

In This Issue :
 1848 in Ireland - - p. 2
 Waleswood Miners
 Stay-Down Strike p. 3
 Anarcho-Syndicalism
 and Workers' Councils p. 3
 Are Anarchists
 Extremists? p. 8

Freedom

AN ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

"The art of arranging how men are to live is much more complex than massacring them."
 Georges CLEMENCEAU.

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Threepence

DRIFTING TOWARDS WAR

REVIEW OF CURRENT POLITICAL EVENTS

THE last few weeks have seen an intensification of the imminence of a new war, and this has been reflected in the guarded "optimism" of leading statesmen. But so far from allaying such fears, their remarks serve only to intensify anxiety, if only because of the fact they all say the same thing in the same terms. Thus the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Marshall, declared in a speech on the future of the United Nations' Organization: "I am not completely discouraged about reaching agreement." Mr. Eden, on behalf of the Tories: "I do regard the present international situation as very dangerous but I do not regard it as desperate." Mr. Attlee, for the Government: "I say emphatically it is utterly wrong and dangerous to speak of war as inevitable. I do not believe it. I do not believe that there are any people in the world who want war. Maybe if it did arise . . ." All of these statements—and they have been repeated with minor variations by dozens of lesser public figures—betray a condition of mind which is more eloquently menacing of war than any direct war talk.

U.N.O. AND ATOMIC CONTROL

The same fears express themselves in all major political activity. During the United Nations discussions of the use and abuse of the veto, Mr. Marshall employs the same veiled negative method of introducing an unpalatable idea. He was flatly opposed, he said, to any scheme for amending the United Nations Charter or for excluding Russia from the United Nations. And in doing so, he makes it clear that the possibility of U.N.O. without Russia is being debated.

It is hardly necessary to point out that *Freedom* is not particularly concerned about the breakdown of such an organization as U.N.O. or any other forum for power politics. But it is a symptom which cannot be ignored when it begins to break up into obvious fragments associated with rival power blocs, in exactly the same manner as is the League of Nations. Under cover of such "deeply regretted" schisms, the ideological positions for the new conflict are adopted.

The same general lesson is inherent in the complete breakdown of the discussions on the control of Atomic Power. When such talks were initiated *Freedom* pointed out that they could not succeed, but it is not relevant to our present argument to stress the correctness of our analysis. The matter of present importance is that the breakdown is just one more sign of the

THE SAUCY ARETHUSA

"Incident now closed"—
 Admiral Tovey.
 AFTER announcing that the first officer in the training ship *Arethusa* had resigned, Admiral Lord Tovey, chairman of the Shaftesbury Homes Committee which runs the vessel, concluded by saying: "The *Arethusa* incident is now closed." In view of the considerable publicity given to the "walk out" demonstrations by the boys, and particularly in view of certain very serious allegations made about conditions on the *Arethusa* (*Freedom*, 1/5/48), the public should not be satisfied with the statement by Admiral Tovey that "we have finished our investigation . . . the incident is now closed."

What were the findings and was the investigation, in any case, carried out by an independent body?

Utopianism of expecting "nations" to "agree".

Meanwhile, the two years or so of fruitless discussion, of recriminations and counter-recriminations between Russia and America have served as a cover for the further development of government sponsored atomic research for war purposes by all the major powers, and, no doubt, for the accumulation of atomic bombs by the U.S.A.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE

The separation of the world into two power blocs led by the United States and Russia, meanwhile reflects itself also in such political activities as the Hague Congress. The ideological basis for this Congress is the preservation of the Western European way of life, but in effect this has meant a line-up of all countries in Europe who are hostile to the Soviet Union. No doubt it is this obvious fact, as much as the leadership of Mr. Churchill, that has made the Labour Government chary of supporting it officially, for they do not wish to be branded as "war-mongers", etc., nor as collaborators in Tory inspired schemes. This doesn't mean, however, that their policy is in any way distinguishable in its general lines from that of the Congress. The Economic and Social Report presented to this body closes with the following menacing words: "Without unity, they (the nations of Europe) will fall one by one a prey to the advance of a totalitarian imperialism which is directly opposed to their real desires."

It is not difficult to see who it is intended to guard against. But what is perhaps more significant is the implicit reliance on the old and threadbare call for "collective security" which was so signally ineffective in stopping the last world conflict.

THE BRUSSELS PACT AND THE DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY

As a practical translation of this impractical dream of preventing the new war by a show of force there has been the Brussels Pact whereby the nations of Western Europe have agreed to joint plans for defence in the event of attack. And inevitably practical steps modify theoretical conceptions. Thus, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, supporting military conscription at the Liberal Assembly, declared: "What about our partners with whom we signed that treaty? They all have conscript armies. Are we going to sit back and enjoy human rights while they shoulder our burdens and fight the battle for our lives and liberty? If we want peace, honour and freedom, we have got to pay the price for it." It is true that the liberal assembly expressed itself against military conscription, but only in a half-hearted way. Their lukewarm opposition, nor the general insignificance of the liberals, does not detract from the importance of the fact that such sentiments can be expressed (and, it must be admitted, with much more force and logic than the actual resolution itself) in an assembly of liberals.

In addition to the Brussels Pact it

THE GREEK MASSACRE

IT has been difficult during these past four years to obtain a true picture of what was happening in Greece. Whilst the monarchy was openly supported by the United States and Gt. Britain and the guerillas by Russia, the rank and file struggle could not therefore be simply explained as a struggle between the Right and the Left, and less still as a struggle between Fascists and Communists. Since Russia joined the allies, the Communists have been receiving free and often unearned publicity as the backbone of all resistance movements. They can thank Hitler and Franco for much of this publicity which consists of labelling all opposition to Nazism or Fascism as Communism, rather in the same way as the Communists have the habit of calling all anti-Com-

munists "Fascists". Now, since in Greece to-day the Right call all the guerillas by the term "Communist" and the Communists call their adversaries "Fascists" there is reason to believe that there are more forces at work in the struggle than the two named. And so far, we have read no report on the situation in Greece which was not tainted with political bias one way or the other.

But this inability to present a true picture of events in Greece does not prevent us from adding our voice to the growing volume of protest at the legalised massacre of hundreds of men and women at the orders of the Greek Government.

A correspondent of the *Observer* (9/5/48) lately special correspondent in Greece declares that "the recent executions of 200 Greeks condemned to death more than three years ago were no isolated incident. Parties of such men have been discreetly shot over a period of weeks. They have been slipped among those rebels who are being captured during current fighting, tried by military court and executed without delay."

Three weeks ago a list was issued, detailing by name and crime 127 Greeks who died in this rather furtive way. They had been condemned for the most part in early 1945 for acts committed as members of E.A.M. and Opla during the December fighting."

These shootings, then, were not government reprisals for the assassination of the Greek Minister for Justice. Indeed,

the contrary is the case. As the *Observer* correspondent pointed out in an earlier dispatch from Athens (2/5/48):

"Mr. Laddas was a likely target. He was responsible for the recent and belated execution of Communists condemned to death since 1944 and for the large number of executions that are being ordered by courts all over Greece. He was a member of the Liberal Party but was suspected of having strong sympathies with the Populists. He was foremost in advocating a ruthless policy with the rebels."

The acting Minister of Justice, Mr. Rendis has no qualms about the whole matter. He is quite satisfied that all those sentenced to death were found guilty by legal courts, and that they were able to appeal and petition. The whole massacre has been legalised, and Mr. Rendis has nothing to worry about except for his own skin.

It is estimated that another 800 are under sentence of death and unless there is active intervention by Gt. Britain and the United States the sentences will be carried out.

The Greek Government will pay little attention to protests from organisations and individuals. But Mr. Sophoulis will pay attention to his masters in London and Washington. For they have the money bags and the weapons, and what they say goes. And judging by the statement made by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs that "the wholesale executions in Greece will come as a grave shock to all decent opinion, and our Ambassador has been instructed to report this to the Greek Government in the strongest terms", it is unlikely that, for the time being at least, there will be further executions.

PRICE OF NATIONALISM IN PALESTINE

IN the House of Commons on May 5th, Mr. Rees-Williams (Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies) said that the number of British subjects killed between May 1st, 1947, and April 24th, 1948, was: Armed forces 137; police 53; civilians 11. As far as was known to the authorities, between October 1st, 1947, and April 24th, 1,300 Arabs had been killed and 2,500 wounded, and 1,000 Jews had been killed and 2,000 wounded.

Lessons of "Nenni Telegram"

THE issue of Communist infiltration into the Labour Party in this country has been obscured rather than otherwise by the incident of the telegram to Nenni, which was signed by some twenty-one Labour M.P.'s and to which the names of several others were attached without their consent.

The circumstances of this incident are briefly as follows. The official Socialist Party in Italy, under Nenni, decided some while ago to enter an electoral united front with the Communist Party; a splinter group, led by Saragat and supported by men like

Silone, refused to participate in this collaboration and has pursued a line roughly similar to that of the Labour Party in this country. Of the Nenni Socialists there is no doubt that the figure-heads are crypto-Communists, and willing tools of the Cominform, although it is probable that the rank-and file are honestly misguided into thinking that by supporting this spurious Left movement they are really furthering the interests of the workers and not the imperialist aims of Russia.

At the time of the election, a group of Labour M.P.'s signed the famous telegram. The actual organisers of the message, which pledged support to Nenni and his group in their collaboration with the Communists, were British Labour M.P.'s whose past record has left little doubt that they are "fellow travellers". By a typical Communist trick, some signatures were added without the consent of their owners, but the majority of the actual signatories seem to have been woolly-headed individuals who thought they were somehow helping the Italian workers against American imperialism.

The Labour Party machine got to work immediately Platts-Mills was expelled, the other 21 M.P.'s rapped over the knuckles. The Tories came in and tried to make it a general issue, by talk of breach of privilege. But as a whole the issue must be regarded as an internal one concerning the British Labour movement, and it is as such that it assumes significance from two quite distinct angles.

The first is that of the "disciplining" of the Labour M.P.'s, which shows once

again the fundamentally undemocratic and hierarchical structure of the Labour Party, and is only one further example of the way in which the Socialist movement, by failing to realise the way in which methods affect ideals, had allowed its respect for authority to lead it to that internal dictatorship which is mirrored externally in the totalitarian form of socialist state it seeks to erect in society.

Clearly, according to any logical criterion of freedom of expression, the Labour Party hierarchy had no right to interfere with the liberty of its members to send telegrams to whom they like. But this does not mean that we in any way approve of the actions of Platts-Mills and his associates or regard them as other than inimical to the interests of British and Italian workers alike.

For their action arose, deliberately in the case of some and half-consciously in the case of others, from a similar attitude to that implied in the actions of Morrison and his fellow party dictators. They too have been led away by the mirage that it is professions and not practice that counts, that the Left must be supported, no matter what form its activities may take.

For us, the issue is clear. The lives of the people are not improved by the best of theories, unless they are accompanied by a practice that is consistent with them. Parties which claim to speak for the liberty of the workers, and then go out to gain it by means of dictatorship and repression, are our enemies, whether they belong to the Left wing or the Right. And so, while we condemn the Labour Party for its refusal to grant liberty of action to its own members, we equally stand out against the knavery or folly of those who give their support to the cause of repression by trying to represent Communism as anything other than it is, a dictatorial movement whose record in Europe since the war has been one of sordid political intrigue and unprincipled repression which has militated consistently against the freedom and peace which are the only real interests of the workers in all lands.

EXALTATION OF AUTHORITY

We thus find ourselves led by men who recognize publicly the imminent danger of a new war, but who have nothing to offer but the old, old
 (Continued on page 8)

IRELAND IN 1848

THE Irish revolutionary movement of 1848 differed greatly from that in England, in that it was not only a struggle of the working-class against their economic and political masters, but also a nationalist struggle against alien rulers, not dissimilar in kind, though infinitely less intense in its activity, from the movement in Italy or Poland.

Ever since the days of Cromwell, the Irish peasantry had been struggling against a ruling class of foreign and often emigré landlords, who discriminated against them on religious grounds and refused to allow them to take any part in the administration of their affairs. Taxes and rents laid a heavy burden on the peasantry, and their condition was far worse than that of the yeomen farmers of England or even the Scottish crofters.

The French Revolution aroused the revolutionary spirit of the Irish peasants in a series of movements of revolt which have continued right down to the present century. Their discontent was increased and began to receive some middle-class adherents when, in 1801, the Irish parliament was abolished, and Ireland was governed from England, as a subject country.

In Ireland there was none of the reaction against revolutionary ideas which had taken place in England during the Napoleonic wars. Indeed, discontented Irishmen helped to fan the sparks of revolt in this country, and the active vanguard of the early unions, of the National Union of the Working Classes, and of the Chartists was stiffened by a large number of Irish militants, so that the repeal of the Act of Union was at this time a constant demand of radical movements in England.

THE PEASANT RISINGS

Within Ireland itself the first two decades of the nineteenth-century saw a great increase of spontaneous revolution among the Irish poor. Secret insurrectionary organisations like the Whiteboys and the Ribbon-

men were formed, and through them the peasants carried on an intensive guerrilla warfare against the British authorities. There were even pitched battles between these insurrectionaries and the soldiers, and the collection of rents and taxes became possible only when backed by superior forces.

This genuine movement of popular revolt was only destroyed when the people allowed themselves to be led away by politicians, and the glib-mouthed native Irish landowner, Daniel O'Connell, turned the revolt into a political movement, centralised it under upper-class leaders and brought in the priests to help him control the people. Aiming at gaining a share of power for the Catholic landowners, he canalised the popular discontent into an agitation for the right of Catholics to sit in the parliament at Westminster.

The Duke of Wellington and his Tory government were only too glad to solve their problems by granting his demands, and O'Connell then settled down to a very constitutional agitation for the repeal of the Union.

THE FRAUD OF "EMANCIPATION"

But the Irish lower classes found themselves defrauded, since the Emancipation law had also abolished the 40 shilling franchise, and reduced the number

of voters from 200,000 to 26,000, thus confirming the triumphant union of native and foreign upper classes in their exploitation of the Irish people. Nor did the Repeal Act of 1832 alter the situation at all radically, since in the rural districts there was only one voter to every 115 inhabitants, which meant that the landowners were still in complete control.

The peasants were quickly realising that constitutional and parliamentary means gained them nothing. Instead of improving, their conditions steadily grew worse. Rents and taxes increased, and at the same time the price of corn fell steadily. According to the Irish Poor Law Commission report of 1835, out of a total value of £36,000,000 of agricultural produce, only £6,000,000 reached the producers, the rest being spent in rents, taxes and profits to middlemen.

In order to meet the demands of landlords and tax-collectors, the peasants were forced to export their corn, and themselves lived almost entirely on potatoes. Even at this low level, they did not always manage to meet their obligations, and evictions were ruthlessly carried out.

THE POTATO FAMINE

Then, from 1845 to 1850 came the Great Potato Famine. Blight attacked the potatoes, and the people died literally in hundreds of thousands from hunger and typhus. Between the 1841 census and that of 1851 the population fell by 1,600,000, and, while many people emigrated, at least a million and a half died in the so-called famine. For, like so many famines in our own time, it was caused by the landlord system; in 1847, at the peak of the starvation period, food to the value of £17,000,000 was exported to England, so that the landlords could be assured of their profits. The Irish peasants in the 1840's died as the direct victims of the exactions of the landlords, the Church and the State. During the same period, as a result partly of evictions and partly of depopulation, nearly 300,000 houses became uninhabited.

A new wave of insurrectionary feeling arose, and found expression in the Young Ireland Movement. This was a mixture of reformists and revolutionaries, of militant peasants and benevolent landlords. With the February Revolution in Paris the Irish revolutionary movement gained new hope, and large numbers of Irish malcontents went to Paris, in the hope of obtaining aid from the French Republicans. But Lamartine, the head of the Provisional Government, made it clear to them that the internationalist phrases of the French Liberals were only for show and that they need expect no assistance. The Chartists, to whom they also turned, were themselves, as we have already seen, in too weak and equivocal position to help themselves, let alone others.

The Irish had to rely on themselves, and the real militants in the Young Ireland Movement demanded the forcible expropriation of the land and the refusal of all rents, taxes and tithes. But there were great dissensions in the movement, which was split between starving and desperate peasants and cautious middle class elements, and also, like the Chartists, between physical and moral force advocates. A meeting at Limerick broke up in fighting, the moral force men beating the physical force men in a very physical brawl.

There was also the difficulty of basing a revolution on a population thoroughly weakened and dispirited by complete starvation. But a rising was planned by the more militant group and might have been commenced if the British Government had not hurriedly passed coercive legislation, suspended Habeas Corpus, and arrested John Mitchel, Fintan Lalor and as many other militants as could be traced.

The movement now fell under the influence of Smith O'Brien, a liberal landlord who had no real sympathy with the policy of expropriation and refusal of rents. The action of the British had pushed him into the position where he could hardly avoid an insurrection, but he conducted it in such a way as to

make it impossible to succeed. He refused to take food or arms from the landlords, or to act in any way that might interfere with their interests; on the other hand, the starving peasants were unable to provide supplies to maintain his columns, and his supporters quickly fell away, so that the soldiers could pick them up in small groups or singly. Finally, with his remaining handful of men, he was defeated in a tiny battle with a few dozen policemen. The failure of the rebellion was followed by wholesale persecutions, transportations, imprisonments and evictions, and Ireland fell more heavily than ever under the hands of the landowners.

The history of the Irish movement of the nineteenth-century—and no less of our own time—is that of spontaneous impulses of militancy from the people themselves, expressed in guerrilla insurrections, and then diverted by politicians into channels where revolutionary objectives, like land expropriation, are forgotten and defeat becomes certain. No country provided more object lessons in the frustration by politicians of a genuine revolutionary urge.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

"Good people, affairs can only go well in England when there shall be neither serf nor nobles, and all shall be equal."

JOHN WYCLIF, 1400.

"Society and government are different in themselves, and have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our weakness and wickedness. Society is in every state a blessing; government even in its best state but a necessary evil."

TOM PAINE.

FLASHBACK-4

There is something cruel in the part which is assigned to the people in the present political system. Their advice is never asked on a purely and simply defined question. Even the few who are called upon to take part in an election are asked to choose a representative simply as an expression of sympathy and confidence, and if any question at all is put to them, it is so involved in personal and party wranglings that the intrinsic merit of it is quite lost sight of. The usual course, however, is simply to ignore them, and they are only called upon when the time comes for one party to deal an effective blow at another in order to turn it out of office. Then the whole machinery of party is put in motion, all energies are exerted, all resources exhausted, all strategies and devices adopted in order to bring about a great and imposing demonstration, in which the cause of the people may be exploited in the interests of a party. Handbills are distributed, renowned speakers engaged, class rivalries evoked, passions inflamed, hopes kindled, popular preferences courted. Every helping hand is welcomed, and then, but only then, every allowance is made for differences of opinion; the demonstrating politicians, and the demonstrative people, being for the time allies. At the same time due care is taken that the people, when they have served the purposes for which they were needed, should disperse and depart as quietly as they came, leaving the matter in the hands of the self-constituted political leaders who claim, in and out of Parliament, a right to speak and act for them. The joke is repeated until the point is carried, and the unemployed politicians, once safe in office, may utter the exulting exclamation of the dying Augustus: "Friends, the comedy has been successfully played!"

—"Freedom", May, 1887.

THE PURPOSE OF IMPRISONMENT

"Now I wish to say a word or two on the subject of hard labour and whipping. I have already said that I believe that some form of severe punishment ought to be instituted, that hard labour ought to be reintroduced, and that whipping and hard labour act as most severe deterrents. . . . They [the Prison Commissioners] do not see what he [the prisoner] has done; they see him only in a category of prisoners. They cannot in those circumstances make the punishment, as I think it should, fit the crime. I am not advocating any intolerable severity of punishment, but I submit to your Lordships . . . that there should be some distinction in the forms of imprisonment which can be imposed by the Judge who has to try the facts. . . . I oppose the abolition of the capital penalty and of other penalties to which I have referred . . . because they are fundamental punishments which the ordinary man can understand and for which he will never lose his dread."

Lord Oaksey (Mr. Justice Lawrence of Nuremberg fame) speaking in the House of Lords debate on the Criminal Justice Bill.

A 20-year-old man who, after violently assaulting a 15-year-old girl, walked into a police-station and stated that he had lost his memory, was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment . . .

The man, who was stated to have had treatment in a mental home, was told by Mr. Justice Hilbery to get out of his head "all this twaddle about psychoneurosis".

A man who had bigamously married three women since his legal marriage in 1941 was sentenced to five years' penal servitude at Birmingham Assizes when he pleaded guilty to the third offence.

[He had been sentenced to six months and three months imprisonment for the previous offences.—V.R.]

Mr. Justice Cassels said to him: "You don't seem to mind committing this offence. It is about time you were taught a lesson, which we trust you will understand. Bigamy, it must be realised, is a very serious offence—you don't seem to realise it yet but you will in a moment."

Grave concern was expressed by Mr. Justice Oliver at the Old Bailey regarding the case with which, he said, a man could become a scoutmaster although his record showed he was unfit to associate with children.

† This and all the press reports quoted below appeared in the "News of the World"; consequently, we have only indicated the dates of publication under each extract.

In the first article of this series ("Freedom", 17/4/48), we sought to show that prison reform is doomed to failure because the reformists refuse to face up to certain fundamental facts concerning the relation between the class society and crime.

In the present article, we discuss the purpose of prisons by quoting from and analysing the cases dealt with in the Criminal Courts. In the next issue, the moral and physical effects of imprisonment will be dealt with and the concluding article will attempt to answer the question "How would the criminal be dealt with in an Anarchist Society?"

He sentenced the man concerned, 46-year-old Walter Child, to 14 years' penal servitude for serious offences against four boys in his troop.

Child asked for two other cases of a similar nature to be taken into consideration.

Mr. E. H. Wrightson, prosecuting, said Child had jurisdiction over boys between the ages of nine and 14. Twice he had been sentenced to penal servitude for similar offences—to three years in 1922 and to six years in 1932 . . .

Passing sentence, the judge said: "This is one of the worst cases that has ever come before me, or I should think, before any judge. All I can do is to pass a sentence that will protect children for a long time from you."

Child collapsed on hearing the sentence and was assisted from the dock by warders.

2/1/46

By crawling on all-fours to a car in the New Forest police officers obtained evidence on which Leslie Ash, aged 35, a clerk in Holy Orders and curate at a Bournechurch church, and Lionel Gillard, a 62-year-old retired schoolmaster, were each sentenced to two years with hard labour. Both pleaded guilty to an attempted grave offence.

Mr. Justice Hilbery said that the two would receive appropriate treatment in prison.

The judge, Mr. Justice Oliver, passed sentence of 21 months' imprisonment on Leslie Ernest Taylor, aged 29, a shoe repairer, who pleaded guilty to improperly assaulting a 12-year-old girl.

It was stated that Taylor had been convicted twice previously for similar offences.

Dr. Wood, psychologist at Maida Vale Hospital for Nervous Diseases, said Taylor had complained at the hospital that he had an obsession for touching the legs of pretty girls.

The judge said to Taylor: "I am told you suffer from some sort of weakness which you cannot resist and which compels you to attack these little girls. It may be, some day, there will be an institution provided by the country to send people like you to. But at the present time there is no such institution, and my function is to try to protect children from this form of offence. The anomalous state of the law con-

cerning the different maximums of sentences that could be imposed for offences against girls and against males, the judge observed, checked the power of punishment that could be passed on Taylor.

He had to protect the children—even if some sort of philosophical injustice was done on the grounds that Taylor could not help doing what he had done.

20/1/46

When Mrs. Dorothy Ellen Walsford Lovell, aged 47, a widow living at a Clifton, Bristol, hotel failed to appear before Bristol magistrates to answer charges alleging embezzlement and fraud, police phoned the hotel.

Inquiries were made and Mrs. Lovell was found dead with her head in a pillow case near a gas tap. In her room was a note to the police.

At the inquest the jury returned a verdict of "Suicide while in a distressed condition of mind".

14/3/48

WHAT is the purpose of our prisons? One writer, whom we have already quoted summed it up in these words: "to incapacitate, separate, punish, deter and reform offenders",† and if one analyses the cases reported above one finds that this brief definition fills the bill admirably. As to whether prisons succeed in doing all these things is another matter. Certainly in the cases quoted prison has succeeded in incapacitating and separating the criminals so far as society is concerned, at least for the time being; in one case for a matter of 14 years. Has it acted as a deterrent, as the Nuremberg judge maintains? The scoutmaster had already tasted two spells in prison, the first for 3 years, the second for 6. The bigamist had been twice before in prison for the same offence, as had the shoe repairer. Only in one case the fear of prison or the stigma attached to this institution was so

strong that the potential victim committed suicide. And it should not be assumed that these are cases carefully selected to support our argument. In 1945, of the 19,231 convicted male prisoners guilty of indictable offences, no less than 8,836 (or 46% of the total) were known to have previous sentences of imprisonment or penal servitude; 1,262 had six to ten known previous sentences and 202 more than twenty.*

Punishment and/or Reform

In the cases considered, only in one did the judge state that prison would be reformative (the definition of reformation is given in a Prison Commissioners' Report as "the effort to restore a man to society as a better and wiser man and a good citizen") and it was applied to "criminals" who in most countries of the world would not have been charged with any offence at all! In the other cases, the judges make no bones about the question of punishment: "get out of your head all this twaddle about psycho-neurosis". And to the bigamist "it is a very serious offence, you don't seem to realise it yet, but you will in a moment"—five years; and to the shoe repairer: "the anomalous state of the law . . . checks the power of punishment that can be passed"; and to crown them all, the House of Lords statement of the great Nuremberg judge: "I believe that some form of severe punishment ought to be instituted, etc. . . ."

In the next article we will attempt to prove that imprisonment, far from reforming the "criminal", actually destroys him physically and mentally, and is responsible for the development of strong anti-social tendencies.

V.R.

† Mark Benney in Gael Delivery (Longman's).

* Report of the Commissioners of Prisons for the year 1946 (Stationery Office).

WALESWOOD MINERS RESIST ATTEMPTS TO CLOSE THEIR PIT

LAST February, the miners of Waleswood Colliery, near Sheffield, staged a three-day stay-in strike in protest against the National Coal Board's announced decision to close their pit as uneconomical.

On the third day, the men returned to the surface, apparently satisfied that the N.C.B. had agreed to reconsider their decision. As far as we were able to gather, however, the N.C.B. did not commit itself either way, and we said at the time (*Freedom*, 21/2/48): "It remains to be seen whether the men have been tricked or not."

It is now being seen, for once again the miners of Waleswood are having to stage a stay-down strike to defend their colliery against the N.C.B.'s decision to close it, and they are determined this time to "stay-down till Christmas, if necessary."

Since last February, output at the pit has increased, a fact which the Coal Board are prepared to admit, but after a meeting of the Board's North-Eastern Division, it was stated:

"By their recent production the men have proved nothing but their own capacity to work harder.

"They cannot alter the fact that the pit is not an economic unit.

"If they will put the same effort in at the other pits there will be an immediate net increase in production of 900 tons a week and a saving of £12,000 a month."

The Men's Reasons

From the point of view of the men, it is not quite as simple as that. Waleswood has always been known as the "happy pit" because of the good team spirit existing there. If it closes, all of its 700 men will be dispersed to other pits in the area where they will be strangers and where they might not be able to get the same sort of work as they have been doing in Waleswood. Also, of course, their new jobs would be away from their homes at Waleswood, which would mean further to travel to and from work.

These are the sort of things that matter a lot to the working miner, but to the Coal Board official, to whom the miner is only a name in a book, to be used like any other piece of coal-getting equipment, they are of secondary importance to profits.

MANCHESTER CO-OP WORKERS STRIKE

NEARLY 1,000 Co-op shop workers in the Manchester area went on strike recently to win their Saturday afternoons off. The official closing time for Saturdays was 3 p.m. for Manchester and Salford, and 4 p.m. for Beswick and Failsworth, but for several weeks the workers were unofficially closing at 1 p.m. This raises a pretty point or two. Shops are supposed to exist for the service of the public, though we know that they exist to make money for the shop-keeper (even when that is a Co-op Society). Therefore, they should be open when people want to shop, and for many single workers, Saturday afternoon is the only available time. On the other hand, shop workers want their Saturday afternoons off, the same as other workers.

Might we suggest that this is just one of the many, many problems which would vanish with the disappearance of the commercial and money systems? When goods are available free at distributive centres, there will just be no need for half the number of distributive workers which now have to be in attendance. When the public have free access to the goods they need, stealing will have no meaning, and the stores could be left open day and night for all it mattered.

And perhaps in a free society, football will not be confined to Saturday afternoons!

APART from this, however, the Waleswood miners have ideas for in-

creasing the productivity of their pit. While on strike in February, a group of them devised a new loading unit which, with less than half the men, could increase output by 60%. A blueprint was sent to the Coal Board, but nothing further has been done about it.

Ignoring the Union

The National Union of Mine-workers, of course, is coming into the picture on the side of the N.C.B., and we are reminded of the N.U.M. delegate conference in South Wales last March, when a resolution was carried condemning stay-down strikes and saying that the local branch of the union should be instructed when stay-down strikes occur to see that no food is sent down to the strikers.

The Communist stooge, Alf Davies (S. Wales area president of the N.U.M.), who was responsible for this resolution, was supported and praised by that other Communist, Arthur Horner, for this dirty piece of union treachery. Now that Waleswood is strike-bound again, the *Daily Worker*, while apparently sympathetic to the strikers, is obviously waiting for the worthy Horner to say his piece again before they commit themselves whole-heartedly.

Meanwhile, the Waleswood strikers are assured of the support of their fellows and families on the surface who are sending down food, overcoats and blankets. The older men, youths and those whose health is not perfect, have been sent up, leaving 103 hand-picked men below.

Our sympathies are entirely with these men in their struggle with their new masters of the N.C.B. The high-handed manner in which the Coal Board deal with the miners shows the inhuman relationship in a nationalised industry. We say the solution lies in the control of the mines by the miners themselves, without the officious interference of union or State bureaucrats.

STRIKERS SACKED!

AS we go to press news is published that the N.C.B. have issued dismissal notices to the Waleswood strikers, to expire on Friday, May 14th (the day before this issue of *Freedom* appears). The message was carried to the pit bottom by the local N.U.M. president, and was unanimously rejected by the strikers.

Pamphlets are being distributed in all surrounding collieries, calling for active support by the entire coalfield.

BUSMEN FORM NEW UNION

A CONSIDERABLE body of Salford busmen have carried out their threat to form a breakaway union, to be known as the National Union of Public Vehicle Drivers and Operators. This was revealed after a meeting last Sunday, when it was stated that the offshoot already has about 400 members, which is roughly a third of the total number employed by the Salford municipal transport undertaking.

Officials have been provisionally appointed on an honorary basis, and the new union has been constitutionally registered.

A spokesman stated that dissatisfaction had long been felt over the manner in which various negotiations had been conducted by the Transport and General Workers' Union. This had been brought to a head over the acceptance of the wage increase of 7s. 6d. by the T. & G.W.U. The new union had been formed by men who had been members of the original strike committee which had functioned during the two-day stoppage in the city at the end of February over new working schedules.

He added that invitations to attend one of Tuesday's meetings had been sent to the Manchester, Liverpool, Ashton, Lancashire United, and Ribblesdale representatives.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM AND WORKERS COUNCILS

MANY readers of *Freedom* will be interested in an Australian paper *Southern Advocate for Workers' Councils*. This paper stands for an industrial policy very little distinguishable from the anarcho-syndicalism of *Freedom* and we note in the February issue a suggestion from workers in Sydney "for the formation of a form of organisation in Australia covering our viewpoint as Libertarian Socialists, IWW and Anarchists generally." However, the paper's policy is not exactly anarchist; it could be described as "council communist" in the old sense.

A letter from Anton Pannkoek wishes to show anarchism as "not suitable" and to offer a "necessary corrective criticism" of the *Advocate's* attitude to anarchism. We deal with

**Southern Advocate for Workers' Councils* (3d.), P.O. Box 573 D, Melbourne, Australia.

MINE WORKERS' UNION FEARS DECENTRALISATION

THAT everything is not well within the National Coal Board is becoming increasingly clear to all, but the Fuel Minister has recently denied the rumour that an enquiry into the Coal Board was to be held. The bosses of the N.U.M., however, already have the wind-up. Fearing that a Commission of Inquiry would recommend decentralisation, they are getting off the mark with their own inquiry, which will invite Lord Hyndley and the Coal Board to join them in examining recommendations from the men in the coalfields.

In other words, although they know that the most valuable ideas for the running of the industry come from the men on the job, they will resist any trend towards decentralisation (unlikely enough, after all, under the Coal Board) which take away from their own inflated influence and position.

Land Notes

SUMMING UP

IF a commentary of the type of these Land Notes is to serve and useful purpose, it is essential that the particular items referred to should always be seen against the whole background of which they are indeed part and from which they have been temporarily brought forward for the purpose of emphasis. While examining a particular tree, one must not lose sight of the fact that it is part of the wood.

With farming, May and September are the two traditional months of the year when one tries to detach oneself from the particular tasks in hand and to take a survey of the whole picture. What then is the present position of British agriculture and its immediate future prospects? Nowadays, that is a question that is, indirectly, of as much concern to townspeople as to those who get their living from the land, though unfortunately the great majority of townspeople are still only dimly aware of this fact.

The best survey of the present position that has come my way appears in the April number of *Labour Research*, from which the following information is taken. The fact that *Labour Research* happens to be a predominantly Communist concern should not prevent one from acknowledging the accuracy of this assessment of the situation.

Agricultural Expansion?

At the time when the Agricultural Expansion Programme was announced last autumn, I expressed doubts as to whether in fact it would be implemented, even whether it could be implemented within the existing economic frame-work. The predominant fact that emerges unmistakably from this survey is that the general position of British farming, in its capacity to produce food, is on the whole rather less than it was and that, to judge from the figures available, is unlikely to improve. It is important to emphasize and substantiate this statement.

Bread is our basic food, so much so that the word has from time immemorial been used in a symbolic sense to denote all material sustenance. Let us start off with wheat then.

"The December 4th Agricultural Returns show that 2,022,000 acres of wheat had been sown at that date in England and Wales. This is an increase of 170,000 acres over the figure a year before, but in view of the much more favourable autumn it is a very small and inadequate increase.

"Mr. Tom Williams set a target of 2,500,000 acres for 1948, although we grew in 1943 nearly 3,500,000 acres of

A NARCHISTS have learned from bitter experience in the past that the call for unity from any political part of the left has usually had behind it the hope of political advantage for that party. Our rejection of unity with Socialists, Communists, etc., is therefore, born not of sectarianism but of experience and self-defence. With purely industrial organisations of an avowed decentralised nature, however, the situation is rather different, and we welcome that solidarity which is born not only of facing a common enemy but by striving for a common goal by common methods.

In this article, A.M. draws our attention to an Australian paper which advocates a basis for collaboration, which we feel can be accepted by anarcho-syndicates without fear of political betrayal.

this because we wish to show that as regards the present policy of the I.W.W. in America, the advocates of workers' councils on revolutionary lines internationally, and the anarchist movement, it would be sectarian to state that there are any serious differences.

Pannkoek wrote: "In the present times of increasing submission of the workers under powerful State tyranny it is natural that more sympathy is directed towards anarchism with its propaganda of freedom." Nineteenth-century social democracy, he states, found its roots in the exploitation of the workers, nineteenth-century anarchism in their slavery. Accordingly social democracy found its force in the need for organisation, anarchism in the need for freedom. But to-day "the problem and goal for the workers is how to combine freedom and organisation. Anarchism, by setting up freedom as its goal, forgets that the free society of workers can only exist by a strong community-feeling as the prominent character of the collaborating-producers. The self-made organisation by free collaborating workers is the basis at the same time of their personal freedom, i.e., of their feeling as free masters of their own work."

But anarchism has long ago faced the need for combining freedom and organ-

isation. The trouble with Marxist sectarians is that they will not acknowledge that there could be both nineteenth-century anarchism and twentieth-century anarchism also. In point of fact, anarchists decades ago faced the problem of industrialisation in many countries altering the problems ahead of the workers. Industrialisation postulates the need for workers' organisation at the point of production, and federating together there in order first of all to fight the employing class, and later on to take over the places of work.

This method of organisation is one in which libertarian council-communists concur. Anarchists object to the free councils formed at the places of work being dominated by a political party. Hence their disagreement with authoritarian council-communists (although not with libertarian ones). The policy of the I.W.W. is similar, since although they accentuate the idea of industrial unionism, their conception of industrial unionism is not the centralist John L. Lewis variety, whereby craft divisions are broken down merely to build up a strong 'head office' union; but industrial unionism based on the idea of workers' councils on the job linked together to form the big union.

(Continued on page 4)

wheat in the United Kingdom. But it appears from the December 4th returns that it will be extremely difficult to obtain even the Minister's limited target. Last year only about 200,000 acres of wheat were sown after December 4th, and the highest estimated acreage of spring wheat sown in the past has been 350,000 acres. In view of the fact that barley prices are a good deal more attractive to most farmers than wheat prices, it is thus very doubtful if the 2,500,000 acres asked for by the Minister will actually be achieved."

But man cannot live by bread alone, and in North-Western Europe and America potatoes are the most important supplementary bulk food. It is therefore of some consolation that the potato "target" has more or less been achieved, though whether the resulting yield will be sufficient to prevent a resumption of potato rationing early next year remains to be seen.

Livestock and Fertility

In view of the campaign initiated soon after the end of the war for an increase in livestock, it is rather discouraging to learn that, instead of an increase, a considerable overall decrease has occurred.

"In England and Wales the sheep population is down by 1,755,000 compared with December 1946, cattle are down by 55,000 and pigs by 15,000. The only category to show an increase is poultry — up by nearly 5,000,000. At present it does not seem likely that any substantial increase in livestock can take place this year. The Minister announced last year that farmers would be allowed to keep 20 per cent. of the wheat and 20 per cent. of the barley they grow this year for feeding to livestock, but there is some doubt as to whether this will now be possible in the case of wheat. In any event, this concession could not result in any appreciable increase in livestock products until 1949."

Apart from the food that livestock provide directly through reproduction and through their own carcasses, they are the main source by which the fertility of the soil is maintained. The long-term effects of this reduction are, therefore, likely to be far-reaching, even, without being unduly alarmist, possibly disastrous. Chemical manures can at best provide only a temporary stimulation to crop-weary land; they can do more create fertility than whisky or benzedrine can give a tired man lasting health and energy.

The Work of a Man's Hands

But wheat and domestic animals, unlike weeds and rabbits, do not grow naturally, but are the product of man's work. In the last resort, increased production of food, even in this mechanized age, means increased manpower.

"But when the labour position is ex-

amined, an extremely grave situation is revealed. The December 4th returns show that since December 4th, 1946, the total labour force available to agriculture has declined by 51,000 in England and Wales. As was anticipated, prisoner-of-war labour has declined substantially — by 43,100. But the disturbing fact is that not only are British workers not coming forward to take the place of the P.O.W.'s — there is actually a reduction in every class of British farmworkers except one, the casual male workers. Regular males are down by 1,400, women and girls by 4,500, the Women's Land Army by 3,600, and casual women and girls by 2,700.

"The 'Economic Survey for 1947' set a target of an increase of 39,000 in agriculture's labour force in the United Kingdom. In the result there has been a decrease. The 'Economic Survey for 1948' set a target of 55,000 extra workers, but there is no sign whatever that it will be achieved."

In this connection, one might also note that "only about one-tenth of the 36,000 new houses erected in rural areas have been taken by farm-workers, mainly owing to the excessive rents charged."

The Choice

In the issue of *Freedom* (27/12/47), I had occasion to point out how the increased prices for fat stock had resulted in a temporary increase of animals for slaughter at the cost of a serious reduction in breeding-stock. That reliance on price incentive, or profit motive if you like, sometimes produces effects quite other than those intended, is further illustrated by this article in *Labour Research*.

"The reliance on increased prices as the sole means of securing increased production may well defeat its own object. For, since the increased prices are paid on all food produced, and not just on the increase, it is possible for a farmer to produce the same amount of food as at present, or even less, and still be better off than a year ago."

That statement does not, however, make any allowance for ever-increasing production costs.

The remedy that the writer of the article suggests is the re-imposition of Direction Orders. And that is probably the only way to try, albeit probably without much success, to supplement a purely monetary economy, which is increasingly failing to function properly because the conditions in which it developed and matured no longer in fact exist. Hence, the choice lies ever more inevitably between an authoritarian economy and one based on free association, on what is known as anarchism. There is now, whether one likes it or not, no middle way.

G.V.

Civil War Between Tyrants

FIGHTING in China appears to have long since ceased to have had any particular "news value". The long years of war and desolation continue. In this, the Chinese people are very clearly disregarded by the powers concerned who consider them as chess pawns in the game.

Originally, the struggle was between the Northern war-lords, who having Russian backing, chose to call themselves Communists according to modern usage, and on the other side the dictatorship of Chiang Kai Shek. When Japanese Imperialism attempted to seize China, the Communists united with Chiang's Kuomintang, and all the years of bloodshed and misery caused by the civil war had to be forgotten. After ten years, Japanese Imperialism was supposed to be defeated; at any rate so far as its invasion powers were concerned. The Communists, welded into a larger force than ever before, combining the Northern war-lords and the Marxist bureaucrats, returned to open warfare with the Kuomintang.

Under the Red dictator, Mao-Tze-tung, the Communists have gained large tracts of country, which will doubtless eventually prove to be the territory marked for Russian expansion and influence. Under the Black dictator, Chiang Kai Shek, American capitalism has penetrated the territory ruled by his party, and arms are coming in from the United States.

The result for the ordinary Chinese is complete havoc and disaster. The burning of the crops by professional soldiers and the destruction of towns and fields by the ravages of war. Plunder and murder everywhere.

While Mao Tze-tung has declared a "Marxist revolution" in his New Year's broadcast, he warned the workers "they must tolerate a certain degree of exploitation in order to assist private capitalist enterprises to achieve a prosperous economy in the Liberated Areas" (*Observer*, 21/3/48). The workers doubtless well realise how much a degree of exploitation they have to endure. Except for the political differences, which in many cases amounts to little more than a difference of personnel and not in the least of policy, there is no distinction between the twin dictatorships of Koumintang and the Communists.

It is a well-known fact, in which all observers of the Chinese scene agree, that the average Chinese detests both these parties. And as those who have loved Chinese philosophy know, the root of the distaste is the desire for personal liberty, which is at the root of a civilisation deeper and older than our Judaeo-Christian traditions of the Western world. In fact, Chinese philosophy, in which the sages express what has long been a conscious wish of its workers and peasants, the truth of no-government

4

HONG KONG TODAY

(from a Far East correspondent.)

ANYONE, during these days, who arrives in Hong Kong for the first time from England, might well be pardoned for considering this very far outpost of a rapidly diminishing empire as a near-paradise of plenty, gaiety and luxury—a fairy-land reminiscent of those garishly technicolored travel films which occasionally transported us, in some local cinema, for a brief moment from the rain and fog outside as well as from the drab and tedious existence, the political inanities and mental puritanism of a "socialized" and bankrupt post-war Britain.

Hong Kong is, indeed, a beautiful island, and impressive enough with its skyscrapers and fine hotels, ubiquitous bank buildings and bright, noisy streets, restaurants with fat menu books and bars with their serried ranks of bottles, smart clubs and race-courses, and gleaming taxis. But to retain the illusion of paradise, one should pass through very quickly indeed—for it is no paradise for the vast majority of those who live in this colony.

Hong Kong is, in fact, a perfect example of an enterprise run solely and exclusively for the benefit of a wealthy elite of business men, financiers and merchants. What is a happy hunting ground for the rich Europeans who live in

comfortable seclusion up on "The Peak" or at Repulse Bay, is something a good deal less attractive for the million-odd people who live along the Hong Kong waterfront or over the other side of the harbour on the mainland, in the slums of Kowloon.

Geography and Economics

Hong Kong's outward prosperity is largely artificial: its geographical position and stable currency both make it an admirable back-door into China for a host of financial and business transactions which take full advantage of the wild inflation over the border. It is a splendid "funk-hole" for Chinese capital, and a fruitful centre for international currency manipulation and general black market activity. Occupied by the Japanese during the war, after a minimum of resistance, its harbour facilities remain intact and it has assumed a new importance as an international Eastern port. But little of Hong Kong's prosperity is evident in the lives of the factory workers, coolies, office workers or small traders. The cost of living is prohibitively high, so that the imported luxuries which cram the windows of the shops may just as well not exist as far as the general public is concerned. Staple commodities such as rice, meat and tea, which form the basis of Chinese diet, are at a price which the ordinary wage-earner cannot afford, whilst for the European office worker, who, in a tightly-knit small community such as Hong Kong, is forced to "keep up appearances" for the sake of his job, it is almost impossible to eke out his wages to cover the high cost of food and housing.

Yet the Administration is extraordinarily unconcerned with the problem of ameliorating conditions either for the European workers or the Chinese and other national groups which make up the vast majority of the colony's population. There is only a very inadequate price control on a few essential commodities, rationing for the worker is totally insufficient, rent restrictions are openly flouted and seldom enforced (in Hong Kong "tea money" is a vastly profitable version of Britain's current "key money" racket); the government is more concerned with erecting impressive skyscrapers to house further offices and banks than with undertaking housing schemes to accommodate some of the many thousands of hopelessly over-

crowded inhabitants. Free education is practically non-existent and only about one child in fifty among the poor workers receives any education at all; so that illiteracy is widespread.

Wages Low, Profits High

Labour unions are severely restricted by by-law in their powers to organise or amalgamate and are eyed watchfully by the police for any "subversive" tendencies; but no such restriction is applied to local employers, for at the moment the screw is being further tightened through the organisation by the colony's Big Business of an Employers' Federation which, in its own words, foresees "the necessity of keeping labour costs of production within such bounds as to make the colony's products competitive in the world market." The impudence of this pronouncement is almost colossal in view of the hundreds of thousands of pounds profit being registered currently by big commercial undertakings and firms in Hong Kong: big public companies are making profits of over £100,000 a year and at the same time pleading inability to consider requests for wage increases. Another example, the Hong Kong Electric Co. made a profit of \$HK5½ million last year (about £350,000) yet electric rates to consumers cannot be reduced, ostensibly in view of the high price of coal and cost of new equipment!

One may well imagine that there is no great faith among the inhabitants in the honesty or altruism of a government which is openly complacent regarding the hardships of those who are forced to undergo the rigours of rationing and shortage in the bare necessities of life whilst surrounded by luxuries and comforts attainable only by the small privileged clique of wealthy Europeans and a few Chinese merchants and financiers.

Dealing With General Unrest

The government is not wholly unaware of the general unrest among the population, judging by the care and expense it has devoted to the Hong Kong Police Force, which appears to distinguish itself even among colonial police forces for general brutality, graft, corruption and intimidation during the performance of its "duties". Within the last week alone, cases have been reported in the local press of a British Police Inspector charged with assault and beating-up a Chinese stall-owner in a police cell; of a Chinese Police sergeant and two constables who are alleged to have beaten-up another Chinese to extract a confession; of two Chinese constables charged with demanding money with menaces from a coolie; of another British Police Inspector charged with demanding money with menaces from a Chinese woman. Doubtless, these talents would be exercised equally efficiently against anyone rash enough to give voice openly to unwelcome political views, or who might attempt to organise public opinion against the iniquities of a thoroughly reactionary administration.

Perhaps Hong Kong is, after all, more of a mirage than a paradise, as even the dwellers on "The Peak" may realise sooner or later to their cost. Meanwhile, the field is wide open and the going is good, and—if you are lucky enough to have the money—you can buy a pound note any day on any street for about 15/- worth of Hong Kong money; but an American dollar will cost you the equivalent of 7/-.

Hong Kong

S.W.T.

Workers' Councils

(Continued from page 3)

THIS again is an anarcho-syndicalist conception also; since the syndicalist programme of workers' control has the same idea in mind. Namely, that the workers' councils at the place of production should federate to form a national council of workers' councils in each industry; and locally to form a commune for the common defence of the workers in each locality. It is just untrue that anarchism is opposed to organisation; what it opposes is authoritarian organisation (organisation from above downwards) as distinct from libertarian organisation (organisation from below upwards).

We would echo the call of the Sydney group that anarcho-syndicalism has a common platform with council-communists and I.W.W.'s in the building up of a revolutionary workers' movement. Wherever the supporters of workers' council organisation and revolutionary industrial unionism exist, we are prepared to join them in the building of workers' councils. Our conception of a revolutionary movement is not an industrial union on paper alone, but one built on the solid basis of workers uniting in industry, and this can be done free from sectarianism. In this propaganda we welcome the *Southern Advocate*, likewise the *U.S. Industrial Worker* and similar organs, in the struggle to build a really working-class movement against the employers, State and political wingers alike.

It can be agreed that council-communism, revolutionary syndicalism and I.W.W. unionism, are not anarchism. In the words of Pannekoek, "Freedom as the chief content of anarchist teaching may awake strong sympathies now; it is only a part, not even the basic part of the goal of the working class which is expressed by self-rule, self-determination, by means of council organisation." This, which is a view common to some I.W.W.'s and many council-communists, marks a differentiation with anarchism. It is a conception of freedom as economic freedom only. The anarchist idea of freedom as "without government" of any kind—economically, politically and socially without domination of any kind of one group or person by another—is all-embracing, and the attainment of workers' control of industry, although an integral part of the struggle, represents a great advance—in fact, the revolution—but not the whole battle. It is from such a society of workers' control that the anarchists hope to see the free society evolved.

At the present time, therefore, in our view anarcho-syndicalism shares its industrial policy with the groups we referred to; we merely do not think they go the whole way. It is a debatable criticism whether we shall get that far in our lifetime anyway—and therefore why worry about that now?—but in our view the appeal of anarchism for the workers is that it does show the future goal as well as the immediate objectives and the revolutionary possibilities. Without that goal a movement can degenerate into a sterile party of left-wing criticism, as happened to the council-communist and Spartacist movement following the last war. In the view of many anarchists, the greater the goal, even if we do not wholly attain it now, the more we shall immediately achieve.

A.M.

which is at the basis of anarchism. It may yet happen that a movement will arise in China, with its roots deep in the traditions of its cultured past and also in the unexpressed philosophy of the Chinese masses, that will follow in the steps of embryonic Chinese Anarchism, and build a free society on the ruins of the rival dictatorships grappling for power to themselves.

INTERNATIONALIST.

STARVATION IN JAMAICA

IN the process of classifying our newspaper cuttings, we discovered a number of items which should have been included some weeks ago but which, at the time were either overlooked or forced out by space considerations. They are still interesting, however, and cover a variety of subjects.

HUNGRY COLONY

The *Associated Press* reported in February that 186 people had died of starvation in Jamaica during the previous four months. The *Daily Herald* quoting this report explained that Jamaica, like most of our West Indies colonies, suffers from chronic over-population. Last census (1943) showed that 1,250,000 people live on less than 4,500 square miles. The island is unable to feed itself, and apart from rum, has no secondary industries.

Hundreds of thousands of Jamaicans have had to emigrate because of lack of work and food.

Compared with countries like Denmark, Holland and Belgium, the density of the population of Jamaica does not seem so staggering and to say that the island is "unable to feed itself" is to simplify the problem. It would be nearer the mark to say that Jamaica, like all the West Indies colonies, has not been allowed to feed itself.

THE EFFECTS OF HUNGER

The magazine *Time* (29/3/48) referred to an article in the *American Journal of Clinical Psychology*, which published the results of experiments on human starvation. 36 C.O.'s volunteered for the tests which lasted six months, during which they were fed two meals a day totalling 1,570

calories. The effect of this diet on these human guinea pigs is of more than academic interest if one remembers that the average calorific value of rations in Germany is around 1,550.

"Although they knew that nobody would try to shove them aside, the hungry men began taking great care to guard their places in the chow line. They showed a strongly possessive attitude toward their food; at table, some leaned suspiciously over their trays, "protecting" their rations with their arms. These men were "cultured and refined", the researchers reported, but soon they all unashamedly licked their dishes. As they got hungrier and hungrier, food became the chief subject of their conversation and their daydreams. They became fond of poring over cookery books and hotel menus.

Some of the men started to replan their lives and talked of becoming cooks or farmers. Sex fantasies and dreams declined; sexual impulses disappeared in all but a few. Said one: "I have no more sexual feeling than a sick oyster."

The men grew increasingly irritable and joked less and less. Eventually they grew too apathetic to bother with shaving, brushing their teeth or combing their hair. Their interest in study gradually collapsed, but they felt closely identified with their group and with the starving throughout the world. They had occasional "spells of elation, sometimes bordering on ecstasy", or were unduly depressed and discouraged. For four of the men the strain was too great: they cheated by eating extra food and were dropped from the experiment.

After six months of hunger, the remaining 32 needed six months to return to normal. During the first three months of rehabilitation their bad table manners and bad study habits showed little improvement. As the effects of starvation wore off, each man lost his sense of close identity with his group and began worrying about his own personal plans for a normal future."

Swiss Anarchist Federation

Some good news from Switzerland is that on the 17th and 18th April delegates from all parts of the coun-

try met in Geneva to discuss the problem of reorganisation of the Anarchist movement in that country. As a result all but a very small number of the delegates were in favour of the constitution of a Swiss Anarchist Federation.

REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM IN SWEDEN

The S.A.C. (*Swedish Workers Central Organization*) have recently published a report for 1947 which shows that it now has a membership of 21,440 workers in 551 local federations. Furthermore, within the movement there are five industrial federations.

1947 was a year of great propaganda activity for the S.A.C. Meetings newspapers, pamphlets and tracts were used for the purpose. It is interesting to note that the S.A.C. publishes two daily newspapers, *Arbetaren* in Stockholm and *Norrlandsfolket* in Kiruna, besides an industrial journal and a revue. The organisation also controls a publishing organisation which issues books and pamphlets and has two large modern printing presses at its disposal.

Educational activity included 28 study groups, and there were during the year 18 courses of instruction and lectures, one of which consisted of 17 lectures on different problems for May Day the S.A.C. organised 47 meetings and demonstrations.

The day to day struggle has included repeated efforts to improve wages and working conditions have met with some success, as well as a stand against the monopolistic tendencies of the reformist workers' organisations.

LIBERTARIAN.

AUSTRALIAN STUDENTS

Condemn Colour Bar

A REUTER report from Melbourne (4/5/48) states that "University students at a meeting here to-day condemned the action of Mr. Arthur Calwell, Immigration Minister, in deporting and threatening to deport non-white citizens.

Resolutions held that such action was inconsistent with friendly relations with neighbouring countries and asked the Government to alter their policy and make amends for the wrong already done.

The students asked for assurances that married couples would not be separated and that people who have lived in Australia for a long time would have the right to remain.

Mr. Calwell recently ordered the deportation of Tongan and Chinese wives of Australian citizens and an American negro boxer who married an Australian woman and had a family here."

THE ANARCHIST METHOD

IN the third year of the atomic bomb, our ways of everyday living in America seem unchanged. Another political campaign is engrossing millions of people. Americans are still worried about jobs, wages, prices, and whether they will be able to get a refrigerator or a new car. We have the feeling of living in two worlds; one the world of ordinary individuals struggling for survival, for something to eat, and a little happiness; the other the world of horror on 20th century destruction that we can read between the lines (and sometimes in the headlines) of the newspapers.

Someone told a story that seemed to express the spirit of the modern

age. A trainload of Jews was being despatched to a Nazi extermination camp; Jews who had learned the destination of the train disguised themselves as Gestapo officers, went through the train to warn the people to try to escape: the people laughed at them, spit on them, ignored them, refused to believe that such a thing could be.

The general who commanded the American air forces in the last war has warned: "We won the last war. And it's the last war we'll ever win. We'll lose, and the enemy we fight will lose, because victory in atomic warfare is no longer possible. One nation cannot defeat another nation to-day. That concept died with

Hiroshima. War is like fire: you can prevent a fire, or you can try to put it out, but you can't 'win' a fire, because fire is destruction. If we fought Russia, the best we could hope to achieve is a moral victory, and that would be small comfort to the remnants of our people, crawling amid the burnt-out foundations and charred chimneys of a ruined nation."

This seems to scare no-one. Everybody knows it, but atomic war is so totally contrary to our experience, so totally inhuman, that our minds reject the thought, we cannot bear to think about it, we turn back to the reality of our jobs, our families, and the movies. We cannot stand to ponder the statement of an ex-Admiral that "There are to-day in the arsenals of the great powers weapons—chemical, biological and climatological—

more devastating than the atomic bomb, capable of exterminating the last vestige of human, animal and vegetable life from the earth." As a reader wrote to a daily paper that had rebuked people for their ignorance about the Marshall Plan: "Most of us are not politicians, economists or editors who make a living by understanding, or telling us they understand, deep subjects. We are busy making a living and keeping the Tax Collector at bay. And we have no equipment, inclination or impulse to put in leisure time in profound study or serious thinking about Marshall Plans and atom bombs. If we didn't get some relaxation from your headlines and so-called comic pages, from movies and radio rubbish, we would go stark mad."

No wonder that, in 1947 (according to the American Library Association), book-reading Americans were asking for "a book that would believe in and live by," a book that would give them an explanation of a tremendously bewildering world.

People go along living their lives as always. Then, suddenly, developing out of forces and events that seem unconnected with the lives of people, a bomb explodes over their heads, and a hundred thousand people are dead.

Those who would like to do something are at a loss for a place to begin. None of the traditional methods seem to have a meaning in the world to-day. Many people will vote for Wallace as a protest against the coming war. But most of them realize that if the protest should succeed, if Wallace were elected, it would be Wallace who would lead American imperialism against Russia. Government, militarism and imperialism have a logic and force of their own, from which the accident of political elections cannot sway them.

It is hard to find a visible enemy to attack. Wall Street and Washington are symbols of our enemy; but the enemy himself is a whole social system. More than that, he is the whole complex pattern of attitudes and behaviour that people have learned from living in this system.

Among radicals, "personal responsibility" has become a watchword; "the root is man", and so on. Yet, if we are alive to the people we live and work with, we cannot fail to be aware that we are very seldom evil, we are usually just trapped; we are shoved this way and that, killed or allowed to live, starved or allowed to eat, enslaved or allowed to speak; and too often the effect of our flailing around

in the trap is to make the world a worse place to live in.

We are simply trying to survive and satisfy our needs. Most of us have no wish to hurt other people. Yet in our fear of being starved and hurt ourselves, we commit terrible crimes against them. It is precisely that in present-day society we cannot satisfy our needs directly and naturally.

We cannot satisfy our need for food and shelter by participating in a common productive effort and sharing with others the things we produce. Instead, we must apply to a corporation for the privilege of becoming employees, at the mercy of the owners. Instead of working co-operatively with our fellow workers, we are thrown into competition with them. If we cannot induce a boss to hire us, we may simply starve, and in the workings of our mad system there are times when there are just not enough jobs for all of us and we must depend on the charity of the greatest of impersonal institutions, the State. We cannot proceed directly to the satisfaction of our sexual needs. We must pursue them indirectly in conformity with the morals and customs of the society, and too often the result is failure. We cannot simply satisfy our desires for learning and education by co-operative effort with those of greater knowledge. We must instead apply to the great educational institutions and conform to the ideas and methods of these institutions—if indeed we are in a position to finance our education.

In one field after another, we cannot proceed directly to the satisfaction of our needs: we must proceed through the by-passes of the labour-market and the money-market, according to the rules and

(Continued on page 8)

Do We Deserve the Palestine Police?

AFTER thirty years the Palestine Police is coming to an end. Suggestions that is should be left as a nucleus for any trustee authority have not been favourably received. The Palestine Police will be coming home, and they will be wanting jobs. What employment can be found for them?

In view of the shortage of police in this country, and the equal lack of wardens and prison staff, the obvious suggestion has been made. Here are men with experience of prisons and police, put them on the staff of our prisons and in the stations of our police.

But, in spite of the "crime wave" and the black market and the spivs, and everything else, the mild British public hardly deserve being subjected to the rule of the Palestine Police. In the past, the various communities of Palestine have been told they have brought repression upon themselves by their actions. *Have we?*

Police duties in Palestine have been of a military nature; they have

been prepared to meet violence and use violence themselves. Apart from the question of arms training, they have become accustomed, like all Colonial police, to look on the population around them as their enemy. They have been prepared to use violence on recalcitrant prisoners. In the higher ranks they have no conception of allowing political freedom whatever.

It is true that none of this really disqualifies them from the British police, but the British public likes to feel that it does.

In the earlier days Palestine policemen came from the ordinary run of constables. Since the expansion of recruiting especially after World War II, they have come from the higher-class strata of "adventurers" in violence.

Furthermore, it cannot be denied relations between the Palestine Police and the Palestine Jewish community were never particularly cordial, with individual exceptions; and as regards the post-1945 Police it was definitely

hostile. There is good reason for supposing that even in England many of them will be anti-Semitic. And their attitude to Arabs, similar to that of all Colonial Police, gives them an assumption of superiority.

In all, whilst the many objections to the Palestine Police can in many cases be applied to the British Police, in every case the experience of the Palestine Police is of such an extreme nature that it would strongly intensify the steady march to the Police State.

We are not suggesting that these men should after risking their lives for Imperialism, however mistakenly, be left on one side to unemployment like so many others who fought forgotten battles for altered policies, who received the praise of the nation and were left to hawk their medals in the gutter. But we advocate the old policy of "beating the swords into ploughshares": a return to normal productive civilian life and occupations and the putting aside of any hankering for a life of uniformed domination.

The International Anarchist Movement

I. C U B A

THE interest aroused by John Olday's account of the early German anarchist movement, in our last issue, and the necessity of giving our readers a picture of the background to the international movement of to-day, have prompted us to start a series of articles on the history and activity of our comrades in other countries. We begin with the story of the anarchist movement in Cuba. The sources are an article by "A.M." in *War Commentary* for mid-August, 1944, and a report in the *Libertaire* for the 15th April, 1948.

of 1894 the anarchist movement declared itself wholeheartedly in favour of the struggle against imperialism, and a message from Malatesta was received with great enthusiasm. In 1895, the great Cuban insurrection against Spain began, and Spanish Imperialism was thrown off. In the course of the struggle (in which the Cuban workers received the active support of the Spanish working-class, which included the great anarchist anti-war demonstrations and strikes many libertarians fell, and Cresci, who was shot without trial, received a funeral similar to that of Durruti in 1936—his remains followed by a sea of workers. Manuel Miranda, who had been looked on as responsible for the organisation of the working-class movement, was deported to the prison-isle of Fernando Po in the Gulf of Guinea. Nevertheless the insurrection was successful, and it had shown the world a glimpse of international workers' solidarity—Americans, Mexicans, Spaniards and Cubans co-operating in the struggle against Spanish and American Imperialism.

Yankee Expansion

In 1898 as a result of the insurrection America and Spain (both eager to grab the natural wealth of Cuba) went to war. The United States emerged victorious and took possession of Cuba, establishing its own Provisional Government. The libertarian movement turned to the struggle against the new imperialism.

Since the suppression of the *Productor*, there had appeared *El Rebelde*, which

was suspended during the war. After the war came *Nuevo Ideal* and *Tierra!* and numerous other papers, crystallising in themselves the intense workers' struggle. The C.T.C. was built up into a strong and militant organisation. *Tierra!* was formed during the general strike of 1902, which was followed by a long period of strife. Its circulation reached 10,000 copies, each of which was read by whole groups of workers.

In 1909 the United States withdrew from open control of Cuba. Under the dictatorship of General Aleman propaganda was difficult but still carried on, and in 1914 it was renewed more vigorously than ever with a dozen papers. In that year a delegate was sent to the Anarchist Congress at Ferrol (Spain) but the police persecutions there stopped the Congress and the delegate, Jerez, was imprisoned in Seville and died while on hunger-strike.

The repression clamped down on the anarchists at the time of the 1914 to 1918 war, against which the libertarian organisations had taken a firm and unequivocal stand. The campaign against conscription led to ferocious government measures against the most active militants. Imprisonments and arrests multiplied, despite which the libertarian spirit grew amongst the unions, of which the most important was that of the tobacco workers.

Reactionary C.P.

The C.T.C. lost its anarcho-syndicalist character after 1918, like the C.G.T. in

France. It did not come under the control of the socialists, but of the communists, whose influence in Cuba spread with the "glamour value" of the Russian Revolution. Their role in Cuba has been particularly despicable, since they deliberately steered the workers from a revolutionary course to acquiescence in the governmental dictatorships, without even the excuse that the workers were "backward".

The better elements left the Communists when the famous "twenty-one conditions", demanding parliamentarism and rigid discipline, were imposed by the Moscow International. The split in the workers' ranks, and above all, the sugar industry crisis, soon allowed the reaction to seize power and set up a veritable White Terror.

During the Machado dictatorship the Communists remained legal and supported the government in order to capture the C.T.C. But the anarchists went underground in order to carry on the struggle.

The libertarian movement reorganised itself in 1930, and by 1931, the Libertarian Youth, followed by a whole network of clandestine groups were engaged in violent combat with the dictatorship.

Finally, through the efforts of the anarchists, a general strike was declared, contributing very greatly to the downfall of the Machado regime which had been sustained by Yankee capital. The Communist-controlled unions at the time appealed to the workers to return to work. Since the advent to power of Batista, whose reactionary government supports the alliance with Russia, the Communists have led their followers into a position little different from the Falangists, urging them to vote for the most reactionary Right-Wing candidates. The anarchists, on the other hand extended their influence and a number of periodicals appeared, including *Tierra!*, *Insurrexil* and *Nuestra Palabra*.

The Spanish Struggle

During the Spanish civil war, a "Committee for Anti-fascist Aid" was set up at Havana, and sent volunteers and arms to the front. As a reprisal, Franco's

friends in the Cuban army attacked and ransacked the headquarters. The numerous arrests which occurred at the same time failed to stifle the anarchist message. Some papers were suppressed, but others appeared: *Nuevos Rumbos*, and then *Solidaridad*, which is flourishing still.

Especially since the example of the Spanish Revolution of 1936, there have been signs that the workers are growing disgusted with Leninist tactics, and are returning to their natural home, the anarcho-syndicalist movement, which has proved its worth, and a syndicalist movement independent of the C.T.C. is now a practical possibility. The Cuban proletariat is beginning to recall under which banner it fought its most successful struggles, and is beginning to emancipate its movement from politicians.

In April, 1943, after a meeting held at Havana, the Libertarian Association of Cuba was formed, and its first congress was held in April, 1944, presided over by Juan Gutierrez, secretary of the miners' syndicate at Santa Rita, and attended by delegates from all over Cuba. The Congress was a great success, bearing testimony to the vitality of the movement, and a series of declarations testified to its clear thinking on national and international problems. The necessity of an independent syndicalist movement was made clear; opposition to the war was reaffirmed; the attitude of the movement to the problems of the day was made clear.

The Association links together the anarchist groups, the Youth Federation, the Spanish Federalist Centre, the *Estudios Club* and the S.I.A.

Our Cuban comrades publish and circulate a considerable number of books and propaganda pamphlets.

Combate, the review published by the Veterans of the Spanish War (both Spanish and Cuban), is one of the liveliest and most dynamic of the many papers of the Spanish exiles throughout the world. It appears regularly month by month.

The fortnightly journal *Solidaridad* is remarkable for its attractive presentation and the vigour of its articles. The Libertarian Association has just held its second congress, of which we hope to publish an account shortly.

THE history of the whole working-class movement in Cuba is linked inseparably with that of the Cuban anarchist groups; its origins are to be found in the conditions which gave birth to these groups and which have given them a widespread influence. All the organisations of the workers and peasants have been impregnated with anarchist ideas and tactics, and the social struggles have been inspired by the activities of the libertarian militants.

Economically one of the most important islands in the West Indies, Cuba's history is similar to that of many South and Central American countries. One of Spain's earliest colonies, it was colonised in 1511 and negro slavery was established thirteen years afterwards. The highly religious Spanish imperialists maintained negro slavery for three-and-a-half centuries and when in 1868 the Cubans attempted to abolish negro slavery it heralded a long anti-imperialist struggle which reached its peak with the abolition of slavery as late as 1886.

The doctrines of anarchism found a natural response amongst the colonial workers when introduced to it by Spanish anarchists who emigrated to Cuba soon after the original International, and in 1887 the first anarchist paper in Havana (the capital) appeared—*El Productor*, edited by Enrique Roig y San Martin. *El Productor* was especially active among the numerous and well-organised tobacco workers. Several workers' organisations were formed at that time—precursors of present-day anarcho-syndicalism—and in 1888 following the tobacco strike, Cresci, secretary of the "Artisan's Junta" endeavoured in uniting them in the "Workers' Alliance", which was later developed into the Confederation of Cuban Workers (C.T.C.). In spite of the murder of many of the most active militants in this movement (including Roig, the editor) the movement grew and took an active part in the war of independence.

Spanish Imperialism

The Cuban Anarchists of that time took a position similar to that which we advocate in colonial countries to-day, in struggling for colonial independence while remaining in opposition to the native bourgeoisie. In the Workers' Assembly

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A STUDY OF PROUDHON

THE UNMARXIAN SOCIALIST: A Study of Proudhon, by Henri de Lubac. (Sheed & Ward, 16/-).

THIS book on Proudhon, by a French Jesuit priest, is the first full-length study to be published in English, and we should not therefore be unjustified in expecting it to be complete and comprehensive in its attention to the various aspects of his teachings. In fact, however, it is not really a study of Proudhon as a whole, but of one very limited part of his thought—Proudhon as a philosopher and anti-theologian.

Before, indeed, discussing the book as it is, it might be well to discuss what it is not. The reader who is anxious to gain a clear summary of Proudhon's ideas on property, of his criticisms of the state, of his federalism, of his teachings on the historical development of revolutions, of his mutualism and his ideas of economic organisation, of his theories on the historical significance of the working-class, of his ideas on art and literature, above all, of his anarchism, will here search in vain for any adequate study of these various subjects, all of which are aspects of Proudhon's thought which contribute to give him significance as a dynamic social thinker.

For this reason the title of the book can be rejected as completely misleading. It does not, except in an indirect and glancing way, show Proudhon in his true significance as a libertarian social thinker who provided an adequate criticism of Marxist and other totalitarian ideas of socialism, nor does it contribute anything to the consideration of the probability that, if the socialist movement had accepted the ideas of Proudhon rather than those of Marx as a basis for its development, it would not have arrived at the colossal betrayal of freedom which has been the rôle of socialist and communist movements in the world to-day.

This failing is due, at least in part, to the fact that de Lubac's book was originally written for the French public, who, if they are not familiar with Proudhon's work, can at least obtain books which discuss it more comprehensively and have also free access to his own writings. In this country, however, there is only D. W. Brogan's very brief introduction to Proudhon's life and theories, and a lengthy study of one particular aspect of his ideas,

particularly when it is presented under such a misleading title, can only confuse readers, who come to him for the first time, into seeing him principally as a somewhat confused anti-clerical and thus remaining unaware of his much more important social teachings.

The English translator has not made matters any better by introducing a biographical introduction which gives a strangely distorted account of Proudhon's attitude during 1848. Proudhon is shown as disapproving of the revolution, but the translator does not tell us that his reason for disapproval was that the revolution was not carried far enough, that it resulted in too little action and too much talk. Nor, when he refers to Proudhon's famous speech in the National Assembly on the 31st July, 1848, does he indicate that its subject was the advancement of the revolution by the liquidation of accumulated property, and that this proposal was regarded as so extreme that even the Montagnards and the Socialists voted him down as an "insulter" of public morality,



Proudhon remaining in a minority of two.

Again, the translator shows a remarkable lapse of knowledge when he says that he has been unable to find any English translations of Proudhon's works. In fact, *The General Idea of the Revolution and What is Property?* are in print at the present moment,* while other works have been published in America. A glance at the British Museum catalogue would have rectified this omission.

Having devoted so much space to what de Lubac's book is not, I have left myself little room to discuss what it is. Proudhon, as was inevitable in his age and country, devoted a great deal of his life to discussing the problem of religion, and his greatest—or at least, his largest work—*De la Justice dans la Revolution et dans l'Eglise*, is an attempt to contrast Catholicism with revolutionary morality.

De Lubac's book is an analysis of Proudhon's anti-religious ideas from a Catholic point of view, and its author strives to draw from Proudhon's works as much support as he can for his own attitude. His view is the condescending one that Proudhon was an honest man, to whom the faithful must be charitable, since he was not in fact so much a sceptic

*Obtainable from Freedom Bookshop.

as he pretended to be!

Such a view is, indeed, very far from the truth. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that Proudhon's peculiar style of writing makes him an easy prey for critics who wish to present his ideas in a distorted manner. Firstly, he was a dialectician, who actually worked out the conflicts of ideas in his works instead of thinking them out beforehand and then presenting his definite conclusions. This meant that there were many passages of his books, in which he was arguing towards a final assessment, that might easily be used by axe-grinders to contend that he held a point of view which was in fact very different from his actual position.

Secondly, while he had abandoned the religious attitude, he was anxious to indicate the equal futility of nineteenth-century scientific materialism, with its quasi-religious dogma of inevitable progress, and he also showed that the mere intellectual rejection of religion did not dispose of the actual existence of religious feelings among people, which the revolu-

tionary must take into account in making his analysis. But this did not mean that he in any way supported the Church, or was ever anything but a sceptic.

What it did mean was that he discovered that the facile worship of reason by the traditional revolutionaries did not dispose of irrational impulses that always play a great part in human actions, and that these impulses must therefore be understood and related properly to their historical and social background.

But because Proudhon sought to understand why we believed in God, this did not mean that he accepted that belief. On the contrary, he saw it as one side of a conflict that is proceeding always in the human character between reason and unreason. His own side was clear, for he declared that "The fight against God is never-ending", and no amount of Jesuit reasoning can enrol him in any struggle but his own—the struggle to free the human individual from the tyranny of collective dogmas.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

SCIENCE AND THE NATION (234 pp. Pelican Books, 1/3).

THIS book is unusual in that it is written by men and women who are both employed workers and scientists, having a very practical approach to the scientific solution of the problem of raising the living standards of the whole human race.

The authors emphasise that science is neither inherently good nor bad, and the object of the book is to indicate the possibilities of social advance, especially in Britain, which science offers. The rate of realisation of these possibilities depends on the extent to which they are known by the people, and one of the virtues of this book is its exposure of the reactionary forces impeding such progress.

While they remain in their laboratories, the authors are on very solid ground and with well-documented, reasoned arguments, amply uphold their contention that "there are no technical obstacles to world-wide social advance" (author's italics), and that "the potential applications of science are, on a world scale, so great that world-wide freedom from want and disease could in fact be achieved within a hundred years." These arguments are put forward in seventeen chapters, the contents of which range from the improvements, and scientific research, needed in the key industries of Britain—fuel and power, heavy chemicals, engineering and transport, and agriculture; through the social and personal require-

ments of everyday life—health, food, homes and consumer goods; to the organisation, administration and augmentation of scientific research.

When, however, the authors emerge from the subjects in which they are experts, they soon flounder in a morass of politics from which they endeavour to extricate themselves by grasping after the Pollitical Party Line. The individual is regarded as a unit to be drilled and regimented to fit into a pre-arranged plan:

"Every type of work can be broken down by a scientific 'job analysis' of every function to be performed. On the basis of this analysis, tests are selected or devised to pick out the people with the qualities essential for the needs of the work (my italics).

—But no mention of picking out the work for the needs of the people! And again:

"One important purpose in education is to fit people for life in the environment in which they are going to live."

We would prefer to think of education as enabling people to shape for themselves the environment in which they are going to live.

H.L.B.

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New Health or Perfect Hell

AMONG those who regard planning as something more than "just a job" can be discerned a certain unease about the New Towns, however bold and dramatic their conception is believed to be. Superficially the unease arises from an immediate technical problem and more deeply from the general picture of the New Towns as expressions of contemporary culture. Both cases concern Work and Industry.

The immediate problem of what industries and what inhabitants are to settle in the New Towns has not yet been properly solved. It is related to the larger one of the location of industry as a whole and of the broad economic aim of the nation, neither of which are clear. In the end, the problem is related to the wide philosophical and therefore social-economic and political objective, which is clear—and depressing—enough.

Ostensibly the New Towns are to be built as part of a sensible decentralising process. The latest ideas of town planning are to be applied and all amenities provided. Even the appearance of the towns is being considered. Yet in spite of all the promises the unease remains. One recalls too readily that brilliant satire on the modernized Hell, where the newly-arrived soul cries out in despair: "What have I done to be sent to a realm where everything is provided for a man and only his heart and his hope and his spirit is taken from him? O Hell, O perfect Hell, how can I endure the burden of your pleasures?"*

But what can be wrong with achieving perfection? Only the end for which perfection is attempted. The one vital question on which all plans must finally be based, New Towns and all, has as yet no proper answer. The question is finally a moral and spiritual one, and therefore if the utmost practical importance. The present answer to the simple question,

*From *Hells Bells* by Marmaduke Dixon.

"Planning for what?" though never clearly stated, is, nevertheless implicit. It is thoughtlessly taken for granted by most people and by all the established political parties and it is entirely wrong. In effect it amounts to Toil for All, for Ever, which in the present age is not merely a futile and degrading objective but one which must inevitably bring disaster.

"In origin, work and play have the same common trunk and cannot be detached," writes Mumford in *The Condition of Man*, "every mastery of the economic conditions of life lightens the burdens of servile work and opens up new possibilities for art and play; and in these realms man gains a further insight into his surroundings, his community, and himself." Through modern technology, including the atomic pile, we have mastered the economic conditions for all time. Yet we are not beginning to plan for art and play and insight—in other words for a leisure age of personal financial independence.

In spite of the Second World War—in some ways because of it in that modern wars, for all their devastating effects, speed up technical development to a phenomenal degree—the age of abundance is here for the taking—even if the taking does last ten, or even twenty, years. Abundance means leisure. Leisure means culture and freedom. Freedom means whatever you wish it to mean. That wish is not likely to be for a life devoted to producing ping-pong balls for Portugal or boot-buttons for Brazil, relieved only by the filling-in of football-pool coupons in a last pathetic attempt to escape from the boredom and frustration of the ever-widening prison so excellently planned.

We are passing through the most fateful years in human history. On how we react to the as yet half-realized but fundamental moral issue of to-day—regimented mass toil versus personal creative play—will depend the future of Western civilisation.

What Our Poets Want

"WHAT sort of people are our young poets, and what sort of people would they like to be?"

A magazine, *Poetry Quarterly*, has tried to answer these questions by asking the poets themselves. It has sent them a questionnaire about Poets and Life. The answers are delicious.

One odd thing is that most of the young poets want to live in the town, not the country, though with as many week-ends in country cottages as

IS THIS BEING 'TACTFUL'?

A NEWS item in the *Evening Standard* (5/5/48) states that "the library at Reading Gaol is to be expanded. New books are to be provided for the 150 prisoners the gaol usually holds.

But Oscar Gilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol* will not be one of them. Reason: The authorities think it would be 'tactless'."

And what would the authorities call actually locking up 150 men in Reading Gaol which has been condemned and had been closed for over 30 years?

Meanwhile, one can but hope that all plans, including those for the New Towns, will be treated as provisionally as possible. Who can tell what the next decade will bring? We may yet save ourselves from producing a perfect hell and should be ready to build, in a spirit of creative play, if not a new heaven, at least a new earth, where the individual human being can at last come into his own.

—Information Bulletin of the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction.—April, 1948.

possible, adds one (G. S. Fraser).

Most of them plump, rather hesitantly, for being married instead of single. "If you merely mean living together, well, yes" (John Waller). "Creation ignores domestic status" (Charles Hamblett). "One shouldn't be ashamed to let one's wife work" (Fraser).

All are agreed on one point—the poet should have a good income. They reckon he should get £500 a year if single, £1,000 if married. Tax free, adds John Waller, thoughtfully."

The above extract from the *Daily Herald* (27/4/48), is of interest as showing the deplorable lack of any sense of social responsibility and the superiority complex that is displayed by some of our literary people. Quite why, in our existing society, a poet has any more right to an income of £1,000 a year than any other man doing a useful job of work, it is difficult to understand.

It is worth noting that a similar questionnaire issued a while back by the *Horizon* to its contributors produced almost the same answers. The artist is not necessarily, though he may be, a Very Important Person, and he has no right to claim special privileges for himself. This griggish form of self-assertion is not the answer to a society that ignores its genuine artists as much as possible. Rather is the answer to challenge that society.

Freedom of Speech in N. Zealand

With my family, I joined the Riverside Community in December. It's primary basis is farming (400 acres, 40 in orchards, sheep, cows, pigs, bees, fowls), but we aim to extend and diversify with small industries, educational and other activities. It is an attempt to build the Good Society from the ground up. Far from being an escape or retreat (as those content to give unqualified support to the present system are quick to describe it) we hope it will ultimately mean a release of energy and greater facilities for concentrating effective action far beyond the Community. I myself was re-elected President of N.Z. Christian pacifist Society in October on the understanding that I return to Wellington at least quarterly for meetings (30 miles by road and all-night journey by boat to North Island). Prior to leaving Wellington, I was holding weekly open-air meetings for 3 hours each Friday evening in defiance of a City Council ban and refusal to grant me a permit under a by-law requiring prior permission. I held 20 meetings and have been prosecuted for two of them (the two occasions happened to be during a Municipal Election campaign when in the interests of freedom of speech, I allowed Communist candidates to speak from my site for 1 hour, as this site was a customary one for election meetings and the Communist candidates had also been refused a permit. They were prosecuted, too. After two adjournments by the Court and an attempt at a third one. I protesting each time, my case was heard on 5th February, in Wellington. I defended myself as usual, claiming that it was the duty of the City Council to facilitate and certainly not to prohibit free assembly and discussion, that insofar as they had rights over streets and reserves they were trustees for the people and could not exercise absolute or arbitrary power, and that if upheld they could refuse permits to all save their own Tory candidates and even interfere in Parliamentary elections in the same way. Successive

Mayors had tried to have me dismissed from my employment as secretary of the W.E.A. by cancelling grants to the W.E.A., and next thing they might cut off my water supply or electricity, because they didn't like my opinions. I told the Court I had not only held the two meetings but twenty and if the weather was fine I would be holding another on the same site the next night. This was published in the press and I had a very good meeting which went on for 3½ hours and I then had to send the people home. The Magistrate reserved his decision. Likewise, when the case against the Communists was heard this week. My last regular meeting was held in Wellington on 19th December and my first at the nearest town here (Motueka, 5 miles away), on Christmas Eve, since when weekly meetings have been held. Although a small town there is a large influx of seasonal workers at this time of the year for tobacco and fruit harvesting and the meetings are lively. I was thrown off my box one night by a half-drunk returned soldier, and the police wanted to make that an excuse for stopping me! The next week they chased everybody away except me and wouldn't let anyone stay to listen, as soon as discussion began to develop when I invited questions as usual. I had an argument with police afterwards in which I pointed out that the Salvation Army down the street were not interfered with. The senior constable's reply was classic: "But they don't have any argument." Since then, however, the police have not interfered with the meetings. (In Wellington, too, which by comparison is a large city, the police did not interfere at all—except during the war—the prosecutions are taken by the City Council under by-law passed during the war.)

Sincerely yours,
Nelson, N. Zealand. A. C. BARRINGTON.

ANARCHISTS AND MARRIAGE

COMRADES,
May I suggest that John Stevens is confusing "the family" and "the legal family"?
As Reich has pointed out, it is the legal family which gives the child its first training in authoritarianism, and is the cause of "95% of the marriage failures" that John Stevens mentions.
But this is not to deny that a child develops best as a member of a family, nor does it mean that the family must be monogamous or patriarchal.
London. ANTHONY WEAVER.

IS COLOUR BAR WIDESPREAD?

DEAR COMRADES,
Although I agree in most respects with your reviewer of the book *Negroes in Britain*, in the last issue, I sometimes question whether racial prejudice is as prevalent as its opponents believe.
I do not believe in statistics; and if the book shows that a definite objection was received in 40 to 60 per cent. of cases to accommodating coloured students, this does not of itself prove that "a prejudice against the Negro" exists, but that this prejudice is *thought* to exist by boarding houses, etc. These are run for livelihood or profit and the landladies, etc., feel that they might lose trade, without any actual proof to back it up. The same applies in particular to the restaurants where coloured people have been barred, not because the owners were themselves racially prejudiced, but in typical bourgeois manner, were frightened of loss of profit from American visitors, etc. (This was clearly demonstrated in the Leary Constantine case.)
So far as my own experience is concerned, I was very gratified to note one instance during the occupation of Britain by American forces. At a dance in a small town American M.P.'s, acting under orders, they said, turned out three American Negro soldiers present. Practically the whole of the British soldiers and civilians present left also, leaving the

Letters to the Editors

remaining U.S. soldiers alone with few hangers-on of the "bobbysoxer" type.
There are various reasons that could be adduced, perhaps, to show why in most cases the British workers generally were friendly with American Negro soldiers against the colour bar. But one reason is the permeation of the idea of abolition of colour barriers in the mind, originally confined to a few revolutionists. It is true a lot remains to be done, but we have progressed a great deal from the days when racial discrimination and the colour bar were accepted in the normal run of things. While they may still occur, every case that comes to light is the subject of strong comment and criticism in spite of the attempts of Fascists and Imperialists in our midst.
London. T. HART.

the poor rates for support and compelled to depend upon their own resources for earning a living.
The result was that wages rose and working-class conditions speedily improved.
London. M. COHEN.

WALLACE'S SURPRISE

With regard to the article on Wallace in 20th March issue, I wonder if the writer is aware that the main reason for the victory of the Wallace man in the Bronx election is that the population is mainly Jewish and they were expressing their dissatisfaction with the Democrat stand on Palestine.
N. York. S. GRIEG.
[Presumably not, since *Freedom* viewpoint was that the real strength of Wallace's line (based on the avoidance of war), so far as electioneering is concerned, lies in the fact that a vast proportion of Americans do not want war, and many of them are prepared to grasp any straw in order to keep out of another world conflict.—Eds.]

BOUQUET

DEAR FRIENDS,
I was very happy to send you in the mail yesterday twenty-five dollars by post office money order which you should receive soon. Please renew my subscription for two copies each month and use the remainder as you see fit, to promote the welfare of the human race.
I look forward more and more to reading your paper and always pass it on to some conscientious objector for his inspiration. Many of them have developed anarchist views in prison and in camps. They are young and still idealists in spite of all they have been through and some still enduring.
Sincerely,
California. O.K.R.

REVOLUTIONARY STATEMENT

Albert Gregory, of Crownhill, Plymouth, fined £2 at Plymouth yesterday for putting up a garage without the corporation's permission, was alleged to have said: "When I have put it up there is no power or regulation that can make me take it down."
Mr. J. S. Mann, the corporation's solicitor, commented: "That is not only inaccurate, but in these days it is almost a revolutionary statement. It is tantamount to saying, 'This is a free country and I can do what I like.'"
Daily Express, 30/4/48.

the streets. After the election, however, Peron received a Russian trade mission and achieved an uneasy peace with the local Party on a basis of a common dislike of "Yanqui capitalist imperialism".
Throughout South America the Party has made many such strange if temporary alliances. In Brazil it supports the ex-Dictator Vargas (who kept Carlos Prestes, the Communist leader, in goal for 10 years) against the democratic Dutra Government; in Peru it backs the Conservatives against Haya de la Torre's Left-wing Socialist Party. It is consistent only in its opposition to the U.S.A. and its support of Russia.
Observer, 18/4/48.

FOOD SITUATION IN GERMANY

During May, the normal consumer in the whole bizonal area will receive only three and a half ounces of meat, compared with a nominal one pound in April. The heavy workers in such industries as iron and steel are far more seriously affected.
They will receive no additional meat, and the drop in their ration is from 4 lb. to 3½ oz. Only the coal miners will continue to receive extra meat as before.
The failure of the meat ration is caused by drought, lack of fodder, and the bad condition of live-stock.
Manchester Guardian, 29/4/48.

PAPER ECONOMY

Last night: "If we are to . . . build up supplies for an increase of size (of newspapers) . . . we can only hope to do it by salvaging all waste paper."—Mr. L. J. Edwards, for the Government in the Commons.
To-day: St. Bartholomew's Hospital seek an ophthalmic surgeon. "Candidates . . . are required to lodge 50 copies of their applications and testimonials with the undersigned."—Advertisement.
Evening Standard, 4/5/48.

LAUGHING STOCK

Michigan to-day won the American witch-hunting championship. It came to the ears of the State's Senate that James Zarichny, a 24-year-old mathematician, student in the local university, might be a Communist. They asked him if he were.
Student Zarichny said that was his business. So the Senate had him arrested for contempt. One Senator warned his colleagues: "You are making yourselves the laughing stock of the nation."
Daily Express, 29/4/48.

PERON AND THE COMMUNISTS

Peron often regarded here as a Fascist in a curious position vis-a-vis the Communists. During the 1945-46 election campaign the Communists, as members of the Democratic Union, were his most vocal if not his most powerful opponents and Peronists and Communists fought in

ESSENTIAL OCCUPATION

Vice-Admiral E. Weichold, a former Flag Officer of German Naval Command, Italy, and other German naval officers, are in England with their families, doing translation for a war history.
They have full freedom. Admiral Weichold lives in a 12-guinea-a-week hotel at Belsize Park, N.W.
Daily Express, 29/4/48.

GOD OR MAMMON?

Steel castings and parts of automatic looms were carried into Holy Trinity Church, Blackburn, for industrial harvest services yesterday.
The lessons at evensong were read by Mr. F. Hulme, secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union branch, and Mr. D. P. Welman, managing director of an engineering works.
Daily Herald, 26/4/48.

BRIGHT FUTURE

More than 3,000,000 adults in England and Wales can scarcely read or write. . . . about 17 per cent. of the population is semi-literate or illiterate. . . . the proportion of people of low intelligence shows a tendency to increase.
—Report of the Bishop of Liverpool's Commission on Christian Education.

Through the Press

NEW SCHOOL TIES

(I)
The Bombay Government has stopped English lessons in lower classes of secondary schools.
Daily Graphic, 24/4/48.
(II)
Every school with its tie was his aim, Mr. George Tomlinson, Minister of Education told Manchester parents yesterday. The colours should be so regarded that wearers would see that their lives reflected nothing but credit on their school.
Daily Herald, 24/4/48.

I'M HAPPY RIGHT HERE

Whitehall has asked Canberra to take action against British seamen, now averaging 40 a week, who desert their ships in Australia.
Victorian police authorities have also asked the Federal Government to investigate the recruitment of policemen in Britain on free, priority passages. Twenty of the 45 who arrived recently have resigned saying, "We find we are just not cut out for it."
Daily Express, 19/4/48.

WRITTEN OFF

A husband who claimed £1,000 damages in a divorce case at Birmingham last night was told by Judge Norris that his wife had "no value whatsoever" and therefore he was not entitled to recover anything.
Daily Telegraph, 22/4/48.

WOLVES IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING

The chairman of the North Rhine-Westphalia Communists, Herr Paul, said in Düsseldorf to-day that General Bishop must have misunderstood the reasons which prompted his party to apply for permission to change its name to the German Socialist People's party.
In refusing this application yesterday, General Bishop stated that if the Communists' policy had changed to the extent that another name seemed necessary and appropriate he wished to know more about their new policy.
Herr Paul now asserts that the policy has remained unchanged since the

Brussels Congress of Communist parties in 1935. He maintains that it has always been both democratic and popular and that the party's democratic principles compel it to change its name should a majority of its members demand this change. In conclusion, Herr Paul declared that, as the other parties in the British zone had been allowed to change their names, the Communists should be allowed to do the same.
Manchester Guardian, 4/5/48.

FRIENDLY CO-OPERATION

Colonel W. T. Babcock, U.S. deputy commander in Berlin, to-day said his Russian counterpart, Colonel Alexis Jelisarov, was the biggest collector of falsehoods "since Ananias".
Daily Express, 24/4/48.

CULTURE BY CARD INDEXES

By last week, 41 nations had joined UNESCO, a body with an unwieldy name and an unwieldier problem: the crisis in world culture. Was UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) the right way to attack the problem? At Manhattan's Museum of Modern Art last week, English Art Critic Herbert Read asked that question. His answer: No.
UNESCO, with all its highbrow conferences and talky committees, is missing the whole point, said Read. It seems to assume "that culture is a concrete material . . . bartered like butter or steel . . . already stored up in universities, libraries and museums, waiting, like corn in Egypt, to be distributed to the hungry masses."
According to UNESCO'S constitution, "wars begin in the minds of men . . ." If so, said Read, "they are not to be prevented by card indexes and encyclopedias, by documentary films and the circulation of lecturers . . ."
"The minds of men are controlled only by some form of moral discipline . . . Discipline [is] the end, not the means of education . . . We are all implicated in the decadence of our civilization, and it is only to the extent that our dull indifference is fused to a white heat of moral

indignation and . . . activity that the future can have any promise of greatness . . . The person is the only ground in which a cultural renaissance can take place."
Time (U.S.A.), 3/5/48.

HOUSING PROBLEMS

(I)
In the House of Commons yesterday, Mr. C. W. Key (Minister of Works) told Mr. R. Chamberlain (Lab.—Norwood) that the work on Clarence House—which is being altered and modernised for occupation by Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh—was estimated to cost £50,000. The number of building operatives engaged averaged about 55 and it was hoped to complete the work within the year.
Manchester Guardian, 4/5/48.

(II)
A 20-roomed house in South Kensington is occupied by one woman, 37 animals and 25 birds, Kensington magistrates were told to-day.
The woman—the Hon. Mrs. A. McLaren Morrison, 83, of Onslow Gdns., whose father, the only Baron Pirbright, died in 1903—was summoned by Kensington Borough Council for keeping animals in such a state as to cause a nuisance.
The Bench granted the council an order for prohibition in 14 days.
Mr. Henry Mann, prosecuting, said Mrs. Morrison had in her house what could only be described as a menagerie.
George William Herrick, sanitary inspector, said that Mrs. Morrison kept three rooms for her personal use, and used most of the rest of the building for keeping animals and birds.
Evening Standard, 4/5/48.

(III)
A deputation, representing 500 Nissen hut dwellers from 21 streets in Stepney, is to protest at the next Stepney Council meeting about having to live more than the intended term of two years in "overcrowded conditions".
The tenants say their homes are "alive with rats and mice".
Daily Herald, 21/4/48.

Where's the Difference?

Stalinist Russia

The death penalty was abolished in Russia three days after the Revolution in 1917 and not re-introduced until 1926. It was again re-nounced one year ago.
Unlike Britain, where the death penalty has always been considered as a normal measure of punishment, it operated in the Soviet Union as an exceptional measure and was applied against those who were fighting against the establishment of Socialism. It was not usually used in cases of murder.
—From Daily Worker Editorial, 15/4/48

Fascist Italy

"The Fascist conception, according to which the individual is only an infinitesimal and transitory element in the social organisation, so that, therefore, he must subordinate his own interests and his very existence to this organism and to the state which is its juridical organisation . . . it would be an evident sign of weak juridical sensibility to exhibit aversion to extreme measures of defence against those who display a criminal activity subversive to the essential needs of life and of the political and moral elevation of the State."
—The Italian Minister of Justice when the Death Penalty was re-introduced in the early 30's.

ARE ANARCHISTS EXTREMISTS?

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as Truth, and as uncompromising as Justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal and hasten to the resurrection of the dead."

—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, in the first issue of *The Liberator* (1st January, 1831), for the abolition of the slave trade in America.

WE are often told that anarchists are "extremists". We have no objection to this description in an age which shows the bankruptcy of "centrism". The politicians who have carefully defined the "right" and "left" limits beyond which political controversy ought not to go, have given us typical performances of "moderately putting out fires".

Who would have thought when Socialist propagandists first kindled the enthusiasm of the masses for a "moderate" struggle against capitalism, that the result would be a Labour Government that apparently thinks our economic ills are caused by people selling fruit from a barrow? If that sounds an exaggeration, count the number of fulminations against "spivs and drones" with those against capitalists! If Mr. Shinwell makes an occasional slighting remark against the latter for the benefit of the workers, the result is so unexpected as to cause a national controversy. Capitalists ought to be partners in industry with workers—we are told by those who once were the "moderate" strugglers against capitalism.

The Conservatives are attempting

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
MAY 16th No Meeting
MAY 23rd Tony Gibson
"Russia and Ourselves"
MAY 30th Tom Carlisle
"Workers' Councils"
JUNE 6th Tom Earley
"Some Revolutionary Educationists"
JUNE 14th M. L. Berneri
"Utopia"

NORTH EAST LONDON

MAY 18th Ben Vincent
"Quakerism and Anarchism"
JUNE 1st Fred Reed
"Dostoevsky"
Comrades interested should ring WAN 2396.

BIRMINGHAM

Regular fortnightly discussion-lectures are held on Sunday, 7 p.m., at Dick Sheppard House, 36, Holloway Head. All readers are cordially invited.

Next Meeting: Sunday, May 23rd

KINGSTON, PUTNEY, HAMMERSMITH

Discussion group in above area meets alternate Thursdays, 7.30 p.m. at Dorick House, Kingston Vale. (85 and 72 buses to Robin Hood Gate stop 100 yards up Kingston Vale on right side.) Next meeting, Thursday, May 27th: Variety of Subjects. Bring your friends.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Public Meetings at MAXWELL STREET will be held every Sunday evening.

Speakers: John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Eddie Shaw.

OXFORD

Anyone interested in the formation of an Oxford Anarchist Group should get in touch with John Larkman, Ruskin College, Oxford.

BRISTOL

Anyone interested in the formation of a Bristol Anarchist Group should get in touch with Peter Wilcox, 73, Whitehall Road, Bristol, 5.

to make a come-back amongst the workers by play about freedom from State controls. How popular this might be! But it is very plain that all the freedom they offer is freedom for the capitalist to exploit without the interference of any restriction. It is only very "moderate" freedom they want. They "moderately" struggle against State monopoly because they do not want to see it disappear. They want the State to be solely the executive committee of the ruling class, and not to assume the functions of exploitation on its own account that it has been doing.

But what is the prevailing political mood? It is not enthusiasm for State control measured with capitalism that is common to both the main parties, which merely differ in the accent placed on either. The prevailing mood is apathy. "Moderation", the "wise counsels" that always mean acquiescence with the dominant system and the deferment of rebellion as inopportune, is dictated by the apathy of the people. The old stock sayings of "haste breeds delay" and "avoiding extremes" are hackneyed excuses brought out in every period in history when great issues lie before us, by those who appreciate the need for drastic changes but fear to oppose the ruling powers.

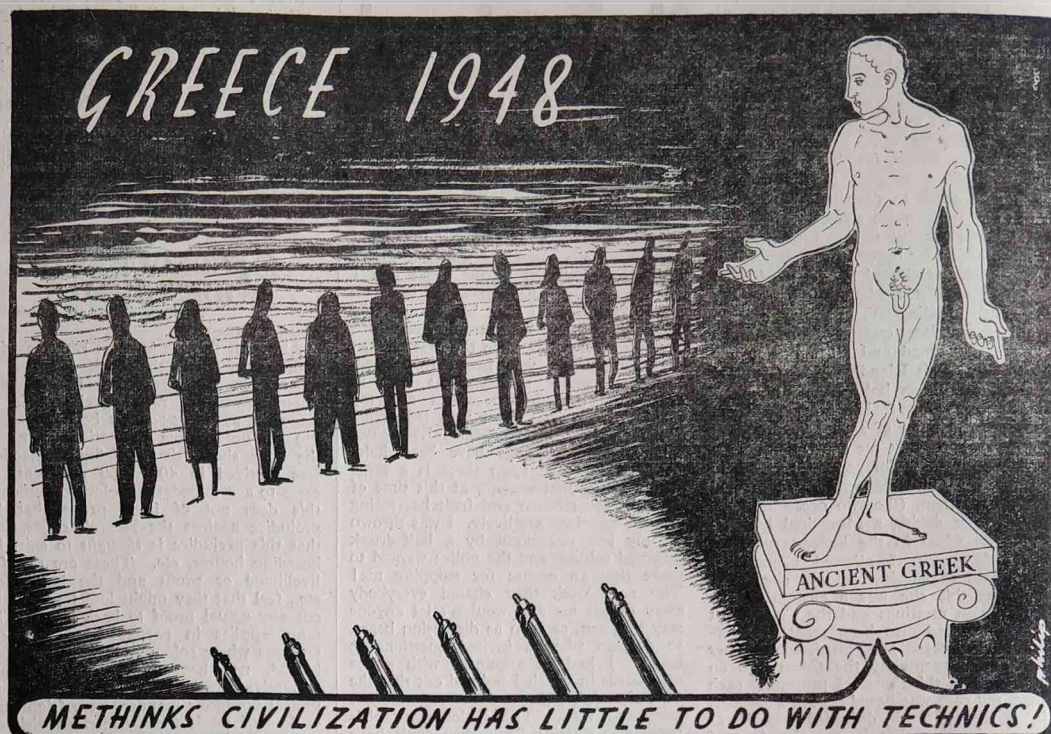
In this sense anarchists accept the charge that they are against those who seek to avoid the struggle for social change by excuses that "the masses are not ready".

EXTREME LEFT?

We reject, however, the application to anarchists of "extremist" in the terms of "right" and "left". The figure of speech, taken from a purely arbitrary arrangement of the French Chamber, that defines parties as "right" and "left", is in fact meaningless to-day.

It has primarily been made meaningless by the fact that Communists, who were once the more revolutionary wing of the social-democratic movement, have a policy dictated by the needs of the Russian State. Only a blind belief that this in any way whatever represents the interests of the workers, and not those of bureaucracy, can say that this is in the least any more "progressive" than having a policy, like the Right Wing, dictated by the needs of any other national State.

When Russian imperialist policy dictated it, the Communists took a more reactionary point of view than the Conservatives. At the moment in England they support strikes because of the pos-



sibility of war with Russia; during the war, Russia being on our side, they opposed strikes. It is impossible to define them as a party more "progressive" or revolutionary than the Labour Party but not quite so much as the Anarchists, as belief in the old "right-left" formula would imply. In fact, Mr. Attlee was perfectly correct when in his May Day speech he denied that the Communists were a party of the Left, but, insofar as one is going to use those terms, a party of the Right.

The authoritarian state of the Bolsheviks is poles apart from anarchism, and not nearer to it than bourgeois democracy. Obviously, the identity of Fascism and Bolshevism puts these parties nearer to each other than any other party. This is what suits the "moderate" politicians, and only the Communists use of deserved Left criticism of the Labour Party caused Attlee to deny they were "Left".

For the politicians generally wish to show Fascism at one extreme and Bolshevism at the other extreme; and themselves happily moderate in the middle. Thus, they wish to overlook their affinities with either and both. And it comes in very conveniently to mask any repressive measure with a show of impartiality. Communists banned from secret Civil

Service jobs? Obviously necessary from the point of view of security in view of the preparations for war with Russia; but to make it look impartial, they ban both Communists and Fascists, although it is perfectly obvious Fascists are not so likely to disclose secrets to the enemy when it is Russia (their Utopia having been Germany). The Mosley march in East London was likely to cause trouble? All processions therefore banned, although it is only the Mosley marches at which trouble is ever caused, primarily because they are always held in a district where it would cause the most provocation.

KNOW THEM BY THEIR DEEDS

In the struggle for social emancipation we must cut away from all politicians and traditional ties. Is there not cause for severity of language in the endeavour to make a clean break with the class-collaboration and political manoeuvring that now is called the Labour movement? On this subject Anarchists, like Lloyd Garrison on the slave trade in history, cannot "think, speak or write with moderation". We have the apathy of the people to overcome.

INTERNATIONALIST.

American Letter

THE ANARCHIST METHOD

(Continued from page 5)

customs of the great institutions. Institution has grown upon institution, until there are by now very few genuine human relations among people; and the great events of our history—wars and depressions—are produced not by the needs of individuals but by the needs of the government, the corporations, the banks.

From the street-car we ride to work on, to the war we are thrown into, nearly all our activities are regulated and determined by institutions ignorant of our needs and operating by the mechanical formulas of the market and the ambitions and interests of those who control the institutions. The result has been the divorcement of people from control over their own lives, the creation of a society, a great machine, where no man is responsible for the crime he commits.

To the nightmarish realm where our life and death are so often determined, Kafka gave a name: the Castle.

Anarchists see in this very system, in the existence of the Castle, in the institutionalism that has replaced direct human action, the root of our problem. The anarchist method is to strike to the heart of the problem, by striving to restore the sovereignty of each man over his own life.

The power of the generals, the judges, the businessmen and the statesmen, the power of the system, rests squarely on the absence among men of a spirit of co-operation, mutual aid and solidarity. Each individual and each family group feels itself isolated, threatened by everyone else; we are unacquainted with our fellow men, afraid and distrustful of them, and for our own protection we prefer to have only necessary, impersonal relations with them.

The anarchist method is to learn to close the gap among ourselves; to learn to live without the State and the system of regimentation and rulership; to work things out for ourselves in our own groups and communities. Let the Castle be! To capture it, it has been said, is merely to become the Castle oneself. Let us act directly, now, and when we all do this we shall have made a revolution. In the age of the atom, such a naive, primitive idea! To strike at the heart of the problem, to learn a new way of living—how absurdly naive and primitive! Yet the alternative to this is not very pleasing.

D.T.W.

(Reproduced from the March-April issue of "Resistance", New York.)

Drifting Towards War

(Continued from page 1)

methods which have led to nothing else in the past. What have we, as anarchists, to say about that situation? True, it bears out the analysis we have made in the past. Often accused of being Jeremiahs in our editorial comments, we have once again to see our Jeremiad coming true. Such a seemingly inevitable march towards a new war is doubtless a despairing sign, but despairing fatalism is no practical attitude towards what the future holds. We may note that the working out of events supports our analysis, and that should make us even more certain of the correctness of anarchist premises.

But there are also reasons for disquiet unrevealed, and perhaps unrecognised, by the speeches of politicians. Attlee said in the foreign policy debate that he "did not believe that there were any people in the world who wanted war," and, of course, no one consciously looks forward with pleasure to such a prospect. But it would be foolish to imagine that "they could never put across another war so soon after the end of the last". One hears this said often enough in socialist anti-war circles, and one would like to believe it, but realism compels us to make the following points.

Life in post-war austerity is even more pointless than it was in 1939, and it is only too obvious that many people found the conditions of life during the war much more satisfying. This is not meant in any mere materialist sense, although the war was in some ways a more economically prosperous period for the working class than the peace. It is the sense of purpose, of doing something that has an apparent meaning, which makes war more satisfactory to people than peace. Almost everyone must know someone who has gone back into the army because they were happier there than in civilian life. The

frequency of this return is an eloquent commentary on civil life, more especially so because of the eagerness for demobilisation and the generally voiced criticism of army life.

It may be that this unspoken dissatisfaction with conditions of peace, with its equally unspoken corollary, the yearning for war, is an even more dangerous factor for the world than the ambitions of power states. At all events the fact that the drift towards war which we have demonstrated over and over again on economic and political grounds, is accompanied by an unspoken feeling that war is more satisfying than peace, is a most menacing one.

AN ALTERNATIVE ATTITUDE TO LIFE

It is for this reason that all attempts to ward off war by strengthening capitalistic institutions will in fact serve

PRESS FUND

23rd April—7th May:

Coventry: A.B. 12/8; Anon 2/6; London: E.M. 2/6; London: Anon £10/10/0; Newark: per 'Adunata' £10/14/0; Withersea: J.M.D. 7/6; Menlo Park: O.R. £5/3/5; Stirling: D.G. 1/6; Coleman's Hatch: D.M. £1/5/6; Cambridge: C.L.D. 5/-; London: A.M. 2/-; Long Eaton: F.M. & C.W.R. 4/-; Birmingham: F.D. 1/6.

£29 14 7

Previously acknowledged ... £159 14 8

1948 TOTAL TO DATE ... £189 9 3

*Tampa, Fla.: A.O. \$2; Miami, Fla.: proceeds picnic 21st March, \$25; Astoria, N.Y.: V.C. \$3, S.S. \$3; Providence, R.I.: Libertarian Circle \$10.

only to make it more inevitable. Eden's remark that "the building up of the strength of Western democracy must include the co-ordination and the enforcement of joint military effort. There is no escape from that in the world to-day"; his insistence that "there will not be any true peace or real sense of security in any part of the world unless and until there is acceptance by the nations of a rule of law and unless a world authority is in being which is itself respected and can maintain that rule of law"; a point of view echoed by such Labour members as R.W. G. Maekay . . . "an organisation for Europe . . . must have executive power . . .". The *Daily Express* editorial view on conscription, that "Training in arms, preparation for defence, must sorrowfully but surely be part and portion of the service that the individual renders to the community"; all these represent the extension of the general trend towards totalitarian ideas in politics. And the history of the last thirty years shows that the historical trend in general has been towards larger and larger wars, and that the totalitarian trend in particular has been the most powerful ingredient in that general drift.

Such trends thrive on the dissatisfaction and frustration of individual life. Clearly the only way out is the creation of new values in life in the fostering of a total rejection of the despairing values of capitalism which make war attractive emotionally, and the development of revolutionary sentiments regarding the possibilities of life in more satisfactory social conditions. Our present economy, and our present social structure favour wars; a revolutionary and anarchist outlook, and the economic and social structures appropriate to it provide the hope for life without war and social misery.

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