature when the temptation is strong enough!"—which he said in 1886.

At the time he stated that "the essential scientific fact about the evolution of any species—man or beast, plant or animal—is improved quality of the average individual. Apparent progress in quantity tends indeed to be degeneration. Were men bathed in an ocean of nectar and ambrosia, he would not only come to multiply as fast as the tapeworm but degenerate as far".

These are mere fragments of a biological interpretation of life and society which is fundamental to anarchism. To

what extent his two revolutionary theories of evolution and sex* are accepted by contemporary science I do not, as yet, know but they certainly appear more satisfactory when studied in full and compared with their predecessors are, again, potentially invaluable material for scientific survey and research.

Organic Nature of Society

Modern Anarchism presupposes this approach when it assumes that society is organic and does, therefore, obey natural law. Geddes has gone a long way towards proving the organic nature of society and so justifying scientifically the use of the word "organic".

Patrick Geddes is, practically speaking, unknown; yet Peter Kropotkin, who knew him in Edinburgh, spoke of him as being one of the most brilliant men alive and to-day Lewis Mumford describes him as a second Leonardo. No-one who knows and understands his work under-estimates his importance and extraordinary significance for the future. It is difficult, at first, to understand how this almost tragic obscurity should surround such a man. There are, however, a number of reasons for this; in the first place, he was a scientist and a scientist in the broadest sense of the word: he approached things objectively and with an open mind. He was, in fact, far too broad and revolutionary in his outlook and scientific approach for his contemporaries and for the academic world in particular.

To-day, the sciences really are beginning to emerge from their insulated, water-tight compartments and much, one assumes, to the discomfort of the academicians; but it was far more shocking in 1875 for a biologist to take an active interest in economics—the results of this original combination were even

*Of definite rather than indefinite and fortuitous variation in evolution and, in sex, the establishment of the foundation of relative passivity and relative activity, or femaleness and maleness, to be upon the two extremes of a definite and basic cell-cycle.

more shocking. The aim of Patrick Geddes might be summed up in one word: Synthesis. To break down the boundary walls of every academic specialism, to integrate study with practice and re-orientate it to life was the constant aim and dynamic of all his work and activity. It is easy to understand the reaction of the academic world, the more so as he believed in direct action and was never content to leave his ideas on paper. This is another obvious reason for lack of first-hand knowledge; he never expressed his ideas fully in books, he could never bear any sort of inaction—even the necessary and positively creative inaction of writing! As Mumford says, what few books there are of his are merely "notes on the margins of his mind". The result being, of course, that almost all his work comes to us at second-hand and bearing another's name.

There are other more personal reasons centring on the undue length of his active life; like so many great men toward the end of their lives, Patrick Geddes confused and detracted from his earlier and most valuable work. He also suffered from a loose, flamboyant and often difficult literary style which puts off the more sophisticated modern mind; it is, nevertheless, only the natural expression of a tremendous vitality. Geddes was always concerned far more with the broad view, with the trends and principles and practice of organic law than he was with academic detail and conformity. The mass of his contemporaries, lost in the maze of fundamentally meaningless detail that most people still please to call "realism", quite failed to see this and so completely misunderstand him and for much the same reason that anarchism is misunderstood and misrepresented to-day. Perhaps the most tragic aspect of Geddes' life was that toward the end he was left with the cranks and so finally disaffected the active scientific and intellectual world.

Contributions to Science and Art

Any individual assessment of the significance of one man's work will be a subjective one to anarchists, the importance of the sociological approach, particularly the biological approach, can hardly be exaggerated. It was the bio-sociological interpretation that was Geddes' own contribution to science and art. As I have already pointed out, it is this assumption that the social complex is organic by nature and by function, that vital biological functions are social functions and vice versa, that is the fundamental assumption of anarchist theory. And it is precisely this that Patrick Geddes shows most clearly and irrefutably. The Region, as opposed to the Political State, is a direct implication of this interpretation and Geddes was one of the most important if not the greatest prophet of Regionalism.

There is a steady if yet small growth of a wholly new and living science and art which anarchists should watch closely and encourage to the utmost. A new awareness of Patrick Geddes would naturally help this development enormously; and the indications are that there will be a revival, but it is essential that there are a number of people who already know of Geddes and, if possible, are to some degree familiar with his work.*

JOHN TURNER.

*Books that should be available. (Enquire from Freedom Bookshop, 27, Red Lion St., London W.C.1.)

Lewis Mumford:
Technics and Civilization.
The Culture of Cities.

Jaqueline Tyrwhitt:
Patrick Geddes in India (in print).

P. Geddes and J. T. Thomson:
Evolution.

Also:—
The Evolution of Sex.
Biology.
Life: Outlines of Biology
(last 2 chaps.).

"Unity is the goal towards which humanity is inevitably attracted. But it becomes harmful, destroys the intelligence, the dignity and prosperity of individuals and peoples, once it is achieved without liberty, but through violence, under the influence of the church, politically or even economically."

BAKUNIN.

AN ANSWER TO SOME OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM

(In our last issue we published a letter from a reader, J.P.H., expressing six objections to anarchism. Then we answered two of them, and in this issue we are answering a further two, in which our correspondent queries the abolition of money and the replacement of retail shops by communal stores.)

3. The Abolition of Money

THE question of the abolition of money is an important one for anarchists, since money is the means of accumulating capital and therefore forms one of the most important ways in which men can achieve economic power over each other.

Money is the means of capitalist exchange; it is also one of the means of keeping the workers in subjection, since when they receive money wages instead of their share of the common goods, they are at the mercy of the system of exchange and the people who run that system and make profits out of the worker both as a producer and a consumer. While goods are exchangeable for money, it is always possible for one man, by means of buying and selling, to accumulate more property and therefore more power than his neighbours, by trading on the needs of others.

Once private property has been abolished, it is foolish to re-establish it by keeping the system of accumulation of exchange in any form. Society, by which is meant the association of men who gather together to further their common interests, must administer the common goods and services in such a way that each man, woman and child has a fair share of the common property. But once there are no individual interests of a material kind, money becomes an unnecessary complication, a waste of time that could be used on productive work (think of the mil-

lions in the world to-day employed on nothing but financial calculations), and a potential danger to the system of common property in that it would allow the resumption of the individual accumulation of wealth.

So far as we can see, the same applies to labour notes, which, as our correspondent suggests, would become a means of exchange and therefore the equivalent of money. Labour notes are merely wages in disguise; they deprive the workers of their share to a full interest in the common wealth.

On the general question of the revolutionary attitude towards money, wages, labour notes, etc., we can do no better than quote Kropotkin's statement in *The Conquest of Bread*:

"... Once the abolition of private property is proclaimed, and the possession in common of all means of production is introduced—how can the wages system be maintained in any form? . . . A society having taken possession of all social wealth, having boldly proclaimed the right of all to this wealth—whatever share they may have taken in producing it—will be compelled to abandon any system of wages, whether in currency or labour notes . . .

"For the day on which old institutions will fall under the proletarian axe, voices will cry out: 'Bread, shelter, ease for all!' and these voices will be listened to; the people will say: 'Let us begin by allaying our thirst for life, for happiness, for liberty, that we have never quenched. And when we shall have tasted of this joy, we will set to work to demolish the last vestiges of middle-class rule: its morality drawn from account books, its 'debit and credit' philosophy, its 'Mine and yours' institutions."

Money is a means of solving the prob-

lem of exchange, and is therefore a phenomenon of a property society. In an anarchist society the practical problem to be faced will be, not exchange, but distribution. The problem of capitalist society is how to organise production and to sell its products for the good of the owning class. For this operation money, as a means of accumulating profits conveniently, is absolutely necessary. In a free society the problem will be how to satisfy the needs of consumption. This can only be done by freeing commodities from the shackles of money, and allowing all men to share, irrespective of 'merits', according to their need, in the common fund of goods produced by the efforts of all.

J.R.H. raises the question of rationing. In a money society any kind of rationing becomes in fact rationing by income, since there is always a black market in which those with more money can buy, and so feed better than those with less.

Where rationed methods of production are used there should be no shortage of essential goods. But it is likely that for some period after a revolution there might be shortages, and that therefore some kind of voluntary scheme of rationing essential goods in short supply would have to be organised by the people in their communes. But, if there were no rich people, no money, and therefore no black market, the workers would at least have the advantage of knowing that nobody was getting an unfair advantage, and that it was in their own hands to improve conditions as rapidly as possible in order to create an abundance in which all could share, and in which there would be no exploiters to skim off the best.

J.R.H.'s point about housewives preferring rationing by income may apply to the well-to-do, but we are sure that if there were an unavoidable shortage most working-class women would prefer a fair and equal distribution of commodities.

4. The Communal Store

The difference between a "retail shop" and a "communal store" is perfectly clear. A retail shop is an institution of exploitation, linked intimately with the capitalist system. The shopkeeper sells goods to

his customers, not for their good, but for his own profit. His aim is to get as much money as possible for as poor quantity and quality as possible. His service to the community, such as it is, is merely incidental to his pursuit of profit, just as it is that of the manufacturers and wholesalers whose goods he retails.

The anarchists envisage a system of distribution by which each commune, or street, will have its stores where goods will be available, not for sale, but for distribution. The stores will be run by the communes and syndicates of distributive workers, and each man and woman will be able to ask for whatever goods he needs.

Experience shows that, where goods of services are socialised and given freely to the public, no-one troubles to take more than he needs; in an economy where goods were produced in sufficient quantities for there to be a constant and adequate supply for all, clearly it would be foolish for anybody to hoard loaves of bread or shoes, particularly as, where the commune organised adequate distribution, it would be pointless for him to try and gain an advantage by trying to trade his hoarded shoes with someone who could in any case get them freely at the store. Also, in such a society, direct action against any attempts at re-starting capitalist accumulation would no doubt be swift and certain.

Free distribution according to need is the only rational way to solve the problem of consumption; any other way is unfair and cumbersome, and the only instance in which the system of distribution according to requirements might have to be modified would be, as we have already said, in the event of some unavoidable shortage, when voluntary rationing schemes might be necessary. But it would still be a free distribution among comrades, and the question of payment or profit would not arise.

Thus, the anarchist idea of distribution is completely different from the profit-making exploitation of the community by retail shops, and therefore deserves a different name. "Communal store" seems as good as any other.

(To be concluded.)

OUR VANISHING STANDARDS

The Stabilisation of Wages

OUR Socialist Government having demanded—or should we say 'requested'?—the freezing of wages at present levels for the first half of 1948, the T.U.C. is finding itself in an embarrassing situation yet again. Unwilling to deny any request from its governmental master, still the T.U.C. is under pressure from below for substantial wages increases to meet the soaring cost of living, and has the sticky job of trying to wring some concessions out of the government to sugar the pill of pegged wages for the worker.

The T.U.C.'s first argument is that prices must be stabilised and controlled, then the workers will accept stabilised wages. For the government, the T.U.C. admits its responsibility for urging increased production.

In an interim report by the Crisis Committee set up nine weeks ago, which has just been published with the approval of the General Council, it is alleged that increased production is not only a matter of self-interest but a "national duty". In our editorial last issue we pointed out that, far from gaining, the worker is the loser in the frenzied fight for greater production, and that in the struggle for "national" recovery the needs and health of individuals is forgotten.

It is not as though the goods which receive priority are essentials. Lip service has been paid to the priority position of agriculture for instance, but still its needs are subordinated to those of the "export industries". Tractors are not being produced by Fordson's for use exclusively in this country, but for export. We are told, of course, that they are buying food from abroad, but what a back-to-front policy it so obviously is!

No Wages Policy

But still the T.U.C. puts forward no constructive suggestions for dealing with the problems facing the workers. And indeed, how can it? The unions are tied to the Labour government, which in turn is tied to a capitalist economy. What can be constructive about that? Even within its own limited scope, however, the T.U.C. is falling down in refusing to demand adequate incentives for basic industries. After all, if the principles of capitalism are accepted, as they are by the T.U.C., then it should be recognised that the way to get workers into the basic industries, where work is harder and more unpleasant, is to offer enhanced wages and inducements above those existing in the luxury trades.

In effect, the T.U.C. have already established a freezing effect on wages in basic industries, by evading the question of a national wages policy and relying upon direction to do the job of filling "essential" industries for them. Not openly and definitely pegging the wages, of course, but not trying to increase them to a standard either appropriate to the importance of the industries, or calculated to attract workers voluntarily.

Prices, Profits and the Vote

As regards the controlling of prices, the Government is in a cleft stick. Inflation is certain if there is any acceleration in the current spiral of price and wage increase. Millions of workers are already beginning to press for higher wages, and if these are granted, prices will automatically rise, but if prices are controlled before wages rise, the extra wages must come out of profits (which the T.U.C. also wants controlled). But in view of the recent wooing of the middle classes by Government spokesmen like Atlee and Morrison, and the tactful moving of tactless Shinwell to the War Office, we may gather that the Cabinet really does not want to antagonise any more the people who live on profits—who are also, be it remembered, the people whose votes carried the Labour Party to power in 1945, and could carry it out in 1950. It almost makes one sorry for the poor Government doesn't it? Or does it? For while the T.U.C. can pretend to be busy only with industrial and economic business, the Cabinet has all sorts of political considerations to juggle with—and between the two sets of parasites the worker has a pretty thin time.

More, More!

The T.U.C. thinks that the only way to keep prices down is by increased production and by subsidies. It goes further than that, though, when it warns Trades Union leaders that "a substantial and sustained increase in production alone will enable the unions to defend existing standards of life and secure necessary improvements in conditions of employment" (our italics). Until the inflation danger is ended by increased

production and more exports, the committee's report says, "it will be impossible for this country even to restore the mid-1947 standard of living" (our italics again).

So there the cat is out of the bag. Now, therefore, it is admitted that the standard of living has fallen in the last six months. Admitted that the mad pace of production already achieved—at who knows what cost to the workers?—which in some industries (steel and motor cars, pottery, cotton) is substantially above pre-war figures with reduced labour forces, has resulted not in a rising of our standards of living, but just the opposite.

Now we are told that in order to restore the miserable standards of half-a-year ago, production has to be increased more and still more!

The Subsidy Trick

The T.U.C.'s insistence on the continuance of subsidies to keep down food prices gives one to think that it believes this interesting system provides us with something for nothing. Subsidisation simply means that the Government helps to pay the profits on certain articles so that they can be marketed to the general public at prices which otherwise would show a loss to the producer. Very nice, but where does the Government get its money? Obviously, through the taxation of the general public, and if we lived by bread alone it might be alright, but when we have to pay 2d. or 3d. extra on a pint of beer, 1/- or 2/- extra on a packet of cigarettes, or anything from 12 1/2% to 100% extra on semi-necessities of present-day life or on luxuries in order to get our bread a penny or two cheaper, it is difficult to see where the benefit really lies.

Under P.A.Y.E. a very noticeable proportion of our wages never finds its way into the pay envelope, but goes straight to the Exchequer. What is left

is decimated by indirect taxes, and probably food-subsidising is the best way such revenue could be used, instead of maintaining the police, the law, the armed forces, atomic research, the Government and all its bureaucracy—to say nothing of the newly-weds—but surely the whole business is stupidity itself!

To support subsidisation means supporting taxation—one of the slimiest aspects of the money trick, and yet the T.U.C.'s committee, while rejecting at the moment any idea that the Government should fix either wages or limits for wage increases, agree that if food is continually subsidised, the unions will be "reasonable and restrained" about wages.

It is the inevitable outcome of the reformist approach.

Away with Wages!

In conclusion, let us point out that if the T.U.C. has no wages policy, well, neither have we! But for very different reasons. Anarchists believe in the abolition of the wages system altogether, the abolition of money, the abolition of capitalism. It is not for us to make suggestions as to how capitalism can be made to work or how the workers can be made to work. Our interest in the wages struggle to-day comes strictly out of our interest in the standards of living of people who have nothing to sell but their labour power and our desire to see them getting the best possible price for it. But we have no illusions about the transitory nature of wage increases and their purchasing power, and nothing but contempt for a society in which men and women must sell themselves and bargain for themselves in order to live.

The only valid solution is the revolutionary one of the abolition of the capitalist and governmental State and the establishment of a society where production is in the hands of the workers and is carried on for need and not for profit; where unproductive parasites are not kept at inflated standards of living through the depression of others, but where all have equal status and equal rights to the satisfaction of all their wants. The only solution is the social revolution, and for that we need workers' industrial organisations with a consciously revolutionary aim—Workers' Control and the Free Society—and not the lackey of capitalism which the T.U.C. now is.

P.S.

SPREADING THE NET

THE net to catch the spivs, drones, eels and butterflies, was spread on January 5th, when street traders were called upon to register for "useful jobs" at Labour Exchanges throughout the country. Included in this category were newsvendors, street singers, shoe-blacks, street photographers, and sellers of matches, fruit, flowers and other articles.

It is amusing to note that the drones—those who do no work for a living—do not have to mix with the common street traders to do this registering, but have to sign on two weeks after—between January 19th and 24th. The Labour Exchanges in Mayfair (are there any?) will have their busiest time fixing up the Hon. Montague with a nice clean job in a mine, or the equally Hon. Felicity with a set of looms in a cotton mill—but who are we to sympathise?

Employers with gambling businesses, or amusement halls, too, have to register before January 17th, and the penalties for anyone failing to register or giving false information are up to three months' imprisonment and £100 fine.

With reference to the Control of Engagement Order, Mr. Isaacs, Minister of Labour, reviewed the results of its first month's operation in the House of Commons recently. Fears that the Order would lead to the wholesale dragooning and direction of the workers have, so far, he said, been unfounded.

From October 6th to October 31st, only ten men were directed to jobs under the Order, in no case was any worker sent away from home and there were no prosecutions. During October 84 men were directed to the

mines and seven to agriculture, but these under schemes already in existence.

The Control of Engagement Order said Mr. Isaacs, had fully come up to the Government's expectations. "There is among our working people," he added, "a readiness to accept the positions offered to them, when it is pointed out they are essential."

Are you sure the penalties have not been pointed out as well, Mr. Isaacs? And if the Order has come up to Government expectations with the direction of only ten men, was it really worth all the work it must have caused? Or is this only a beginning—are you yet to get warmed up?

COAL BOARD CASTLES

WE have several times remarked upon the National Coal Board's expenditure upon the various mansions it has bought up for the housing of its officials and for offices. During the last year it has purchased 74 houses for staff homes and 26 for offices, at a total of £527,516, which, said Lord Hyndley, "could hardly be regarded as excessive."

Hyndley recently made a Viscount (do you approve, Grimthorpe?) has been for nearly 30 years an adviser to successive governments on coal matters. His idea of what is excessive in real estate activities, therefore, must be judged in view of that noble record of public service. He was, just by the way, a director of Powell, Duffryn & Co., one of the largest mining companies, before becoming chief of the N.C.B.

Incidentally, has not the Labour Party had a lot to say about the mismanagement of the miners prior to January 1st, 1947? If so, was the man who was chief adviser to Conservative governments and obviously doing well out of private enterprise, the best choice for head of a nationalised, revitalised, public-owned mining industry?

Ah, well, the ways of governments are indeed hard to fathom—if you believe what they say!

in most cases, entirely lost to agriculture. That a few sheep and bullocks are sometimes allowed to wander amongst the ruins of what was once fine farming land is of small consolation.

According to a recent White Paper on this subject, referred to in *The Daily Telegraph* (11/12/47), "The extent of the Services' land needs for training and other purposes in future is 1,027,200 acres . . . It is proposed to allot 702,000 acres for training purposes in the United Kingdom, compared with 252,000 before the war and 11,547,000 which the Services held in war-time. For purposes other than training the Services need 325,200 acres, a high but unspecified proportion of which they held before the war."

A particular example of the sort of thing that goes on, and which most country people could supplement from their own local knowledge, is given in a letter to the *Daily Herald* (4/12/47):

"Within two miles of my home there must be a 1,000 acres which give no more than a little rough grazing, and a further 1,000 on which production is less than half of what it could be. I am tenant of a lot of it, and I am not allowed to plough it. It is reserved for military training purposes, yet since D-day it has been almost unused . . ."

As far as this area is concerned, it is useless to urge farmers and workers to greater production efforts when they can see all this land being allowed to remain idle. ("Compelled to remain idle" would have been more accurate).

However, assuming those nuts in East Africa come up to Government expectations, maybe there is nothing to worry about after all.

G.V.

Land Notes

Home and Colonial

WHEN dealing with the more purely political aspect of farming in these Notes, it has become ever more difficult to avoid dwelling on the seemingly peculiar fact that, though this country is suffering from a food shortage, the Government of the day, like its predecessors, is singularly reluctant to seriously increase food production on this island. I am, therefore, sorry to have to refer to the subject again, but the powers recently granted in the House to the Overseas Development Corporation are so significant that some reference to this outfit is, I'm afraid, inevitable.

Under the wise guidance of the Overseas Development Corporation, this country which is in such dire financial straits that, to slightly misquote a well-advertised Government poster, we work and want, this country of ours is going to invest considerable sums of capital abroad for the purposes of increasing food production, mainly of groundnuts in East Africa and livestock expansion in Australia. This action even strikes the more or less conservative *Farmer's Weekly* as rather odd and it devotes its leading article for the issue of 19/12/47 to making some comments on it.

"The first and natural reaction," says *The Farmer's Weekly* through its editorial, "is to ask how and why nuts should be grown in Africa and meat raised in Australia when there is still so much land in this Kingdom producing at half-capacity for lack of equipment. Indeed, most of us know areas that are almost

in need of exploration, so far are they behind their potential level. How, then, can we afford to export machines and implements to the far corners of the earth when we, in this country, are constantly bogged down and defeated because we cannot get the spares for the old tools we have . . ."

We have pointed out often enough already that there are miles of roads and drains still to be built here, and that until we have built them it is fantastic to expend money and materials on undertakings elsewhere. Our own land, in fact, has first claim . . ."

Nice Stuff If You Can Buy It

Maybe our own land should have first claim but it is increasingly clear that it hasn't, and never has had for the best part of a century. Likewise, the present position can only be called "fantastic" if one assumes, as in our present economy one has no right to assume, that the object of producing food is to prevent people from going hungry. That food does, in fact, serve this very useful purpose is of course true. But this is really a sort of very important by-product of the main purpose of producing food which is, like that of producing any other commodity, to sell it. And if there is not a "market" for it, it won't be grown—no, not even if whole countries are starved into extinction.

Far from being "fantastic," as *The Farmer's Weekly* in its naive indignation believes, the restrictive policy that has been consistently applied to British agriculture, and is even now still applied, serves a very definite purpose. It is not just bureaucratic stupidity by any means. For reasons which I have so often elaborated here that, short of quoting myself in a big way, I cannot go into now once again, a profit lay-out based on industrial exports cannot tolerate a prosperous home agriculture. Superficially it

may seem daft to spend money on raising beef in Australia much of which could be produced here. But when one is thinking in terms of trade, of returns from capital invested and of the dividends of shipping companies, it may be, and often is, sound business to do so. And if it is, it is obvious, among other things, that production of such goods at home must be restricted to "reasonable" proportions.

Peter and Paul

As regards the nut scheme, *The Farmer's Weekly* consoles itself with this reflection:

"We can still absorb further feeding stuffs, particularly protein. Our old sources, India and Egypt, are no longer likely suppliers. If we are really to expand our livestock industry we must find new suppliers. And every extra ton of high-protein cake we can import and feed, means not only more beef and mutton than can be produced from purely home-grown resources, but more fertility incorporated into our own land."

That may sound very plausible, but in fact it is simply robbing Peter to pay Paul, importing fertility at the expense of the land from which it is exported, enriching, quite temporarily, some parts of the earth's surface at the cost of producing vast deserts in the near future in other parts. In any case, the assertion that an expansion of our livestock industry depends almost entirely on an increase of cheap imported feeding-stuffs is a hoary old myth, which *The Farmer's Weekly* ought to know better than help to perpetuate, especially when most of the first part of the editorial, in which it repeats this statement, is given over to showing how "so much land in this Kingdom is still producing at half-capacity".

Military Requirements

In this connection one might perhaps mention the truly staggering amount of land that it is still proposed to retain for military purposes and which is therefore,

Doukhobors & Mother Russia

WORLDOVER PRESS (19.12.47) reveals that an exchange of correspondence took place early in 1947 between the Doukhobors of Canada and the Soviet Government.

The correspondence started when the Doukhobors sent a set of resolutions adopted at their Pan-Doukhobor Congress. Eventually a reply was received. Among the many platitudes contained therein are the following:

Like you, their descendants, we keep always a holy memory of your ancient martyrs. The bloody history of your community will never be forgotten by humanity, for you have stoically, courageously held fast to the safeguarding of your freedom to think and to live, flinging these words into the face of the Despot of All-the-Russias: "We have heard it said that emperors exist, but as for us, we do not recognise them at all. If the emperor wills it, we will pay him all the taxes; but never will we submit ourselves to his commands." Thus spoke your fathers, in returning to the military authorities their conscription orders.

Do you know that the late Lenin himself welcomed the Doukhobors and other sects like you, who came back from exile and from forced labour to which they had been sent by the Czar? And not only did he receive them tenderly but he took great care of them and helped them settle themselves. . . . And you, dear friends, know that your journey is not yet finished. Like Moses with his people, you have crossed the ocean waste and you have halted only for a temporary rest. Now your march must begin again and continue towards the East to reach at last the beloved Promised Land, which calls you.

And you will come here full of health and strength, with your goods, your knowledge and your constant love for agricultural work. And you will help the Russian people, who are composed of your true brothers, to rebuild their life as well as possible. It is already 30 years since, by Herculean labours, there was organized in this land a new life. We made many errors in them, but we are forcing ourselves to repair these, and we raise ourselves ever higher, higher. . . .

No one among us wants war. But we are obliged always to arm ourselves. Remember well that in England, in America, in Spain and in other countries, the monster of fascism does not cease to agitate. It aspires to the complete destruction of the well-being of men, and wishes to make them completely the slaves of its desires in order to reign in absolute mastery over the world.

And for that the fascists have set for their goal the destruction of the Slavic

race before all, for this is the most enterprising race, the most devoted to liberty, and that never will accept enslavement to the capitalists, the fascists, the aristocrats, the land-owners and the bankers. This is why we Slavs, wherever we are, must feel ourselves shoulder to shoulder. . . .

And the letter concludes: "Write us as often as possible. We will do everything for you."

After much pondering, the Doukhobors replied writing in the primitive style of the old Russian peasants: Our dear brother Vladimir,

We have been very happy and touched even to tears to read in your letter that you keep a respectful memory of the great martyrdom that we endured in Russia of yore, for refusal of military service.

If we do not return for the present to Russia, it is not at all because the kind of life there displeases us. No, everything is being built up, as it ought to be, in the name of liberty, equality and fraternity, for the good of the poor and the exploited, for the people who have been subjugated. And we, we love our country and our people, for we were born there.

We would be so willing to establish ourselves there to live! Only, we have as an obstacle our convictions that do not permit us to be soldiers, to kill other men or even animals. Our motto is: "Labour and a life of peace". And if ever you could organize in Russia such a life, in such a manner that there would be no more army, then we all, in a strong and fraternal family, would move on toward Russia to help you morally and materially in your work.

And now, dear Vladimir, we pray you much to tell us, if you know, where are now our brothers who were condemned to 10 years of exile in 1928. We have never known where they have been, nor why. They lived in the district of the Don (Salsk): Peter Verigin (Jr.), Andrei Tcherniakovy, and others (a list of names is given). We pray you, tell us where they are.

With these words, we end our letter, apologizing for its being simple and without style. And we beg you to receive our cordial wishes for strength and health to follow with success the course of your life. (Signatures follow.)

Worldover Press points out that no further correspondence has been reported!

A VICTORY FOR WORKERS' SOLIDARITY

FIFTEEN years ago five brickmakers, active members of the revolutionary syndicalist workers' organization of

Argentina, were given life sentences of imprisonment for their alleged part in causing the death of a brickfield owner which occurred at a time of widespread unrest among brickworkers. It was a frame-up, and though torture and other third-degree methods were used by the police to get these courageous men to "confess", they failed. Nevertheless, they were found guilty and the cruel sentences were really imposed in the hope of intimidating the brickworkers from carrying on their struggle for better conditions.

For fifteen years our comrades in Argentina have not ceased to protest against the detention of the "Brickworkers of San Martin", and they have been joined by other workers in Argentina as well as in all the industrial centres of America.

Recently, the Peron government, in an attempt to ingratiate itself with the workers, made certain offers of clemency to common-law criminals. Our comrades were called before the Governor of Buenos Aires and were questioned as to what they proposed to do in the event of being set free. They replied, without a moment's hesitation, that they would not accept "conditions" as the price for their freedom, nor would they consent to give up their political ideals. They were sent back to prison. But our comrades of the F.O.R.A. (Workers' Regional Federation of Argentina) took up with even greater energy their campaign on behalf of their imprisoned comrades, and we now learn that at long last their efforts have been rewarded. Only four of the "brickworkers of S. Martin" will, however, benefit from this wonderful example of workers' solidarity. The fifth, Mario Montiglio has lost his reason as a result of these fifteen years of incarceration and is now in a mental hospital.

To the five comrades of S. Martin and to the revolutionary workers of the F.O.R.A. we send our fraternal greetings on this memorable occasion.

MORE VICTIMS FOR FRANCO

From Spain, on the other hand, news of shootings by Franco's firing squads continues to be received. The latest victims are two Spanish communists, Zoroa and Nuno Baos, who were executed, according to an official communiqué from Madrid, on December 30th. Protests from all parts of the world had been sent to Franco, but he obviously feels strong enough—or at least, he considers the world opposition to his regime weak enough—to ignore them.

LIBERTARIAN.

Twentieth Century Odyssey

TWENTY-NINE years ago Christian Knohr Groen was born in Costa Rica, the child of German immigrant parents. Nine years ago he paid a visit to Germany and although he was a citizen of Costa Rica, the Nazi authorities conscripted him into the German Army. In 1940 he deserted to the Allies and was sent as a prisoner to Canada. There he escaped six times and was later brought to England where he again escaped twice. During his latest period of liberty he made his way to Cardiff and tried to get aboard a Spanish-bound ship as a first step back to Costa Rica.

But in Cardiff he fell in love with Armendina Rodriguez, a twenty-eight years old Portuguese domestic servant. They were married at a registry office, where Groen described himself as British. Just before Christmas they were found in London by the police and Groen was taken back to the P.O.W. camp at Bridgend and awarded 28 days detention. His wife went to the camp and begged to be allowed to see her husband. Permission was refused, and she left a parcel of food for him. In the street outside the guardroom she called his name. Soon he appeared at the window of his cell and waved to her until the German guards sent her away.

The Costa Rican consul is endeavouring to get permission for her to see her husband, who, having been a prisoner since 1940, was due to be

repatriated to Germany last summer, but who fears that if he returned he would be punished for desertion.

Alex Comfort has said that the figure that will symbolise our century is the deserter—"the man who has the courage and skill to disobey". Christian Groen epitomises, in his fantastic history, the fate of the disobedient individual at war with irresponsible society.

JAPANESE AFTERMATH

The Japanese coalition Government is struggling against an inflation which threatens to become catastrophic. Mr. Kurusu, the Finance Minister, told the Budgets committee of the Upper House on December 7th that a disaster similar to that which overtook Germany in 1923 might follow unless the people stopped all unnecessary spending at once and paid their taxes. The ratio between expenditure and investment was 7 to 3, and 33 per cent. of total expenditure went in occupation costs.

The occupation broke up the Zaibatsu, or great business houses, that played so large a role in Japanese politics. In their place have risen a horde of profiteers and their hangers-on, known as the new yen class, who go in for cinemas, striptease theatres, liquor palaces, and racketeering in food, especially in rice, fish, wheat and salt.

Last July the Government tried to break the black market by drastically raising all official commodity prices. Families had to pay 99 yen for their 10 kilogramme of rice instead of 36 yen. Their coal went from 400 yen a ton to 1,208 yen. But the black market raised its own prices accordingly and continues unshaken.

Observer, 28/12/47.

Anarchists Persecuted In Italy

Our comrade Camillo Porreca of Rome has been condemned to seven months' imprisonment for "repeated contempt of the religion of the State".

The trial took place on the 28th November. The crime of comrade Porreca consists in having published a new edition of John Most's *The Plague of God*, a pamphlet which has been circulating in most countries of the world for over half a century.

Comrades Romeo Ornago and Aurelio Fanti, accused of offences against the Army, have been sent for

trial in Milan and after a month in jail have been provisionally released while they await their trial.

Comrade Lamberto Piovani, aged 21, has been sent for trial to the Tribunal of Viterbo for having put up an anti-militarist poster. The charge against Cesare Bernucci for having participated in fixing the poster has been dropped, but he is charged, together with comrade Piovani, for belonging "to an anarchist organisation whose aim is the violent suppression of any political and judicial order of society."

In Spain

On the 13th November, at dawn, comrades José Rovvia and Miguel Parra were shot in the ditch of Santa Elena at Montjuich Castle.

Madrid the police have arrested a number of people engaged in underground work. They have discovered and confiscated a clandestine press which printed the Anarcho-syndicalist paper, "C.N.T."

Associated Press reported that in

L'Adunata (U.S.A.)

The Italian Anarchist Federation Opposes Claim to Colonies

THE claim of the Italian Government to the trusteeship of Italy's former African colonies has been recently presented to the special deputies of the Foreign Ministers in London. This claim to Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland is based on the argument that they had been acquired in pre-Fascist days and that Italy has bestowed upon them the "benefits of civilised organisation".

This is the kind of argument generally put forward by any government wanting to retain or acquire colonial

territories. What is slightly surprising, however, is that it should be put forward by those same Socialist and Communist politicians who, in Mussolini's day, were strong champions of the freedom of colonial people and fiercely denounced Italy's crimes in her colonial administration. These same people are now busy whitewashing the Italian record of colonial rule in the hope of receiving the trusteeship of these colonies.

Italian anarchists, however, have remained consistent in their anti-

imperialist attitude. They believe that if African people had a right to independence when Mussolini was in power, they have not lost it by the fact that he has been replaced by a "democratic" government.

A conference of the Italian Anarchist Federation held in Rome on the 30th and 1st of December, 1947, emphatically declared:

"We must oppose the disastrous colonialism which still dares to ask for the 'restitution of the colonies' to the Italian State, colonies over which we have no right other than that of prey and which, in any case, have always been a tremendous liability to us."

How Collaboration Ends

IN Berlin recently I had a long talk with Jacob Kaiser, chairman of the Christian Democrats in the Soviet Zone. The Russian demand for his dismissal fits only too well with their present policy of tightening Communist control throughout Eastern Europe. We are in one of those phases of Soviet policy when fears of Western encroachment or even of war leads them to abandon any pretence of collaboration with any who are independent. Kaiser is certainly an independent and a strong man. In many ways I thought him typically German; rather stiff and very much a nationalist as well as a Catholic. But he is also a real realist, believes that he ought to hold on, and, in spite of Soviet restrictions, maintains his party's position and independent

existence in the Soviet Zone. He wanted all the co-operation with the Russians that they would accept. The Social Democrats have been critical of his readiness to work with the Russians. Denied independent existence themselves in the Russian Zone, they held that the Christian Democrats were helping the Russians to maintain a democratic facade by continuing as a party, and fighting the elections in the limited number of seats permitted them. Well, Kaiser will not, I suppose, be much longer faced with any of these problems; the Socialist Unity Party, run by the Communists, will have everything its own way in the Russian Zone.

Critic in *The New Statesman*,

27/12/47.

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Portraits of Politicians—2

HENRY WALLACE

HENRY A. WALLACE, leading Stalinist fellow traveller in America, comes of a family of middle-west farmer politicians. His grandfather, Henry Wallace, was a typical American individualist of the nineteenth century, who combined an aggressive religionism with a genuine desire to protect the small farmers against the big trusts. He founded a paper, *Wallace's Farmer*, to further both these purposes, and this was carried on by his son, Henry Cantwell Wallace. The policy of *Wallace's Farmer* continued to be anti-trust and religionist, but the Wallaces up to this time had little use for really radical activity and remained opposed to any kind of rank-and-file movement among the poor farmers. They were prosperous farmers themselves, and wanted to keep the lead of any movement against the trusts. Henry Cantwell Wallace was a Republican by politics and served as Minister of Agriculture under Harding and Coolidge.

His son, the Henry A. Wallace of our own era, began as an experimenter in practical agriculture, and, if he had kept to this activity alone, might have done something of real benefit for humanity, since he showed a genuine aptitude for the work and made some important advances in corn breeding.

Instead, however, he decided suddenly to enter into politics and, adroitly changing his party label from Republican to Democrat, jumped on the Roosevelt bandwagon and in 1932 was immediately appointed Secretary for Agriculture. Here he reversed the useful activities of his farming days; and negated his own researches into increased productivity by carrying out the scandalous policy of cutting crops and destroying food in a starving world which was one of the major "feats" of the New Deal.

During his tenure as Secretary for Agriculture he played consistently into the hands of the big farmers of his own class and the food processing firms, giving little encouragement to farm workers or small tenant farmers. When the sharecroppers of the South tried to get him to do something about the terrible exploitation in the cotton growing industry, he shelved the matter, for fear of offending the rich Southern Democrats.

Outside his governmental activities, Wallace became a demagogue of the woolly and emotional kind which helps to disguise the true intentions of dictatorially inclined governments, and Roosevelt recognised his value in this direction by running him as vice-presidential candidate in 1940. Wallace applied the "radical" eyewash which served to lead many of the organised workers to support Roosevelt, and during the war he acted as the leading spokesman of the idea that the war was being fought for democratic ideals. He talked about "the century of the Common Man" and mixed half-baked "revolutionism" with equally shoddy pictism when he declared:

"The people's revolution is on the march, and the devil and all his angels cannot prevail against it. They cannot prevail, for on the side of the people is the Lord."

In spite of all this talk, Wallace faithfully supported Roosevelt in all his actions, and in 1942 was a member of a secret policy group which recommended the commencement of

the Manhattan Project for developing the atom bomb.

During the war Wallace began to draw close to the Stalinists, who picked on him as the most likely demagogue to use as a stalking horse for their own policy. The Stalinoid tendency in Wallace was further increased by a visit to Russia, where he found the atmosphere congenial and came back talking of "economic democracy", and by the rightward shift in the policy of the Democrats. Roosevelt, seeing that New Deal "radicalism" had served his purpose, quietly dropped his "Left-wing" stalking horse, and put Truman into his place. Wallace, feeling the loss of support from the Democrats, began to lean more heavily on the Stalinists and their fellow-travellers. This in turn gave the conservative elements their excuse and when he made his speech at Madison Square Garden in September, 1946, advocating a sharing-out of the world into spheres of influence between America and Russia, he was forced to resign from the government.

Wallace's Stalinism, of course, contained no revolutionary element. A typical demagogue, he was using the Stalinists just as they were using him. This has become evident in his latest move, when, on Dec. 29th, he announced his intention to stand as an independent candidate for the Presidency, in a desperate attempt to stage of come-back to American public life.

He plans to found a new party "with a positive youth programme of abundance and security, not scarcity and war", and his slogan, like that of every politician under the sun, it to be "Peace, progress and prosperity".

Wallace's nation-wide broadcast was full of the usual progressive platitudes, and its most notable feature was his self-righteous egoism as he compared himself with Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, and his Messiah complex which leads him to liken his "crusade" to Gideon's fight against the Midianites.

Wallace, having been supplanted by Truman in the vice-presidential nominations of 1944, but for which he would have been President to-day—has never forgiven his rival, and is now attempting to get his own back.

Eighteen months ago he declared himself against the idea of a third party and "splitting the Democratic vote", but, never remarkable for his consistency, the lure of power has determined him to fight the 1948 election without hope of success, so as to keep himself in the running for 1952, when he thinks that the threatened slump will have brought popular support in his favour.

"There is no real fight between a Truman and a Republican," says Wallace, "both stand for a policy which opens the door to war in our lifetime and makes war certain for our children."

Perfectly true, but will a vote cast for power-hungry, jealous and self-important Henry A. Wallace make it any less certain? Wallace has never been a radical in any real sense; throughout his career he has played into the hands of capitalist and reactionary interests, and his assumed "leftism" is wholly expedient and political.

(Note: the early part of this article is largely based on Dwight Macdonald's two articles on Wallace in *Politics* Nos. 1 and 2, 1947.)



MIDDLE EAST NEWS

● DIVIDE AND RULE

THE Iraq Petroleum Company has been boycotting Jewish workers for some years. After the big strike in 1935, the company fired practically all Jewish workers in stages, so that to-day out of a total of 1,500 workers only 35 Jews are employed.

The officers of the company have received a new order: to hire Moslem and Christian Arabs in a definite proportion. This decision represents a step in the direction of inflaming religious and communal divisions among the Arab workers themselves. However, the workers, who apparently understand the intent in this matter, have taken steps to prevent this divisive tactic. There has been unified and co-operative action in the plant among all the workers of the various communities who are employed at present.

● CO-OPERATION

IN one of the new settlements in the arid south, particularly good relations prevail between the Jewish collective and the teacher of the neighbouring Arab school. The Arab teacher instructs the members of the collective in Arabic, and a member of the collective is teaching Hebrew to the Arabic teacher and to two of his pupils. This teacher proposed that those members of the collective who are Lebanese Jews and know Arabic

fluently, should help him teach in his school.

★
RECENTLY a fire broke out in the Arab village close to the Jewish colony of Mizra. In spite of the curfew, colonists went to help their Arab neighbours fight the fire. This assistance was highly regarded by the Arabs. At present the colonists of Mizra are organizing a special course in fire-fighting for their Arab neighbours.

★
A LETTER received from a colonist at Dan Gur, one of the new settlements in the south, stated: "We meet the Bedouin and Arab peasants every day in connection with work, in the pasture, etc. Relations are very good. Our conversations are about politics, the drought, the British administration, the terror, and problems of daily life. Our neighbours have a primitive approach, but a readiness for co-operation. This is true especially of the Bedouin, who do not believe the propaganda of the market places. The Arab peasant notables are loyal to the Arab Higher Committee and the Moslem Council. They are very religious and conservative, but relations with them are polite."

Bulletin of the Council on Jewish-Arab Co-operation, New York.

The Lesson of 1848

(Continued from page 1)

Reasons for Failure

The reason why 1848, 1871, 1917, 1945, are dates of tragic failure in the history of the revolution lies in the fact that so far no revolution has been allowed to carry on to its logical end. Either one class has consolidated its gains, like the middle-class in 1848, and turns against those beneath it, or a new class of exploiters has arisen and subsequently betrayed the workers, as in Russia in 1917 and the following years. And the reason for such failures is that in almost all revolutions up to the present day the workers have not realised that they alone can gain and guard their freedom from the danger of betrayal. Instead, having overthrown one government, they have taken another and so found themselves in a very short time as badly off as before. The first maxim of every revolutionary movement should be Acton's phrase, that "Power corrupts", and the workers should see to it that nobody has the opportunity to become corrupt.

To-day, when there is no immediate revolutionary situation, it may seem pointless to talk of the lessons of 1848. But at any time the workers may be faced with the alternative of rebellion or of being submerged into insufferable misery, and if any such revolutionary movement is to stand the remotest chance of success it must bear the examples of the past in mind.

Dangers of Compromise

Meanwhile, the working-class movements to-day are suffering from the very faults that caused the great failures of the past. The fatal spirit of compromise afflicts almost every labour organisation in the world. Instead of standing for clear revolutionary aims, instead of refusing to be content with half-measures, the majority of the workers in all lands are still content to accept the lesser evils.

Many millions of people fought in the last war merely, as an English poet said, to "Defend the bad against the worse". The world of crisis and threatening war they live in to-day is the result. In the same way, many people to-day are preparing to join in the conflict between Russia and American imperialism, not because they agree with either side, but because they consider one or the other a "lesser evil".

But a world where men accept the bad as inevitable, where they are content to choose between various shades of evil, will not lead humanity to a better life. It merely carries on the old rake's progress from one war to the next, from one tyranny to another.

The Real Revolution

As Proudhon pointed out to the men of 1848, it is useless to hope for revolutionary achievements by means of compromise. The lesser evil never really brings good, and often it turns out to be the greater evil after all. We can only break from this imprisoning cycle of continued social frustration and failure by realising a clear objective, maintaining a consistent standpoint, and by refusing to be deflected from our way by the temptation to take the line of least resistance. The social revolution means the end of all the institutions that preserve reaction and privilege; it means the end of the State, property, money, armies, etc. Choosing between the relative merits of different States, governments or armies has nothing to do with social revolution; it is merely an extension of the old political game. To fight for freedom does not mean waiting for some hypothetical future when a revolutionary situation may or may not work out as we hope. It means stating our position clearly, here and now, and refusing to make the compromises that can only serve to strengthen the evils against which we fight, and delay perpetually the revolutionary changes in society which we seek to attain.

Further Instalment of American Heresy Hunt

THE great hunt for Communists and radicals in America spread to an even wider circle when it was announced last week that the Federal Bureau of Investigation were to sift the associations of all Government employees in order to discover their Communist affiliations, and that all cases where government workers are suspected of such affiliations will be brought before the Loyalty Review Board.

He will not be told the names of accusers who have denounced him to the F.B.I.

Here the process of investigation makes a completely open break with all the established conceptions of democratic justice, for, according to the chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, the procedure will be as follows:

If he demands it he will be permitted to appear before a private meeting of the Loyalty Board. He may take his own witnesses and a lawyer and obtain a transcript of proceedings.

An employee charged with disloyalty will receive a letter setting out the 'facts' on which the charges are based.

But he will not be allowed to cross-examine the G-man who produces 'facts' against him.

OUR COMRADES STILL STARVE!

Fortunately for the people of Germany, the winter has not yet been severe. But there are still the bad months of January, February and March to go through, and, in a country where fuel is scarce, they need as much food and clothing as possible to get over this difficult period.

He will be unable to cross-examine any witnesses against him because their identities will be kept secret, and he will not be allowed to demand their appearance before the Board.

We are doing everything we can to send help to our comrades in Germany who have suffered from Nazi persecution and are now suffering from Allied starvation. But so far the help we have received from our comrades in England does not allow us to send more than an occasional parcel to a few of our comrades. Since the last announcement we have received £2 14s. 0d., together with a little food and a fair quantity of clothes. Thus in a fortnight we have been able to send eight clothing parcels, and three food parcels are about to go out. This is very little for such a period, and the cash we have received does not even cover the cost of postages.

If the Board considers he has been proved disloyal he may appeal to the head of the Board. If the sentence is confirmed he may appeal to a panel of the Board. If the sentence is re-confirmed he may ask for a review by the whole Board.

This is a particularly urgent time. Please send all you can, food, clothes, cash to help us with the expensive postages, so that we can still give some really substantial help before the winter is over.

If he is still condemned he has no further right of appeal and will lose his job, branded as an enemy of America.

The facts are so blatant as to need no further comment. They demonstrate what we have always contended, that the "freedom" of a capitalist democracy and its concern for the "rights of man" exist only in so far as they are compatible with the interests of the State, and, as soon as those interests are threatened, they disappear automatically.

"Historically, the conception of a fatherland has always been evil and baneful. It has always been the domination, claimed as an exclusive possession, either by an absolute master or by a band of overlords, organized into a hierarchy, or, as is the case to-day, by a union of privileged or governing classes."

ELISEE RECLUS.

Friends Distressed

Henry Wallace's decision to form a Third Party in order to fight the Marshall Plan will distress his friends here no less than in America. As his Sunday postscript over the B.B.C. last spring made clear, he is the only American politician with a national standing who possesses something of the Roosevelt touch. During his English tour, which he made under the auspices of this paper, he sketched out a policy of aid to Europe with which many of us wholeheartedly agreed, and laid particular emphasis on the role of Britain and Western Europe in creating a middle way. But then his central idea was taken over by Mr. Marshall in the Harvard speech. There is nothing more embarrassing in politics than having your clothes stolen while you are bathing. But when it happens, it is a mistake to protest that they were shoddy. —*The New Statesman and Nation*, 3/1/48.

NATIONALISM & CULTURE

NATIONALISM & CULTURE
by Rudolph Rocker (Freedom Press, 21s.).

TO give anything approaching an adequate critical survey of this undoubtedly important book, to do anything like justice to it, within the space of a relatively short review, is a task to which this writer, frankly, hardly feels equal.

So much ground is covered in its 550-odd pages that the job of selection is made extremely difficult. Moreover, Rocker's vast erudition itself sometimes becomes something of a disadvantage for, in substantiation of his analysis, he brings forth so many facts, and touches on so many aspects of his subject, that often the original matter under discussion becomes somewhat obscured by the wealth of detail and by the numerous digressions into which these lead him, often illuminating and always interesting though these digressions are. He also has a slight tendency towards over-elaboration and repetition, so that one feels that this book could be shortened quite considerably without losing much, if any, of its value. Indeed, its value might thereby be enhanced since very likely many a potential reader may be put off beginning a book of this size. If this should happen it will be a great pity, for probably *Nationalism and Culture* is destined to become the classic study of history from an anarchist viewpoint.

One thing at least is pretty certain,

and that is that this book will arouse, as indeed it did arouse in America, both great praise and acute hostility since it is impossible to dismiss it lightly and to those who, for one reason or another, do not wish to be convinced by this devastating criticism of the rôle of the State in human history, it will be bound to provoke antagonism.

The Doctrine of Original Sin

Between all advocates of government of whatever variety, from outright despots to socialists, and those who oppose government, between authoritarians and libertarians, there is at the outset a fundamental and irreconcilable cleavage. In contra-distinction to libertarians, who have always asserted the inherent sociability of natural man, authoritarians, from Plato onwards, have always proceeded on the initial assumption of the essentially anti-social character of man. Once that assumption is granted, the theory of government, in all its numerous though similar manifestations, proceeds on its logical way.

"The doctrine of original sin," says Rocker, "is fundamental not only in all the great religious systems, but in every theory of the State. The complete degradation of man, the fateful belief in the worthlessness and sinfulness of his own nature, has ever been the firmest foundation of all spiritual and temporal authority. The divine 'Thou Shalt' and the governmental 'Thou Must' complement each other perfectly: commandment and law are merely different expressions of the same idea."

Hence, the constant inter-relation between politics and religion in the subjugation of men. "Religion," as Blake said, "is politics," not though because politics is "brotherhood", which unfortunately it isn't, but because both are synonymous with power.

It is important to emphasize that political thinkers as superficially different as, say, Machiavelli and Rousseau, all base their theories on the supposed inherent evil of humanity. That the name of Rousseau, incidentally, should be associated in most minds with liberty is one of the minor ironies of modern history, for the ideas expressed by him

FILM REVIEW

IT ALWAYS RAINS ON SUNDAY

TOMMY Swan's got 'is skates on!' and across country from grim Dartmoor comes the fugitive who is to bring drama and near-tragedy into Sunday in Bethnal Green.

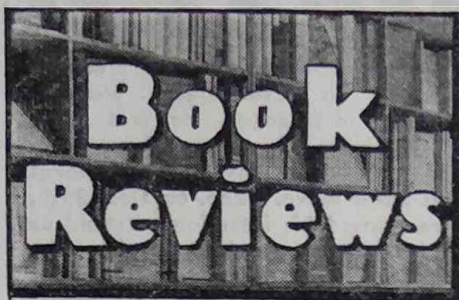
Here is a film which is remarkable only in that it is about ordinary people doing ordinary things on an East End Sunday which is ordinary for all but two of the characters—the escaped convict and the ex-girl friend (now married) who shelters him. In Petticoat Lane the salesmen shout their wares; in the pin table saloons the coins clink; in the pubs darts are thrown; in the parlour father has his after-dinner nap and in the bedroom, unshaven and dirty, sleeps a hunted man.

But the dramatic is not allowed to push the mundane out of existence. It is in the world of sensational journalism that there seems to be nothing behind the glare of the limelight. In reality life goes on, humdrum and dull and regular, and the sensational plays only a small part in the lives of ordinary people. So it is in this film, although the ordinary is made interesting by contrast with the dramatic and by very good characterisation. Three petty thieves do a routine sort of "bust", and the sordid and small-time character of the usual spiv is shown in their dealings with a receiver. The police work, as usual, on information received, and it is in the final sequence of the chase after the escaped convict through grimy streets and a railway goods yard that one feels all the horror of a man-hunt. Years of prison diet tell, and the well-fed policemen gain on the exhausted fugitive until in desperation he attempts self-destruction—only to be seized by the police to be dragged back to the living hell of Dartmoor.

One can feel, in the relentless attack of the slum upon its human denizens, the inevitability of crime. The struggle of the adolescent against the ugliness of the environment (the "glamour", from a distance, of the West End), the obvious development from "spivving" to criminality, and the smugness and certainty of "the law", add up only to inequality and injustice.

Not a great film, perhaps, but one that strikes home with characterisation, dialogue (they really swear!) and a setting all too familiar.

P.S.



in his *Social Contract* are nothing if not thoroughly authoritarian and it is significant that, to quote Rocker again, modern "Democracy with its State-affirming principles and its efforts to subject the individual to the demands of an imaginary 'common will'" should be founded largely on the teachings of Rousseau.

Culture and the State

The avowed intention of Rocker's survey of history is to expose the fallacy of the oft-repeated assertion that the progress of humanity, insofar as it can be said to have progressed, has been due to the restraining influence of the State, that without organized government man could have made no cultural advance. History, Rocker maintains with a wealth of convincing evidence, shows that this has not been so.

"The belief in the alleged creative capacity of power rests on a cruel self-deception. Power, as such, is wholly incapable of creating anything, being totally

dependent on the creative activity of its subjects, if it is to exist at all. Nothing is more erroneous than the customary view of the State as the real creator of cultural progress. The opposite is true. The State was from the very beginning the hindering force that opposed the development of every higher cultural form with outspoken misgiving. States create no culture; indeed they are often destroyed by higher forms of culture. Power and culture are, in the deepest sense, irreconcilable opposites, the strength of the one always going hand in hand with the weakness of the other. A powerful State machine is the great obstacle to every cultural development. Where States are dying or where their power is still limited to a minimum, there culture flourishes best . . .

"Neither in Egypt nor in Babylon, nor in any other land was culture created by the heads of systems of political power. They merely appropriated an already existing and developed culture and made it subservient to their special political purposes."

Power and culture are mutually exclusive because "Political power always strives for uniformity. In its stupid desire to order and control all social events according to a definite principle, it is eager to reduce all human activity to a single pattern. Thereby it comes into irreconcilable opposition with the creative forces of all higher culture, which is ever on the look-out for new forms and new organizations and consequently as definitely dependent on variety and universality in human undertakings as is

political power on fixed forms and patterns."

And Rocker quotes *Lao-tse*, "Experience teaches that none can guide the community. To order it is to set it in disorder. To fix it is to unsettle it."

The Nation and the State

I have quoted these statements of Rocker at some length because the greater part of *Nationalism and Culture* is devoted to collecting historical evidence in support of them.

Another point which is of some importance just now, and which Rocker illustrates in his own words, that "the nation is not the cause, but the result, of the State. It is the State which creates the nation, not the nation the State," and that a genuine patriotism, in its original sense of love of one's own community and its environment, has nothing whatever to do with nationalism which is simply an aggressive and substitute emotion artificially created by the State for its own purposes.

Such then is a brief and inevitably inadequate, outline of this book which, it is to be hoped, will be widely read, for it is a profound and enlightening study of a supremely important aspect of history and one which, for reasons that will soon become obvious to the reader, has been either tacitly ignored or deliberately misrepresented.

GERALD VAUGHAN.

EDUCATION FOR SERVITUDE

SCIENTIST IN RUSSIA by Eric Ashby (Pelican Books, 1/-).

IN historical perspective dictatorships are unstable. But they are sufficiently long-lasting to cover a generation. For anti-Nazis the Hitler regime was an appalling drawn-out horror, and the 22 years of Mussolini were almost a lifetime of exile for many. Totalitarianism may be ultimately unsteady; but anarchists are inevitably concerned to study the means whereby it prolongs its existence from year to year.

Of the older totalitarian regimes only one has survived the war; but that one is the oldest—Russia. Professor Ashby's little book sets out to describe the scientific scene in the Soviet Union, but its interest lies mainly in the light it sheds on the methods of education and their effect in stabilizing the Bolshevik dictatorship, and this is the aspect with which the present review is concerned.

The State encourages scientific work in Russia and immense plans are drawn up for many thousands of scientific stations of various kinds. Education is partly organized to meet the demand for trained scientists, but incidentally it tackles the problem of producing docile citizens who tolerate the impositions of the most closely organized State in history.

The revolutionary conceptions of 1917 have been completely edged out. "In 1931 Bubnov succeeded Lunacharsky as People's Commissar for Education and there began a vigorous retreat to conventional schooling. Knowledge was taught as separate subjects with rigid prescribed curricula. Discipline was restored. Fees were introduced for the eighth, ninth and tenth classes. And, most recently, co-education was abandoned" (pp. 43, 44). The rigidity of this discipline can be seen from the pronouncement of A. Orlov, the head of the Moscow city education department in 1944: "The Soviet school must be distinguished from any other school primarily by its strict discipline, because the higher the human society for which the school is preparing young people, the firmer the discipline must be. The regulations in the Suvorov schools, where punishment goes as far as the detention cell, have been accepted by teachers" (p. 45).

Scientific Institutions, like every other branch of Soviet life, are watched by the secret police: "Only a minority of the workers in an institute are party members, but all workers are under the observation of the party and (through an agent who is probably attached to the N.K.V.D.) are liable to be arraigned for any persistent political unreliability. No worker knows who the N.K.V.D. agent may be, but, if the conversation turns to political or social affairs, every worker assumes the agent is in the room." The same kind of discipline is maintained in schools by the Communist Youth organizations, the Komsomols—"Watch you every action" says *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (17/6/44), "and do not be indulgent either towards your own weaknesses or towards those of your comrades" (p. 77). The Komsomols are "urged to . . . carry on work with children in homes, in dormitories, and on the streets" (p. 61).

In addition to this continuous political supervision, the student's schedule of work is tremendous and "does not leave him much time for extra-curricular activities" (p. 82). "Political discussion is completely forbidden, and anything corresponding to the ubiquitous Labour Club or Free-thought Society of a British University would have to be conducted in secret, with transportation and imprisonment of the ringleaders as the penalty for its discovery" (p. 83).

Nationalism of the most flagrant kind is officially inculcated. Thus Russia saved Europe from the Mongols, from Napoleon and the French, and from Hitler. Professor Ashby says that despite all this there is "no silly nationalism among Soviet scientists" (p. 83), but he is disregarding the genetics controversy (which he describes elsewhere in his book) and the ludicrous claims of "Soviet Penicillin" which are purely nationalist and absurd.

Thus the aim of Russian education is the stability of the Communist regime,

A PORTRAIT OF KROPOTKIN

Among the Russian exiles in London I had several friends, and I was an active member of a little group called the Friends of Russian Freedom, to which C. P. Scott also belonged. Among these friends I recall first of all Felix Volkovskiy, a charming and gentle old man, who spent his leisure, when he was not actively conspiring, in writing fairy tales for children! Volkovskiy had a life of danger and adventure behind him. He had escaped from Siberia disguised as a Russian general, and rode on horseback, taking the salute due to his imaginary rank, all the way from Tomsk to Vladivostok. He was an S.R.—a revolutionary socialist.

Another of my friends was Peter Kropotkin, the anarchist, whom everyone—even "The Times"—respected as the scientist who wrote "Mutual Aid". He came of a princely family and had served as a cadet in the Guards before he turned to biology and made the journeys of exploration in Siberia that first brought him fame. I recall him as an elderly man, rather short, squarely built, with a long reddish beard, who dressed correctly in a frock coat. He lived very simply among untidy heaps of books in a little house in Highgate. Was there, I wonder, in all London a kindlier old man? He radiated goodness. In his own person he incarnated the idea of co-operation, which he used to preach against the Darwinian theorists of the struggle for existence. I saw him once surrounded by a group of young Russian Marxists who were questioning him. They differed hotly from some of his fundamental opinions, but instinctively they loved him, and they showed it. I saw a good deal of him at this time, because I was helping him to write a big pamphlet exposing the savage repression under Stolypin that followed the dissolution of the first Duma.

—H. N. Brailsford; talk in the Third Programme, quoted in "The Listener", 1/1/48.

and Ashby's book gives much food for thought on this deadly theme. During the war many American soldiers who had been through the State education mill were found to be illiterate. "In 1945 the press complained that in a village near Odessa brigades or collective farms, containing persons with secondary education, send for the teacher to read the newspapers to them instead of doing it themselves" (p. 65).

The author seems sympathetic to the Russian scene, and writes a description rather than a judgment. Where his own attitude does show through it is usually humane and genial.

J.H.

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In history the so-called great men are tickets giving names to events, and like tickets they have but the smallest connection with the event itself.

TOLSTOY.

THE "great man" myth has not lost its force with the passing of time, and even in the "enlightened" twentieth century people still talk in terms of "great men" just as they did a hundred or a thousand years ago. In wartime, especially, we are regaled with a number of such legends—the newspaper legend, for instance, that one old, unarmed, defenceless old man saved England in its darkest hour. Or that "one man and one man only" was responsible for the war, as stated by Chamberlain, who did not go on to make the logical deduction—that his own personal cowardice in meeting that "one man" and not doing anything about finishing him off himself, must have resulted in the destruction of millions in the war.

That If . . .

However, it cannot be said that wars spring only out of odd instances—that the War would have been avoided if Poland had not been invaded, or if Hitler and Chamberlain and Stalin had had a successful cocktail party. It cannot be said that if the Nazi regime had not been established there would have been no war; for the Nazi regime was established as a definite plan in the preparations for war. It seems to the politicians of our day—puffed up with their own importance—that if they were able to do this—if they had not omitted to do that—the whole of history might be altered. They tend to overlook that they are themselves only a minor tool in the major plan. No doubt many Conservative Ministers feel quite sincerely that if they were in office there would be no crisis; but looking at matters from a detached standpoint it is quite simple to see that all the plans made by the Government are precisely the same as would be made by any other capitalist Government in office at the present time.

On reading the spate of war books of reminiscence, one cannot help finding that all the Ministers and Generals feel that by this or that minor incident everything might have been quite different—one is almost tempted to believe the war was entirely a series of coincidences (if Hitler had not invaded Russia; if Singapore had not fallen; if it had not been for the Battle of Britain, etc.). In the same way we hear about the inquest of the causes of war: if the Versailles Treaty had been "just"; if the German liberals had received encouragement, etc., which all avoid the

THE "GREAT MAN" MYTH

basic question that capitalism means war and the political issues are only reflexes of that basic fact.

Causes Of War

Tolstoy, in *War and Peace*, makes some very typical remarks on the Napoleonic wars—namely, that the historians, who tell us that the war was caused by this or that cause—the wrongs inflicted on the Duke of Oldenburg, the ambition of Napoleon, the firmness of Alexander, the non-observance of the Continental system, etc.—do not go on to explain "what connexion such circumstances have with the actual fact of slaughter and violence, why because the Duke was wronged, thousands of men from the other side of Europe killed and ruined the people of Smolensk and Moscow and were killed by them . . . To us the wish or objection of this or that French corporal to serve a second term appears as much a cause as Napoleon's refusal to withdraw his troops beyond the Vistula and to restore the Duchy of Oldenburg; for had he not wished to serve, and had a second, a third, and a thousandth corporal and private, also refused, there would have been so many less men in Napoleon's army and the war could not have occurred . . . In order that the will of Napoleon or Alexander (on whom the event seemed to depend) should be carried out, the concurrence of innumerable circumstances was needed without any one of which the event would not have taken place . . . Equally right or wrong is he who says that Napoleon went to Moscow because he wanted to, and perished because Alexander desired his destruction, and he who says that an undermined hill weighing a million tons fell because the last navy struck it for the last time with a maddock." (It is noteworthy, incidentally, that Tolstoy, brought up in Russia, looked on Moscow as the "last blow with the maddock" whereas anyone brought up in the influence of the English history books would of course have associated this with Waterloo.)

Politicians' Fate

The truth is that politicians in power are forced to act according to history—that is to say, according to the economic pressure brought to bear on them by the society in which they are living. This is one of the reasons why we see such a striking disparity between promise and performance when any party pledges itself to sweeping changes and is called upon to fulfil its pledges. It has then the altern-

ative of self-destruction or fitting itself in with the capitalist society around it, and men being what they are, and liable to corruption, they usually prefer the latter course.

We see a similar process when a person held up for public admiration, and even worship, later goes under in the changing course of events—how the "hero of Verdun" (Petain) of one war becomes the "Quisling" of the next, how the apostles of revolution of one generation become the agents of imperialism in the next.

By labelling "great men" as "tools of history" we are not however accepting the Marxist dogma that individuals cannot change history, and that everything is determined by material circumstances. Anarchists on the contrary believe that individuals can change history; and that while economic pressure determines historical events, the pressure of the individual can change economics. There is no basic historical reason why we must live in a capitalist or a State-dominated society, and the individual can play his part in the making of a free society. Anarchists believe that it is the individual who can determine history, but not the "great man" at the top, who is merely the tool of

history. We see the causes of war in the man who signs on in the Army, and the next man, and the next, rather than in the rantings and backchat of Molotov, Byrnes and Bevin. For the simple reason that if these men did not sign on or allow themselves to be conscripted, the politicians at the top would have to sing a smaller tune, just as the representatives of lesser States have to.

Scientists' Limitations

It may be remarked in conclusion, that Anarchists are sceptical of the "great man" myth as extended to science and literature no less than in politics. Nobody can deny the brilliance of certain men in certain spheres of thought; but to recognise the genius of Professor Einstein, for instance, is not to automatically transform him into a public oracle as is done by the Press and in this particular case we can see that his entire intervention in world affairs has been persistently naive and ultimately self-contradictory. Some readers may remember his famous exchange of letters with Freud on the question of militarism (when Einstein was still a pacifist) when the two most brilliant scientists in the world demonstrated

noticeably that neither of them had the faintest idea of the causes of war.

One might quote many other instances of men of science or letters, who had undoubtedly great qualifications in their own sphere, who were transformed by Press publicity into "great men" and made a very poor showing off their home ground, Sir Oliver Lodge, Bernard Shaw, and many others.

But we cannot deny his achievement in his own field? Certainly not, but we can and do deny him the full credit of his learning. It cannot be said that Bacon was an inferior scientist to Edison and it obvious that Bacon's inventions are less advanced than Edison's only because of the fact that he lived a few hundred years before. Every scientist is an advance on his predecessors because he "stands on their shoulders"; every advance in social progress depends on a hundred factors, and no one man can claim the glory for his advance, for his contribution, as if it were detached from the past and had no connexion with the patient toil and struggle of generations. Kropotkin writes of this in *Fields, Factories and Workshops*—

"Each discovery, each increase in the sum of human riches, owes its being to the physical and mental travail of the past and the present. By what right, then, can anyone appropriate the least morsel of this immense whole and say—'This is mine, not yours?'"

And if no one man can claim the glory of his own small contribution to progress, made on the work of his predecessors, how can the nation to which he happens to belong only by chance, claim the credit? What sense is there in these disputes as to whether an Englishman or an American invented talking pictures, whether a Russian or a German pioneered a particular philosophy, whether Columbus was Italian or Spanish or Jewish or whether Shakespeare was an English or a German in disguise.

Anarchists accept the view that the individual shapes history according to the efforts he makes. This inevitably presupposes that the "great men" are the tools of history and not its creators—that is to say, the animators of the rest of mankind who act as puppets.

Men are not performing dolls and if they slavishly obey and blindly follow, they are leaving the way open for a king or a politician or a prophet to give the commands. The moment that they cease to obey or follow, the clearest of orders and wisest of prophecies are completely valueless.

A.M.

THE PURSUIT OF DESTRUCTION

AT its first meeting since the war ended, the British Association (a scientific organisation) took as its slogan "Swords into Ploughshares". How far this is going to be the Government's policy can be judged from the following analysis of estimated expenditure on research for 1947-48.

A grand total of £69 millions is estimated for the coming year, and it will be distributed as follows:—

	Percentage of total
Admiralty and Ministry of Supply	60,351,000 87%
Dept. of Scientific Industrial Research	3,118,289 4%
Other Research Depts.	1,501,500 2%
G.P.O. Research	750,000 1%
Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries	2,150,900 3%
Medical Research	710,850 1%
Research in Dominions and Colonies	538,825 0.7%
Grants to Royal Society and other bodies	70,560 0.1%

Most of the Admiralty and Ministry of Supply money will be devoted to research into weapons and methods of defence and taking into account the other departments, we have this picture:—£20 million for constructive efforts, £50 million for destructive! This is the grim reality behind all the talk of peace.

Agriculture is supposed to be important, since Britain must grow more food off her own land. Output is to be increased by £100 million per year by 1951-52—a 20% increase over the output for the year which is drawing to an end. Yet the amount devoted to research in that direction is just £2 million, a miserable 3% of the total. Medical research is still lower in its grant—a mere 1% of the total.

These are the cold facts of the position, as opposed to the fiction that is propagated in rosy terms by the minister concerned.

RUSTICUS.

PERSONAL INFLATION

In Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University chemists announced that the value of the basic chemical elements in the human body, once estimated at 98c. has soared to \$31.04.

Time (U.S.A.), 29/12/47.

THOSE POOR RICH

Susie Kirk, 58-year-old soap heiress (Kirkman's Soap Flakes), faced the new year with at least one worry off her mind. A Chicago court saw her point when she pointed out that money isn't what it used to be and it costs more now to make ends meet. She thus won a boost in her annual trust allowance—from a grinding \$30,866 to a humane \$50,000.

Time, 29/12/47.

A £6,250 party for Lana Turner, with three bands flown from New York and a plane load of orchids from Honolulu, is being given here on January 9th, by Henry Topping, the millionaire, who has taken over the expensive "Mocambo" night club for the purpose.

News Chronicle, 1/1/48.

AMERICANS IN GERMAN BLACK MARKET

A high-ranking U.S. Army officer in Germany is to be questioned at an official U.S. inquiry about the contents of 166 crates he sent back as "household effects" to America.

The inquiry by Judge E. E. Reeves, will investigate reports linking marketing with widespread black marketing and smuggling. His former fiancée is charged with bringing excessive amounts of "household goods" into America.

The inquiry will also cover transactions by wives of U.S. officers.

They are said to have made big profits by having large quantities of goods sent to them from America ostensibly for their own use, and then selling them on the German black market.

Sunday Pictorial, 21/12/47.

CHRISTMAS IN BERLIN

German children do not hang up stockings on Christmas Eve—they usually hand lists to their parents some weeks ahead for transmission to Santa Claus.

Analysis of the wants expressed by several hundred Berlin 14-year-olds gives this result:

A pair of shoes: a pound of meat; a pound of chocolate—not one wish for toys or books.

One boy wished for shoes and a sheep. Daily Herald, 22/12/47.

Through the Press

BACK TO NATURE

(I)

Complaints that nudists were seen sawing timber while wearing nothing but boots were made at Basford (Notts) council meeting yesterday.

Mr. T. J. Turton said of the camp in Newstead Park: "They have moved from a place where they were fairly secluded to a place where anyone who walks in the district can see all that goes on."

Daily Express, 22/12/47.

(II)

A woman was stripped naked by a woman searcher of Ulster Customs, and left standing for ten minutes in a cold hut without a fire, and with no blinds drawn. No contraband was found.

This was stated in the Northern Ireland Parliament at Belfast to-night by Mr. Malachy Conlon, Nationalist M.P. for South Armagh.

He said: "This woman has been ill in bed because of this outrageous conduct."

"She is the wife of an Ulster professional man. After she had crossed the border from Eire she was taken into the Customs hut at Tullydonnel, South Armagh."

"For ten minutes she was left standing naked while being questioned. Not one iota of contraband was found on her."

Daily Express, 22/12/47.

FUEL FOLLY

I recently received from the corporation of this city an account saying I owe them 18s. because I have not used enough electricity.

Letter in Daily Herald, 29/12/47.

YOUTH AND THE LAW

For raiding a neighbour's chicken-house and stealing a pullet Leonard Alfred Carr and Kenneth Frederick Redhead, both aged 17, of Burnham, Bucks, were to-day sent to prison for three months by Burnham magistrates.

The pullet was found to be missing after its owner had locked up the chickens for the night, and was later found dead in Redhead's bag at his work. Both youths were said to have had previous convictions.

Evening Standard, 29/12/47.

TORTUOUS PATH

Our policy in 1948 will follow the same path to which we set our feet on the day of our birth, January, 1st 1930.

Daily Worker, 1/1/48.

EXILED KINGS

Apart from what Rumania is giving him, Michael's sole assets, I am told, are his Beechcraft airplane and his 8-cylinder American car (both in Lausanne) and a house in London, No. 26, Cadogan Sq.

This house (now the Rumanian Legation offices) was bought from the Cadogan Estate last year. The estate refused to lease it to the Rumanian Government and assigned it to Michael personally. It is worth about £10,000.

Carol is wealthy. When he abdicated in 1940 he took with him all his family assets—estimated at £5,000,000. He is the personal owner of No. 1, Belgrave Square, the Rumanian Embassy here: he holds it on a 999-year lease from the Duke of Westminster.

Evening Standard, 31/12/47.

WHY THIS SECRECY?

A legal battle is likely for the British securities and insurance policies of ex-King Victor of Italy. They are held here by the Custodian of Enemy Property; I understand both the Italian Government and the late Kings' family are laying claim to them.

What is the amount? The Custodian's department will not say. The House of Savoy was one of the richest royal families. When Mussolini's puppet government were planning to confiscate the royal property in November 1943, German sources estimated the royal family's fortune at £11,000,000.

King Victor lost heavily in the slump of 1930-32. Before that his London bank deposits were estimated at more than £1,000,000.

Evening Standard, 30/12/47.

HARD LUCK KIDS!

"It is not intended to abolish examinations; there will be something in place of the school certificate examination if that goes, I can assure you."—Mr. George Tomlinson, Minister of Education, yesterday.

Daily Express, 30/12/47.

SLAVE WORK

Dr. Kurt Schumacher, chairman of the German Social Democrat party, said in the "Socialdemokrat" here to-day that the Russian claim that only 890,000 prisoners of war were left in Russia meant that part of an immense number of people had perished, part had settled in Russia, and part had been used for military and political ends.

"We do not accept the official figures, from all the countries in the East," he said. Work by the prisoners was in many cases "slave work, but in any case humanly unjust." He called for the release of German prisoners in all countries.

Manchester Guardian, 31/12/47.

VACATIONS FOR PRISONERS

In Sweden, vacations for prisoners have been successfully tried. Prisoners whose conduct has been good are allowed three days out on parole. They may wear their civilian clothes and are given money for some of the work they have done. In the first half of 1947, "vacations" were granted to 827 prisoners and only 33 failed to report back on time. Most of them returned with a hangover, but no cases of crime were recorded. The prisoners are reported to have developed a code of honour in this experiment, hoping for its continuance.

Worldover Press, 12/12/47.

NO SMOKING IN THE NUDE

Public support for a request to Newport (Mon.) Corporation to withdraw from its art gallery a painting of a nude girl smoking a cigarette is being sought by local citizen Dorian Herbert.

The picture—painted by Sir Gerald Kelly, R.A., and bought by the Corporation for £250—has been exhibited at the Royal Academy.

Mr. Herbert said last night: "The subject matter is unwholesome, suggestive and offensive. It is an affront to the dignity of womanhood."

Daily Herald, 31/12/47.

SOMETHING TO SING ABOUT

Tories are challenging a Federal Government ruling that Servicemen who stand to attention and salute "God Save the King" must do the same for "O Canada".

Mr. T. L. Church, M.P., said to-day the rule is illegal and "shows a trend by the Liberals towards separatism and isolationism".

Other Tories call it "the back-door decree of some dictatorial jackass".

Daily Express, 29/12/47.

10,000 IN JAIL—NOT SENTENCED

Forty-seven thousand men and women were received into jails in 1945, says last night's report by the Prison Commissioners. But 10,000 were not convicted.

More than one in five of the men and one in four of the women were committed to prison on remand or for trial, and were not subsequently sentenced to imprisonment.

The total of 8,581 men in jail without being sentenced is more than a thousand up on the previous year's figure. The total of 2,118 women shows a decline of nearly 600.

Daily Express, 31/12/47.

NEVER SAW GRASS

A boy of ten never saw grass in his life until a year ago. When he saw a lawn for the first time he "gambolled over it like a lamb".

This was stated by Councillor J. Gaskell at yesterday's meeting of the Lancashire Public Assistance Committee. He complained that the boy, a mental defective, had been kept in a ward with female mental patients at the County Council's Jericho Institution at Bury since he was a baby. He was moved from the ward following a protest.

Daily Herald, 30/12/47.

NO WINE OR WOMEN

An Army Cadet Corps recruiting poster at Market Harborough, Leicestershire said: "Each year we spend a cheap week's holiday at camp which combines training with 'wine, women and song'."

Free Churchmen and a magistrate protested. So yesterday "wine, women and song" became "pleasure and sport".

Daily Express, 20/12/47.

Anarchist Commentary

BENEFITS OF NATIONALISATION

IT has just been announced that the railway shareholders are to be paid off with £1,000,000,000 of guaranteed government stock at 3%. In other words, they are to be insulated from any further fluctuations of the market, and, as we have prophesied, they are not dissatisfied with their bargain, in spite of the volume of protests beforehand, which must be regarded as preliminary skirmishing to get the best possible price.

Their attitude is shown in the following statement by the secretary of the British Railway Stockholders' Union:

"The terms are distinctly better than we anticipated when the Bill came out, and will mean the payment of almost £4,000,000 a year more to stockholders. The union would like to warn holders not to go selling at fantastically low prices. There is no need for anxiety. After all, this stock now has the British Government behind it."

In other words, as we have always contended, nationalisation, far from harming the capitalist classes, ensures their economic position and militates in their favour.

WHY KEEP THE P.O.W.'s

WHEN the members of the Government were defending the retention of prisoners of war in this country, it was on the ground that their labour would be useful in making up for the lack of manpower in England.

Now it appears that even this excuse is without any real justification, since many hundreds of the prisoners are actually being kept idle, wasting their time and not drawing even their miserable pay of 1½d. an hour. Significantly, while the War Office deny this fact, the Ministry of Labour admit it, and we have no doubt, from our own enquiries among prisoners, that there are very large numbers who are just kicking their heels in boredom, without the money to make their leisure pleasant.

We do not in any way contend that the prisoners should be put to slave labour for a miserable wage. What we do say is that the fact that so many of them are idle destroys even the specious case which the Government made for keeping them. These men should be set free, and given the alternative of going back to Germany or of staying here to work as free men under the same conditions as British workers. In the former case they would be returning to their own families and to a life which, bad as it may be, would not be as enslaved and frustrated as their present enforced idleness. In the latter case they could make some real contribution to increasing agricultural and industrial production in this country and would at least be on an equal footing with the other workers here.

M.I.5—A SURVIVING GESTAPO

IT was recently announced that four officers of M.I.5, the Army secret service, have been detained and are likely to be charged with ill-treatment of prisoners in the M.I.5 interrogation centre at Bad Nenndorf in the British zone. Doctors in a hospital at Hanover reported more than 20 cases of rough handling of prisoners sent to them, and one case of manslaughter is likely to be raised.

While the case is *sub judice* one cannot comment on these actual charges. But it is necessary once again to draw attention to the sinister nature of M.I.5, which is a secret police organisation on the true Gestapo model, proceeding according to its own rules, and never revealing the nature or reason for its activities. What goes on in its interrogation centres is rarely exposed, and in this case it seems to have been only the accident of a large number of similar cases having been sent to the same hospital that aroused suspicions of what was going on. Moreover, no public reports are ever made of the activities of M.I.5, and even Parliament is unaware of its constitution or the exact nature of its methods and hierarchical composition.

M.I.5 and the Special Branch of Scotland Yard represent fundamentally the same type of organisation as the Gestapo and the OGPU. They work by spying and informing, and if they do not generally add to these the brutality associated with their continental counterparts, it is merely because in this country the State is strong enough to rule with a kid glove. But they exist as nuclei of terrorist political police bodies, and show that any State, however democratic, has to rely in the last resort on the same methods as the dictatorships. Once a really revolutionary movement of any dimensions began to emerge among the people, these sinister groups would grow and begin to apply the classic methods of secret police in all lands and times.

It is foolish to imagine that in a society like our own there will ever be an end to such bodies. The State needs them, and they exist. They will only come to an end at the same time as the State itself. All we can do at the moment is to be on our guard continually against their activities.

MARRIAGE AND PROCREATION

THE recent ruling of the House of Lords that the procreation of children is not the sole end of marriage and that the union of two people is something which exists in its own rights, represents an interesting broadening of attitude on the part of the British legal system. It means a virtual abandonment of the old idea that sexual intercourse between human beings can be regarded and justified only as a precursor of child-bearing.

But, while within its context it represents a recognition of the right of married people to use contraceptives freely, it must be remembered that the character of the decision, while granting freedom in one respect, upholds the fundamental restriction implied in legal marriage, *i.e.*, it was a decision which prevented the dissolution of a marriage to which one of the partners evidently objected. While a woman should have the right to use contraceptives, a man who wants children should clearly have a right to leave a woman who does not wish to have them and to seek this particular satisfaction elsewhere. This case in fact illustrates how, under any legal system, our freedoms are so hedged in that, when one is gained, there always remain others which are violated.



THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD: "The policy of democratic socialism which the Labour Government is carrying out seeks to create conditions in which a good life will be attainable by every individual in the community, free from oppression whether by Governmental or by vested interests."—Clement Attlee (3/1/48).

SCOTTISH MOVEMENT AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

A SPONTANEOUS movement that augurs to be a powerful force against conscription has sprung in being in Glasgow.

Arising out of the natural concern of mothers, sisters, wives and sweethearts for their loved ones who have been conscripted and sent to Palestine, mostly youths of eighteen and nineteen, this concern is organising itself into the "Scottish Women's Palestine Protest Association". The idea was originated by Mrs. Carrie Whittaker, her sister Elizabeth and two friends, Mrs. Bruce and Miss Bridie Turnbull, all of whom have brothers or sons in Palestine. I would like to mention here that neither of them are public speakers or connected with any political party.

Three months ago the 2nd Batt. H.L.I. were being evacuated from Greece in two ships making for home, as the boys were led to believe. One ship was diverted instead to Palestine and the boys transferred to the 1st Batt. H.L.I. The above-mentioned young men were among them. What more natural than that the young

women should attempt to do something to get the lads home?

They did. They started an agitation on their own preparing a Petition to the Government calling for a withdrawal of our soldiers and conscripts from Palestine now . . . "Not six months ahead when many of our boys will have been killed." Petition stances were taken at street corners. Letters and reports given to "the Press". These activities culminated in a meeting attended by nearly four hundred men and women at the Central Hall on Sunday, December 8th.

At this meeting a committee was formed to broaden the agitation. Anyone wishing to help the S.W.P.P.A. should write to Mrs. Carrie Whittaker, 201, Thistle St., Glasgow, C.5.

Promises of support are arriving from all over the country and as far North as Aberdeen. Attlee, Bevan and Shinwell would do well to take heed of this warning before it grows into an avalanche, by withdrawing the troops from the Near East immediately.

FRANK LEECH.

1948 RESOLUTIONS

THE £350 aimed at in 1947 has been reached thanks mainly to a last minute "windfall" from comrades and groups in America.

We take this opportunity to thank all those comrades and friends who have contributed to the Press Fund during 1947. Our only regret is that the comrades who appreciate our material difficulties should be apparently so few in number, since 1948 will be an even more difficult year for the paper than was 1947. We start the year carrying over something like £500 in unpaid bills from 1947; and it has just been announced that the price of Newsprint is to be increased by £9 a ton, not to mention impending increases in printing costs. It looks a pretty hopeless situation, doesn't it? What it means in terms of hard cash is that we need to raise £1,000 for the Press Fund this year. We feel sure that the comrades who contributed in 1947 will not fail FREEDOM in 1948. We can ask some of them to do their best to increase their contributions this year. But we cannot expect these friends, who represent perhaps less than five per cent. of our readers to shoulder all the burdens. Are there none among the remaining 95 per cent. to share our concern that FREEDOM should carry on?

And 1948 must be a record year for new readers to FREEDOM and for promptness in renewing subscriptions when overdue—and there are still many readers who have not answered our renewal postcards which were sent out in November and December.

And one more 1948 "resolution". At the

end of 1947 there was about £300 still owing to us for literature and bundles of FREEDOM supplied to comrades and distributors. We are at present preparing Statements which will in due course be sent out. We ask comrades to settle these accounts promptly, and to do their best to settle accounts promptly in future.

And now to work!

Press Fund

17th—31st December, 1947.

Oxford: M.W. 2/6; York: H.A.A. 6/6; Thornton Heath: D.L. 6/6; Hounslow: B.W. 4/-; London: J.K. £1/0/0; Birmingham: D.G.D. 1/6; Glasgow: J.T. 6/6; London: S.B. 1/6; Bury St. Edmunds: W.F. 11/6; London: Anon 6d.; Leeds: G.L. 1/-; Stockport: R.F. 5/-; Ilford: S.E. 2/4; Luton: J.A.L. 4/2; Leeds: K.C. 2/6; London: T.G. 10/-; Whiteway: L.G.W. 5/-; Claygate: E.R. 2/3; London: G.G. 2/6; London: D.A.P. 1/6; Colwyn Bay: W.D.R. 4/-; Uxbridge: E.L. 1/6; Belfast: J.H.M. 1/6; Dunstable: L.O. 4/2; Anon 5/-; London: B.S. 3/6; Harrow: K.N. 5/-; Harrow: T.G.H. 1/6; London: D.C.M. 1/-; Los Angeles: per B.P. £3/15/0; San Francisco: Libertarian Group £10/0/0; Dalton Mass: B. d. M. 10/-; Allentown: W.S. 12/6; Pittston: P.B. £2/10/0.

£23 11 11
Previously acknowledged £327 12 6
1947 TOTAL £351 4 5

ANARCHISM
—Interpretations

THE method followed by the Anarchist thinker, it entirely differs from that followed by the Utopians. The Anarchist thinker does not resort to metaphysical conceptions (like "natural rights", the "duties of the State", and so on) to establish what are, in his opinion, the best conditions for realising the greatest happiness of humanity. He follows, on the contrary, the course traced by the modern philosophy of evolution—without entering, however, the slippery route of mere analogies so often resorted to by Herbert Spencer. He studies human society as it is now and was in the past; and, without endowing men altogether, or separate individuals, with superior qualities which they do not possess, he merely considers society as an aggregation of organisms trying to find out the best ways of combining the wants of the individual with those of co-operation for the welfare of the species. He studies society and tries to discover its tendencies, past and present, its growing needs, intellectual and economical, and in his ideal he merely points out in which direction evolution goes. He distinguishes between the real wants and tendencies of human aggregations and the accidents (want of knowledge, migrations, wars, conquests) which have prevented these tendencies from being satisfied, or temporarily paralysed them. And he concludes that the two most prominent, although often unconscious, tendencies throughout our history have been: a tendency towards integrating labour for the production of all riches in common, so as finally to render it impossible to discriminate the part of the common production due to the separate individual; and a tendency towards the fullest freedom of the individual in the prosecution of all aims, beneficial both for himself and for society at large. The ideal of the Anarchist is thus a mere summing-up of what he considers to be the next phase of evolution. It is no longer a matter of faith; it is a matter for scientific discussion.

PETER KROPOTKIN

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Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS:
CENTRAL LONDON

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.

JAN. 11th. John Turner
"The Work of PATRICK GEDDES"

JAN. 18th. Douglas Worthington
"Oom Jannie and his South Africa"

JAN. 25th. John Hewetson
The Paris Commune

NORTH EAST LONDON

JANUARY 13th, at 7.30 p.m.
EDGAR PRIDDY
"Superstition through the Ages."
At the usual address.

Comrades interested should ring
WAN 2396.

WEST LONDON

A DISCUSSION MEETING
will be held on
THURSDAY, JANUARY 22nd,
at 7.30 p.m.,
at 9, ROSSETTI GARDENS,
Flood Street, Chelsea, S.W.3.

Discussion led by Philip Sansom
on "What is Anarchism?"

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Public Meetings at
CENTRAL HALLS, BATH ST.
will be held every Sunday evening.

Speakers:
John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Eddie Shaw.
Doors open 6.30 p.m.