

# Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

"The social problem of the future we consider to be, how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with common ownership of the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation in all the benefits of combined labour."

JOHN STUART MILL.

## A CALL —

MANIFESTO OF THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONFERENCE, PARIS, 15th, 16th and 17th May, 1948.

**T**WO blocks of States stand facing each other, and war threatens. The hopes which the peoples founded on technical progress, material abundance and the unity of the world have been ruined.

To-day nobody sees a way out of the uninterrupted succession of crises and wars. No-one proposes any effective means of escaping the so-called historical fatalities.

Bourgeois democracy is bankrupt. Private capitalism has shown its incapacity to resolve its own contradictions.

State capitalism, under the total form of Bolshevik dictatorships, of misleading "Labour" nationalisations, or of the reactionary demagogies of fascism, has shown itself to be the pitiless degradation of all human values.

Liberalism and totalitarianism chain us to an economy of war, where the whole of society serves the production of means of destruction.

A reconciliation between the two blocks which overwhelm the world would bring no salvation. The basis of agreement envisaged by Stalin on the 17th May is no other than the preparation in common of new slaughters.

None of the problems set by ruin, famine, social chaos, will be resolved by the eventual combination of the Marshall and Molotov plans. Under the pretext of economic and political reconstruction, these plans are instruments of imperialism.

None of the spiritual forces which pretend to lead humanity according to the dictates of States, Churches and Parties, is to-day any longer capable of a useful rôle. All have floundered in the most brutal fanaticisms.

All the political, trade-union and religious organisations embodied in authority have become merely the machines of slavery. The peoples of Spain, Portugal, Greece, Latin America, groan under the yoke of Führers which the "movement of

## L. P. Conference Social Democracy Shows Its Paces

**I**N the reports on the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough there is a good deal of confusion based mostly on misconceptions as to the function of such conferences. The Labour Party Leaders are not concerned at such gatherings to make "general" speeches—they are addressing their own party, and looking for the support of their rank and file. It is therefore foolish to expect such a conference to be concerned with any particular question in any other way than as it affects the relationship of the leaders with their supporters within the party. Looked at from this angle the conference indicated some interesting trends, though none of them are new.

First of all there is the conception of the party conference itself. The original purpose of such annual meetings is to instruct the leaders in the wishes of the movement as a whole; it is part of a democratic machinery. But the Labour Party Conferences are less and less concerned to make manifest the mandate which the party as a whole gives to

its spokesmen; more and more it becomes a well-planned demonstration of "loyal support" for the policies laid down by the leadership. The Labour movement doesn't now tell Bevin what he has to do in foreign policy; instead it endorses a policy alien to its alleged beliefs under appeals to loyalty, avoidance of splits, and so on.

In the conduct of such a demonstration the leadership shows itself extraordinarily adroit. It gets its mandate the way it wants it on all important issues, and allows "democracy" free play on unimportant ones. Eating your cake and having it.

### Discipline and Democracy

Nevertheless, the procedure is threadbare enough for the seamy side to show through here and there. On the question as to whether Platts-Mills should or shouldn't be allowed to defend himself against his expulsion, the "delegates" were asked to vote on a matter which had not been discussed by those they were there to represent. Obviously, a card vote on such a matter is farcical. Democracy is always open to the anarchist criticism that the counting of heads does not necessarily lead to the right answer. But it is reduced to complete absurdity when a delegate's hand is taken to represent so many thousand votes of people who have never even discussed the matter at all!

The refusal of a hearing for Platts-Mills inevitably produced a feeling that fair play was being denied. It also implied that the Executive were afraid of what he might say. If they were swayed by such fears, they made a miscalculation for anything feebler than Platts-Mills' "What I Would Have Said" article in *Forward* (22/5/48) can hardly be imagined.

### Foreign Policy

The conference showed less the opinion of the Labour Party on Bevin's foreign policy than the effect which the holding of political power has on doctrine. Everyone knows Labour Party socialists are "not happy" about foreign policy. Yet Bevin got a huge vote of support, and it is worth while to reflect on the mechanism involved.

Bevin's socialist critics start with two serious disadvantages. One is that the most vociferous criticism comes not from socialist sources but from the faithful band of fellow-travellers who give Russian foreign policy an airing inside the Labour Party. Many "socialist" critics of Bevin must support him rather than convey the impression that they are supporters of the spokesmen of the Kremlin. Such people are like Rhys Davies, who pointed out that he never heard Zilliacus criticize the foreign policy of any other country but his own.

(Continued on page 5)

## -TO ACTION

liberation" conducted in the sense of the recent world war pretended to fight against. In the East, Palestine is on fire. China experiences an endless civil war. The Stalinised peoples are submitted to a police terror as bad as that which Hitlerism established. In the West, forces of the same kind seek to impose themselves on the Americanised peoples.

All that our generation has lived through is no other than an accumulation of evils, resulting from the very functioning of authoritarian society, from the crushing of the forces of liberty. And everything leads our thought back to the same fundamental problem: the construction of a society without States. It is the anarchist revolution of the peoples which, alone, can tear humanity away from the infernal cycle in which it has allowed itself to be enclosed.

Anarchy, the total affirmation of the free activity of the masses in organised indiscipline, is alone capable of breaking the power of the castes which direct the world to its loss.

Anarchy, spontaneous order in the workshop and in the city, is the sole means of rendering to the producers of all wealth and the creators of all values the immense fruitfulness of an unlimited field of experience, the enjoyment of the fruit of their efforts, and the possibility of orienting them always more consciously towards general solidarity.

Anarchy, principle of organisation without dogmas or frontiers, is the sole road to peace.

The International Anarchist Conference of Paris salutes all fighters for liberty throughout the world, whose eyes turn to-day towards the reconstruction of the Anarchist International in the whole of Europe ravaged by the second world war: in Germany, Austria and Italy.

From all parts of the world, the studies of psychologists and the experience of educationalists put forward integral liberty as the sole way of individual and social progress.

From all parts of the world, there come to us the echoes of struggles of emancipation carried on by isolated individuals, by rank-and-file groups, or by organisations already solid. It is the renaissance of the only movement which has never changed in its affirmations; the international anarchist movement.

After a hundred years of application, the authoritarian conception of socialism has triumphed in the world to the point of having exhausted its possibilities and revealed of what it was capable. And it is to the libertarian conception that the future henceforward belongs. If humanity would live and grow, it will be by and towards Anarchy.

The Paris Conference, bringing together delegates from every European horizon, has been above all the expression of that certainty, in a simultaneous affirmation of will and brotherhood above all frontiers.

The renewal of our movement rallies the young forces of the workers. It offers them encouraging perspectives of personal formation and social reconstruction, outside all the constraints which overpower them.

To work, comrades! We have an ideal to live, chains to break, and a world to gain.

GERMANY: Cultural Federation of Libertarian Socialists and Anti-militarists (Hamburg), Stuttgart Group, Libertarian Socialist and Anti-militarist Federation (Dortmund), Muhlheim Group, Marie Hüls Group, Anarchist Group of International Socialists (Spartakusbund). AUSTRIA: Group of Anti-Authoritarian Socialists of Graz, Peter Kropotkin Group of Vienna. BELGIUM: Editions Pensée et Action. FRANCE: French Anarchist Federation, Spanish Anarchist Federation in exile, German Language Anarchist Group "Spartakus" (Paris), Saar Group. ITALY: Italian Anarchist Federation. GREAT BRITAIN: Anarchist Federation, Union of Anarchist Groups, F.A.I. in exile. HOLLAND: Association of Libertarian Socialists. PORTUGAL: Libertarian Alliance. SWITZERLAND: Anarchist Federation F.A.S., Basle Group.

## Wallace & the Wolf

**T**HE recent curious happenings in the Kremlin cannot merely be dismissed as the oddities of politicians, since Stalin and Molotov are the last men to do anything without some very good reason behind their actions.

There was first the very tentative note from the American Ambassador, which Molotov, instead of accepting as a basis for conversations, chose to publish. Then followed, not an approach to the American government direct, but a statement by the Red Pope himself addressed to Henry Wallace, which struck that weak-kneed prophet so hard that he was "humble and overwhelmed" with doggy gratitude.

Wallace's proposals, which called forth Uncle Joe's fervent praise, were the usual woolly-headed liberal talk about disarmament, unrestricted trade, free movement for citizens, guarantees of civil rights, non-intervention in the affairs of other countries, and so on. Clearly, Stalin is just not interested in any of these things, or the actions of the Russian Government over the past two years would have been radically different, but it suits his policy of fooling the left to pretend that he is, while he arms steadily, interferes in every country where Communists or fellow-travellers exist, keeps Russian citizens from travelling into the wicked Western world, and so on.

Superficially, this move appears as if it is primarily an attempt to build up a large fifth column in America under Wallace's leadership. Russia is not ready for war—yet—and her rulers clearly want to use every means to prevent the American militarists getting in first. Wallace, with a vague peace programme which will appeal to the genuine desire of the people to keep out of war, is too good a stooge not to be fostered and bolstered up.

But we should not ignore the possibility that there may be some genuine desire on the part of the Russian and American governments to postpone a war. Both of them may well have found the people too anxious for peace for hostilities to begin in the near future, and so they may be searching for a compromise on which a truce and a temporary share-out may be based.

It would, however, be too fatal to allow ourselves to be lulled into any idea that these men really want peace, or that

any deal they do between them will prevent eventual war or bring prosperity to the workers in any of the countries under their control or influence.

On the contrary. It is a usual feature of modern imperialist politics for opposing governments to make deals, even to swear pacts of continual friendship, only to gain time for the preparation of a conflict they regard as inevitable. Have we so easily forgotten Munich or the Stalin-Hitler pact? A deal at this time, far from being regarded as an omen of peace, can almost certainly be regarded as a penultimate sign of war, as a stage of manoeuvring in which the antagonists gather their forces for the struggle. The workers of the world can be certain that, whatever protestations of friendship their rulers make, they will merely be forced to work harder and to lose their freedom once again in that race of war preparation which is the inevitable consequence of the existence of political States and totalitarian economies.

Now, more than ever, it rests with the workers alone to stop war. They have still the ultimate control over the means of production. They will have to provide the factory workers and soldiers for the next war, and they can still, by refusal to obey, by militant action against their governments, bring an end to the systems that lead to war. No governmental is eternal; the fall of Metternich and his associates in 1848 should teach us that no power, however absolute, is proof against the crumbling of popular support, the refusal of the masses to cooperate and their adoption of revolutionary means of struggle. In 1848 the workers allowed themselves to be duped back into harness. The lesson of the hundred years since then is that only the complete destruction of states, the overthrow of frontiers, the international disobedience of the oppressed, can save us from the cycle of evermore destructive wars, with their terrible aftermaths. The manifesto of the anarchist conference in Paris gives our answer to the insincere manoeuvres of the politicians in America and Russia alike.

# The Vision in Battersea

An open air exhibition of modern sculpture has been arranged and opened at Battersea Park, London. It is of interest and significance to us because it represents an attempt to bring objects of art out of museums and West-end galleries into surroundings nearer to the people.

Between busy, ragged allotments on the left and evening cricketers on the right, I followed the signs pointing to the sculpture exhibition. Kiddies played rounders, danced and skipped and shouted in the sun. I enjoyed one of the rare flashes of imagination to come from the London County Council.

With much of the sculpture I was familiar. It had been at the Tate Gallery for years, but here it was different, and whoever had the bright idea of doing the obvious thing with sculpture is to be congratulated. Books belong on the bookshelf, paintings on the wall, but carved stone and cast bronze belong in the garden or the park. In other words, works of art are meant to be lived with. Penned up in a dusty museum or in an art gallery, much of this sculpture, for instance, looked dead and restricted. But here in a mellowing sun, against a moving background of trees and shrubs, they come to life.

FIVE thousand people passed the gate into this exhibition each day of the recent Whitsun holiday weekend. At the Tate Gallery last year 150,000 people paid to see paintings and drawings by Vincent Van Gogh. Thousands more have been in the past two years to see works by Picasso, Matisse, Roualt, Braque, Paul Klee, Chagall, Paul Nash, and many others. Between May 1st and 18th this year, 75,000 people visited the Royal Academy—the highest total for 18 days since pre-1914. Every night of the season, opera and ballet companies at Sadler's Wells Theatre and the Royal Opera House play to packed houses.

One is immediately tempted to ask why there has been this upsurge of interest in the arts. And there are several obvious and ready-made answers. The interest developed during the war, and we can imagine that people turned to the arts for consolation or compensation, for something lasting, real and vital in a world crumbling about our ears—a world

*\*What I, personally, think of the Royal Academy and its exhibitions has no bearing on the present argument! I am only drawing attention to the fact that many others are interested.*

in any case unsatisfying and flabby in its values.

But the real problem goes beyond that. The question we should really ask ourselves is: Why should the fact that people are beginning to show an interest in the arts appear to need an explanation?

And the answer to that brings us up against the whole problem of our economic system, and nothing short of an inquiry into its nature can tell us why art has been divorced from the ordinary every-day life of ordinary people, so that it seems almost strange when they show interest in it.

The values of capitalist society are those of cold, commercial materialism. They have led to a war against the spirit of man with all the weapons in the hands of the philistine. They have led to an almost complete triumph for inhumanity and for cold legality, and money is the measure of men's worth. They have surrounded us with a man-made environment which is hideous and oppressive. They

have crushed feeling and the desire for feeling out of the most sensitive creative mechanism we know—the human being.

If to-day, people are turning in appreciable numbers back to a desire and a feeling for art, then I can only hope that it is the beginning of a revolt against the inhuman nature of our economic system. That is as yet impossible to judge, but what we can say is that an appreciation of art, a development of the aesthetic, inevitably leads to a mental conflict with the standards of commercial society and its physical results—ugly cities and blackened countryside.

★

IN view of this, the experiment at Battersea has some significance, for it does appear to be a sincere attempt to relate one of the least popular of the arts to an organic environment in a way which can be appreciated by everybody.

Most people who have not bothered to consider the matter very deeply probably think of sculpture in terms of the official statues of dead statesmen which besmirch most of our city squares and open places. And it is to our great loss that the pieces of sculpture in London which are worth looking at twice can be counted on the fingers of one hand—and the provinces are no better.

In Battersea Park, however, although the selection is very broad, representative work by most of our best modern sculptors is shown. And exciting stuff some of it

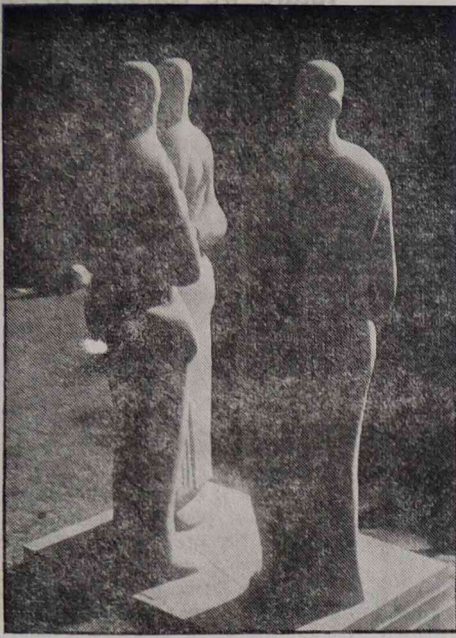
is, too. Attractively arranged and displayed, the stones of various colours, the bronzes both brown and green, blend and contrast with the trees, bushes, flowers, the lake and undulating grass banks among which they are set. One can walk among them, see them from all angles and get to know them. I watched a child run her hands lovingly and sensuously over the smooth stone.

The vision I had at Battersea, in that lovely oasis in a mad world, was one of a future in which life is once again related in a rich, full manner with the non-material things which are essentially human. For a moment I saw a world where leisure was a reality and had a value of its own instead of being a feverish pause in a perpetual scramble to live.

It needed no great stretch of imagination to envisage a society where the pleasure we can take now for a few moments would be a permanent and everlasting right for all. Where art would fall into its natural place among human activities—that is, a part of everything we do. For without art we are less than human, with it, we attain our full stature as living creatures, with our senses and sensibilities as active as our minds and muscles.

"Man does not live by bread alone." Do you see the connection sculpture has with the Social Revolution?

PHILIP SANSON.



["Freedom" photo]

Henry Moore's latest work, "Three Standing Draped Figures", one of the fifty pieces of sculpture to be seen at Battersea, photographed in the rays of the evening sun.

THE LONDON district of Battersea is no Garden City. Flanking the grimy South bank of the Thames, its Northernmost slums squat cheek-by-jowl with warehouses and wharfs, some flourishing, some derelict, while gaunt cranes tower over the barges resting on the mud.

The bus I was on was hot and smelly and crowded. Packed with London workers released from toil until the stroke of nine the next day, it chugged over Battersea Bridge, leaving the style of Chelsea for the seamy side of life.

I got off the bus and felt again the sinking feeling I so often feel when encountering a strange working-class district. London is so big one can live in it for years and not know half of it, and somehow the districts one does know never seem so bad as strange ones. They are, of course. The East End is no better than Battersea, but the street-names there mean something to me because I know them. Battersea is the other side of a river I rarely cross; it seemed unfriendly and almost hostile.

My path lay down a side-turning, shabby but unpretentious, leading me straight to the park gates. I wondered, as I went in, whether parks in other countries have railings round them, and are closed at dusk "to prevent immorality".

## FLASHBACK-5

THE vague sense of our own real weakness, our deficiencies of social feeling, of knowledge, of brain power, our uneven flow of energy, our partial consciousness, the imperfection of our whole equipment for self-defence against the ceaseless action and reaction of inward and outward conditions, mingles with the phantoms of imagination to create an abject self-loathing and self-distrust, a frame of mind which has always proved an irresistible temptation to the desire to dominate in certain ambitious persons, and opened a wide door for the entrance of priestly authority.

But when the discovery is made that there is some sort of established order in action of the forces of nature, when we realise that we can find out that order, can understand and conform to it, can use it, can even make it the servant of our conscious purpose, the whole situation is altered. The new knowledge restores our self-confidence, stimulates all our faculties, gives us courage, gives us hope. Instead of studying how best we may grovel in the dust, and, by morbid introspection and ruthless asceticism, mutilate our nature to propitiate a divine tyrant, we stand erect, our whole intensity of purpose strained towards a mental grasp of the true conditions of existence, that by conformity thereto we may secure space and scope for the fullest self-development.

—"FREEDOM", May 1888.



["Freedom" photo]

Attractively arranged and displayed, the stones and bronzes blend and contrast with the trees, bushes and undulating grass banks among which they are set. One can walk among them, see them from all angles and get to know them.

## A Transitional Period?

DEAR FRIENDS,

You have frequently appealed through the columns of *Freedom* for readers' views and criticisms. I have been a sympathetic reader of your paper and literature for a considerable time and you will be interested to know why I have not become a convinced Anarchist.

If you seek to achieve your objects by the conversion of individuals until all are convinced, I think you are quite logical. Anarchism would work in a world of anarchists; I cannot, however, see a possibility of this happening.

On the other hand, if you wish to apply anarchism to the world as it now is—a world where centuries of oppression, cruelty and superstition has produced a large proportion of murderers, thieves, prostitutes, neurotics and a general in-

grained selfishness, I think you need some kind of interim policy. Law, police, and prisons, undoubtedly, as you have so frequently asserted, protect the privileged in their ill-gotten gains. But you have overlooked the fact that they also in a measure protect ordinary working folk from criminals who do not differentiate between privileged and unprivileged. These criminals are for the most part the products of an unjust society but they exist and won't disappear magically with the revolution. Their criminal character is ingrained and in some cases their instincts are perverted. What do your propose to do with them? It is really too naive to suppose that if you open the prisons and the asylums and abolish the law that these people are all going to behave in a social manner. Your case for the abolition of the State is a good

case, but you don't seem to have the foggiest idea as to what will be done with the legacy which capitalism and the State has left you. This omission could easily make the last condition worse than the first. The criminals could easily become a new herrenvolk. Police, prisons, asylums, laws, are necessary in our present society; we are like drug addicts, we have got into the condition where they are indispensable and, of course, the more we rely on them, the more we shall need them. We can't abolish them suddenly, if we do, we court disaster. We need some method whereby we can gradually eliminate the poison from our system—if we don't do that the poison will eventually eliminate us! Have anarchists any comments or suggestion to make?

N.J.L.

THE first quality which revolutionary conceptions require is imagination. It is not difficult to see that existing conditions make for a miserable world, but it seems to demand considerable imagination to envisage the kind of changes in human life which would follow a change in existing conditions such that inequality was replaced by equality, privilege by justice, passive obedience by active responsibility. It is an imaginative lack which is apparent in the foregoing letter in such passages as, "If you wish to apply anarchism to the world as it now is . . ." Clearly, anarchism cannot be "applied" to such a world as ours, for anarchism means the abolition of the State, and therefore the "application" of anarchism itself produces a radical change in conditions such as must radically alter the whole terms of reference in which individual behaviour is based. There seems no reason to doubt that the police and the legal apparatus exert some effect to-day, and that if they were abolished here

and now there would be an increase in crime. It is part of the anarchist criticism of capitalism that it is absolutely dependent on repressive apparatus for its continued existence. But obviously one does not usher in an anarchist society merely by abolishing capitalism's repressive apparatus while leaving intact the social soil which supplies the motive for crime and the scheme of values which determines the kind of crimes which are committed. It is not necessary here to go further into the psychology of crime than to say that criminals do not identify themselves with society and wish to flout it—which is why present society calls them "anti-social". But if one leaves out of account the small proportion of crimes which are wholly psychopathological, the immense majority of crimes are influenced by the prevailing economic scheme. Thieves steal clothes only when clothes are in short supply and therefore have a scarcity value; the same applies to the stealing of typewriters, and it is this which makes

money itself the chief and most frequently sought object of the criminal. In short, crime reflects the very features of existing society which anarchism will, by definition, abolish. It hardly matters, even if it were as true as the writer seems to think, that existing law protects the poor as well as the rich, if in an anarchist society there are no poor. It will certainly not be such a disaster to lose one's savings if society no longer compels one to be dependent on one's savings and destitute without them.

We have gone into these details in order to show what mountains objectors often make out of the merest molehills. But of course the real core of the matter is a difference in conceptions of human character and human capacity. The problem of crime is by no means solved under existing conditions; it is no reason to defer the attempt to remove major evils such as the State and authority that the new society may also fail to solve the crime problem.

OUR correspondent writes of "a world where centuries of oppression, cruelty, and superstition has produced a large proportion of murderers, thieves, prostitutes, neurotics and a general ingrained selfishness . . ." It is not centuries of oppression that produce these things, it is oppression here and now. Reformists and gradualists are obsessed by the "weight of the past"; as though the past could act in any way except through the immediate present! Selfishness is prevalent to-day not because of "centuries of oppression", but because in the present state of society selfishness is an appropriate philosophy. It is, indeed, almost officially enshrined in the capitalist conception of "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost".

But it is a common observation that differing types of society have their differing moral conceptions. Feudal philosophy differs from capitalist philosophy, and clearly anarchist philosophy will develop from anarchist conditions. What is quite certain is that the surest way to see that capitalist conditions do linger on in a new society is to carry over capitalist institutions (e.g., law, prisons, etc.) into that society. The imaginative lack which fails to grasp this is the characteristic of the reformist; and history shows again and again that the retention of unsatisfactory institutions on the plea of guarding against some real or imagined evil tendency inevitably succeeds in perpetuating the very evil they were designed to eliminate.

In conclusion, it is not suggested that an anarchist society will not have problems; it obviously will have them. What it must provide itself with is the freedom and the flexibility to attack problems in a radical manner. To retain capitalistic methods of "solving" problems, will merely hamper such flexibility.

# "The Miners are Satisfied"

—Will Lawther

ONE of the various mock battles staged between those who are actually miners and those who, as miners' union officials are called "miners" in the press. And we do not recognise Will Lawther, Arthur Horner, Abe Moffat, or any of them as miners any more than we regard Lord Hyndley as a miner.

The resolution dealt only with broad outlines and made no detailed suggestions, but the merest hint of more control by the workers nearly gave Will Lawther (President N.U.M.) hysterics.

He objected to speakers "who are as far away from the pits as possible telling us how they should be run", and vainly tried to stem the criticism by bellowing: "The miners are satisfied."

Before the booing could die down, Arthur Deakin, leader of the Transport and General Workers Union, rushed to the microphone to shout: "I join with Lawther, we are satisfied."

## Who Are The Miners?

We have pointed out before, however, that there is a vast deal of difference be-

Just in case we should be criticised, however, for interfering in industries in which we do not work, we should like to point out that we do *not* tell miners what to do. Neither do we pretend to represent them. In fact, we state quite categorically that it is the miners themselves who should control the industry, without any interference from retired army officers or union bosses equally retired from useful work.

Among the category of miners in that sense we should include those technicians whose work is connected with production and research, but suggest that they should not be privileged in any way, or paid more than the man at the coal face, without whom the experts are helpless. Those "experts" whose work is connected with the management of men and business management would have no place in an industry under workers' control.

In the vain search for incentives under the present system, responsibility has not yet been thought of, and probably will not be, for capitalism, whether private or state, demands irresponsibility from the workers.

The resolution at the Labour Party conference, however, said nothing about workers' control, but mild as it was, the Party Executive asked for its rejection. James Griffiths, Minister of National Insurance, and new Party chairman, appealed to the workers not to join in the "smear campaign" against the Boards. It was, he said, a Conservative campaign.

Showing admirable Party discipline, the conference fell for this and agreed not to vote on the resolution but to leave it to the executives.

# ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM AND WORKERS' CONTROL

THE Tories of to-day, wishing to cash in on the general resentment at domination, have raised a cry of freedom from controls. They follow this up hastily by saying that there are certain controls they do not wish to abolish. In fact, of course, they recognise quite clearly that all they object to are certain controls which the business man finds irksome. They are willing to continue controls upon the working-class. The Socialists believe in control by the State—conceding a large measure of control by the employer. The Tories believe in control by the employer—conceding a large measure of control by the State (conscription, for instance).

The whole point is—who is to control? Industry being inanimate cannot control itself. Anarchists believe in control over things but not over men. Therefore they believe industry should be controlled by the workers in that industry.

## Control From The Bottom Up

At each place of work we believe there should be created—at the present time—a council of workers representing not just a few militants or delegates but comprising all the workers there. Of course, 100% may not be readily possible; but less than that the council becomes not an industrial council but a propaganda council. Propaganda councils for workers' control are an immediate need. They are the necessary forerunners of the council for workers' control. They can participate in the industrial struggle and (as shown later) can be the nucleus of revolutionary industrial unionism. Our aim is, however, a 100% organised shop, not dominated by any political party, union or other section of the workers, but one which represents the whole of that unit.

We have seen such councils created by workers in time of unofficial strikes, particularly in heavy industry, and our aim is to see them created permanently, for the waging of unofficial strike action by the working-class, and

(In the last issue, A.M. referred to the industrial policy of anarcho-syndicalism as one based on council organisation and industrial unionism. It has

been suggested that this should be amplified to reiterate the basic principles of anarchist syndicalism.)

later for the taking of control.

Such councils can unite with other councils representing their places of work. Nationally, with every other such branch of the industry. This confederation of councils would be a genuine industrial union. One which, in the struggle against capitalism, could paralyse every effort of the dominant class (whether State or capitalist) directed against the workers, and which could readily take over the management of the industry, by the workers in that industry, during a period of social transition. All the national (and international) federations of industrial councils would unite in a confederation of labour, for the relationship of industry to industry. Such a body would have no governmental or authoritarian powers whatever, its sole job being the relationship of industry to industry. Each industry would manage its own affairs. It would regulate its own conditions and determine its own products.

Locally, the councils would unite not with their own industry specifically, but with all other such councils in the district, to form a commune. Into the commune would be associated all the other branches of social activity not directly covered by industrial unionism. (Associations of the elderly, and infirm, for instance). In the commune the representatives of industry and what are now known as professions, would be associated in municipal ownership by the consumers themselves. In this body they would determine the needs of the community (schools, houses, etc.). They would have no powers over the individual but have their sole activity in the determining of their common needs and the reference of these needs to the industrial unions.

Such a local commune would have its need in the struggle against capitalism, as a revolutionary local uniting all the exploited in one district. Further, to arrange for such matters as education independently of the State and local authorities; to press for such matters as parks and housing estates without the need for electing political swindlers or grovelling to local bigwigs. But its full use would come in a workers' society in which it would be the main-spring of activity, with the total abolition of the State and centralised authority. Certain functions it might take from the present town council but it would be the centre for all social and distributive activity.

It would be natural for communes to tend to federate, but in the absence of any government, they would not form a nation; but be simply spread over whatever collection of "nations" was comprised in the new society.

## The Transitional Period

The entire apparatus of police and judiciary would disappear with the State; and with the new principle of production according to need and not according to profit, the crime motive would vanish. The manufacture of arms would be another vanishing industry as the need for defence of the revolutionary gains passed. The vast parasitic structure of banks and landlordism would also be abolished. The wage system and the use of money values would go. In its place would be the distributive centre where people would draw their needs. At their place of work they would work according to their ability. Of course in the early stages there might be some modifications. Rationing of certain commodities might be necessary. Some defence against counter-revolutionary elements and those corrupted by the old society might be necessary which need not take the place of a standing police force but be merely the formation of local defence committees for

temporary specific purposes.

This whole process would not be of itself an anarchist society. It would however have abolished the State and centralised authority. It would abolish property and wage principles. It would institute control of each industry by the workers in that industry. The land would be a mutual benefit and rent would not be paid to live on it. It would therefore be a transitional stage to anarchism, not a phoney transition that strengthens centralised authority but one that abolishes it and by instituting workers' control, opens the road to the society in which the individual has complete freedom save in trespassing on any other individual's freedom.

## The Role Of The Anarchists

This anarcho-syndicalist transformation is not one which can be instituted by any political party, even by an anarcho-syndicalist organisation. Anarcho-syndicalism may be propagated and anarcho-syndicalism may be crystallised into a fighting organisation. However, the function of such an organisation is not the taking over of industry. Since it is a section of the working-class it cannot presume to take over control, no matter how large its numbers might become in a period of revolution. An anarcho-syndicalist union functions as an example of class struggle to the rest of the workers in industry, and in opposition to political leadership. Its aim is that the workers as such, and not merely the most militant section of them, should unite and form the councils for workers' control. Such councils are for all and not for representatives.

Finally, it is true that we have not the influence to reach all the workers to persuade them to form such an organisation. On the opposite side is the vast propaganda apparatus of the State, capitalism and political parties, with such auxiliary means of persuasion as Press, radio, Church, education, cinema, Parliament, etc. But we know from the history of the working-class struggle that the formation of such a movement is not confined to a few revolutionary thinkers.

Almost all of these methods of organisation have been adopted by workers in different places at different times on different issues. Unofficial strike committees have been identical with the councils for workers' control depicted here. They have existed for a time, served their purpose, and been ended. In certain stay-in strikes, particularly in France and Italy, the very principle of workers' control has been adopted. The experiences of Spain have often been stressed in these columns. There the entire anarcho-syndicalism programme was introduced in 1936, save that they allowed the bourgeois government to continue and collaborated with it until its Stalinist allies destroyed the revolution.

The task of the anarchist movement is not, fortunately, the immense one of initiating the struggle for workers' control. Rather is it to protest against the deflection of such struggles by political wingers and the surrender of it to State and capitalism. Its big job is that of showing the next step, namely, how every advance in the struggle can be made. And to destroy the illusions of political power which alone have kept the workers of many lands from completing a social revolution. Once the social revolution has been completed, the need for the anarchist movement as one of agitation and education, is finished and it would disappear with the birth of an anarchist society.

A.M.  
(In the next issue we raise the question of Anarcho-Syndicalism and Workers' Action NOW.)

## Land Notes

# LOOK TO THE LAND

SOON after completing my attempt, in the last issue of *Freedom*, to give some sort of summary of the present productive capacity of British agriculture, largely in the form of figures, I started to re-read a book I last read some seven years ago and which, more than any other book that I know, helps to provide an explanatory background to such a purely factual and statistical analysis. That book is *Look to the Land*, by Lord Northbourne (first published in 1940 by Dent). Re-reading it again, my original estimate of it as a both well-written and very important book has been confirmed.

Nearly everyone has their blind spots, including many anarchists whose bonnets frequently contain one or more bees whose insistent and irritating buzzing can often be heard. Most of us have a streak of deep-rooted conservatism about some aspect of life whatever it may be. Northbourne is no exception and some of his ideas on monetary reform, his neo-feudalism, are, to say the least, rather eccentric. But his conservatism has its assets as well as its weaknesses for, based as it is on the best traditions of the old rural England modified by a wider cultural background, it gives him both a depth and a breadth of understanding that is as rare as it is valuable.

It is especially valuable, and essential, in all matters relating to farming where the glib generalizations and oversimplifications of some revolutionary thought seem more than usually inadequate. Even if Northbourne does occasionally go astray and fails to follow his observations to their logical conclusion (as may be evident from some subsequent quotations), at least he does not think in slogans, nor does he see life, its problems and their solution, in terms of some pre-conceived social theory which everything must be made to substantiate.

## History, Farming and Civilization

There is so much of vital importance in this book that it is extremely difficult to give anything approaching an adequate synopsis of it. And there are so many

passages that one would like to quote at length.

The contents of the book are important because, as Northbourne says (and as I, for that matter, have often said in these Notes): "Few people realize as yet that the agricultural problem is by its very nature every bit as much a townsman's problem as it is a farmer's problem."

More than that indeed. "The history of food is the history of farming and the history of farming is the history of civilization. We are often told that there are symptoms of decadence in Western civilization. There is at least strong reason to suppose that many symptoms which are in evidence to-day have accompanied the periods of decline of former civilizations, such as urbanization and commercialism, with a decay of farming and the importation of food; the growth of a class distinguished purely by its wealth, with its concomitant dependent class; and the appearance of certain diseases of civilization, notably bad teeth and rheumatism (which are easily diagnosed from skeletal remains). Egypt and Rome are clear cases in point. *Latifundia perdidere Italiam*—They have destroyed Italy by large-scale farming—is a significant contemporary comment."

### The Cycle of Life

The life of Man, Northbourne points out, is inescapably a part of, and intimately bound up with, the whole biological life process which is centred in and around those few feet, often only few inches, of the earth's outer surface that we call the soil. In a culture, based largely on a scientific and materialist outlook that analyses the parts but is incapable of even understanding the conception of the whole, this essentially elementary fact has been almost forgotten. Furthermore, this cycle of life, death, decomposition and renewed life is so delicate that a maladjustment of one part inevitably reacts adversely on all the other parts. When that occurs what might justifiably be called the fundamental and original vicious circle is set up. Once the process of soil, plant, animal, man, soil, is disrupted it is very difficult to put right again and can only be put right very slowly and at great cost to all the component parts, including Man himself. Hence, if Man ill-treats the soil, he quite literally cuts away the ground from under his feet: and no civilization has misused the soil on as grand a scale as this one. As far as any really accurate assessment is possible, it would appear that the desert area of the world has increased more in the last thirty to forty years than in the whole known history of mankind. And the process continues. Which makes the atom-bomb seem rather superfluous.

But actual deserts are only the spectacular finale of the soil's constant and increasing loss of fertility—due, of course, almost exclusively to the actions of Man himself. The soil is losing its vitality and becoming diseased. Hence, Man is also becoming diseased, physically and psychologically. "Most of our political and economic troubles are reflections of the biological situation."

### Biologically Self-Contained Units

Such then is a brief and, as anyone who reads this and has also read the book in question will be only too conscious of, a very sketchy outline of this great book.

As to what social changes are necessary and desirable in any attempt to slow down, let alone stop, the race to extinction that Northbourne describes, here is a summary in his own words, space making impossible any comments on it from me:

"Therefore, if we are to have any kind of human rule (and we are not likely to be able to dispense with something of the kind for some time yet) it can only be based on the existence of sound primary units, in themselves coherent and self-contained, which can be built up into larger units, in their turn coherent and self-contained. They cannot be coherent and self-contained unless they are so in the biological sense, which includes and comprehends all possible social, political and economic aspects. We have seen that a farm, to be healthy, must not be too big, yet must be diversified so as to be as far as possible biologically self-contained. Our society must be built up on that very foundation, and it must take the same form for the same reasons. Only thus can a world of life produce a true surplus, an increase of wealth that is real in that it exists not on paper or in the imagination alone, in that it is primarily qualitative, and in that it includes the spiritual values with the material values as incidentals only. All the ingenuity and goodwill in the world expended on industrial or political organization in the modern sense must be in vain if this primary need is not realized."

"It is in fact difficult to see how much real improvement can come about until people cease to expect anything whatever of the Government, and consider instead how they can make themselves, and then their neighbourhood, most independent of it. . . . The limits within which any social independence can be achieved are constantly being narrowed. But we can begin anywhere on the land to work for some degree of biological independence. There is the chance."

G.V.

## Defeat at Waleswood

THE stay-down strike at Waleswood colliery, near Sheffield, has ended in defeat for the miners at the hands of the N.C.B.

There were only 79 men left below after 10 days of the strike, some having come up to the surface before for health reasons. After the last men came up it was announced that the strike would continue, but not on the stay-down basis.

Three days after this, however, the

strikers decided to accept jobs offered them by the N.C.B. in neighbouring pits.

One of the main reasons for the sudden collapse of the strike—the miners originally claimed they could "last till Christmas"—was the lack of solidarity showed them by the collieries in the area. Sixty pits in the locality had been circulated by printed pamphlets asking for support for the Waleswood men, but it did not come.

# RACE HATRED IN SOUTH AFRICA

**A REPORT** in the Press from Durban told of a Nationalist Party meeting of more than 1,000 whites who burst into noisy applause when a speaker advocated shipping all or most of South Africa's 280,000 Indians to India as "sure cure" for the Indian problem. The old nationalist catchphrases of "sending them back where they came from".

And yet one wonders how narrow this mentality must be. Surely if they think it right that the Indians should be sent back from South Africa—how can they justify their own presence there? The Indians have been in South Africa as long or longer than the Europeans.

And they did not come to take the land with fire and sword from its rightful inhabitants, they came as peaceful immigrants. The people who ranted about the "Indian problem" having a "sure cure" did not state their sure cure for the "African problem": they stand for more and worse oppression of the African Negro whom they would also like to drive out if he cannot be kept as a docile forced labourer.

But where would they drive the Negro? The race-haters in U.S.A.—also some who masquerade as being more liberal—have advocated a "sure cure" for the problem of the Negro minority, namely, shipping all or most Afro-Americans to Africa. If all this race prejudice were genuine, how simple it would be to exchange Afro-Americans for white Afrikaners! What an easy solution to race hatred in Africa and America by arranging for white Africans to go to America and black Americans to go to Africa! But you may be sure that this is a flippant idea, because this race hatred is not genuine. The white Africans want to retain the coloured man as a labourer—they vent their spite on the Indians because many will not accept servile status and demand better treatment, also, many are traders because they refuse to accept the status of a

labourer while the conditions remain as they are. Similarly, the Negro is a very handy scapegoat in America for those who profit by his enforced low economic status.

For the past two years, South Africa has been engaged in a cold war with India and Pakistan on the question of her racial policies. Trade has come to a standstill and diplomatic relations all but broken off. In the United Nations gashouse many words have been spoken on either side. But no help will come from such quarters. The passive resistance of the Natal Indian Congress has had more positive results. But amongst the Indians Communist influence is said to be growing. Logically, there is no reason why South African dictatorship should drive the Indians to support of the Russian dictatorship. But for the time being South African Communists can use Marxist slogans (although if General Smuts continues to make peace overtures to Marshal Stalin the position will be rather different). Bourgeois Indians, anxious to resume S. African-Indian trade, have formed the Indian Organization, which is prepared to accept a compromise, probably on the age-old phoney grounds of enfranchisement, which in effect means nothing, but enables people to think they have a voice in their own oppression.

Meanwhile, South African racial laws, like Calwell's Racialist Immigration laws in Australia, give the lie to stories that the British Empire has changed its spots.

INTERNATIONALIST.

*Foreign Commentary*

# ANTI-SEMITISM

**A REPORT** in *Worldover Press* on Anti-Semitism in Europe makes one ask again to what extent it actually exists. *Worldover Press* 14/5/48) maintains that:

"Since the war, the Soviet regime has now and then circumscribed Jewish sharing in public affairs, such as entrance into the diplomatic school; but there has been no wholesale change of attitude. In some of the satellite states, notorious anti-Semites have been welcomed into Communist ranks, among them General Rola-Zymierski in Poland; yet in Poland, Hungary and Rumania, Communist-led governments have often sought to combat the latent anti-Jewish feeling shown at times by various groups within the population.

"But in the last two years, notably in Czechoslovakia, there has been a growing tendency on the part of prominent Communists to blame Jews, as a supposed racial group, for almost everything. During the war, the Nazis confiscated 16,000 Jewish-owned properties, mostly small holdings, for no other reason than racial persecution; under the Republic, these were supposed to have been restored, but in fact only a small fraction have been returned. Such Communists as Vaclav Nosek, former Minister of the Interior, have taken the view that even Jews of proved anti-Nazi records, if they are German in origin or have sought to use the German language, should be treated like Germans. "Their property belongs to the State," he said on February 20th, 1946, 'and ought to be confiscated.'

"Since then, Communist anti-Semitism has become less restrained. On March 25th, 1947, in a speech at Teplice, the Communist Minister of Information, M. Kopecky—now one of the biggest figures in the present dictatorship—attacked the Jews and used the words

'Jewish rabble'. The Communist Deputy, M. Kapoun, on April 13th, 1947, charged that under the Republic 'the Jews' ran away for 'racial reasons', and that there could be no confidence in their patriotism.

"On January 15th, 1948, the Communist Party organ in France, *l'Humanité*, ran a cartoon showing the Prime Minister, Robert Schuman, with five members of the government, singing the Marseillaise in the Chamber of Deputies, and not being able to recognize the tune. Four of the men were Jews, and in *l'Humanité's* cartoon their features were emphasised, in the old Nazi technique, to exaggerate supposed racial characteristics. The cartoon drew protests from other Paris papers."

## New Definition of Press Freedom

*Pravda*, the Moscow daily recently celebrated its 36th birthday and in an article celebrating the occasion it pointed out that in 30 years the Russian press has grown from 884 to 7,163 papers with 31,100,000 circulation. *Pravda* alone claimed 2,200,000, which made it the Russia's biggest and the world's fourth biggest daily. *Pioneer Pravda*, for young Communists, was second with 1,000,000, and *Izvestia* third with 800,000.

This growth was the "clearest index of true freedom of the press." *Pravda* defined this freedom in the following terms: "Every line in our newspapers and journals must be devoted to Bolshevik propaganda."

## Communists Mark-Time in Finland

Following Stalin's much dramatised personal invitation to the Finnish Government to send representatives to Moscow to "discuss" a "treaty of friendship", etc., little has appeared in the Press about that country. The following extracts from a report by a *Manchester Guardian* (24/5/48) would indicate that the Stalinizing of Finland is not proceeding according to the usual formula:

"Alone among the nations within the Russian sphere of influence, Finland has

THE fundamental issue of the day has often been presented to us in different forms. Basically, most of these are shown as *political issues*, which merely tend to obscure the fundamental problems of our times.

Prior to the war we were shown Fascism and Communism as the two basic opposites and the struggle between these two ideologies was represented by many sincere thinkers as the pivotal factor of the day. When I first heard our late comrade, Emma Goldman, state that "The basic struggle of to-day is not that between Fascism and Communism, but between centralization and decentralization" it seemed at the time an exaggerated view, but on consideration of this viewpoint it seemed more logical, since the political arguments between Communist Russia and the Axis obscured their basic agreement on most issues as regards their internal economy and political administration. The Stalin-Hitler Pact later confirmed this.

During the war we were confronted with many arguments that the basic struggle of the day was *Democracy versus Dictatorship*, later amended to being *versus Fascism* when Russia joined the democrats. But did the fact that our enemies happened to be dictatorial and Fascist prove this? No! No more than the fact that we fought Finnish democracy proved we fought against democracy, or that the Germans fought against Polish dictatorship proved that they fought against dictatorship!

One gets tired of hearing from various people that they "thought we fought to stop Fascism", or to do this that or the other, when they must

dared to dismiss her Communist Minister of the Interior and chief controller of police and, what is more, while a similar effort to rid the country of Communist domination dismally failed in Czechoslovakia, the Finns appear to have been successful.

"The Finnish Parliament on Wednesday refused Mr. Leino, Minister of the Interior, a vote of confidence, and when Leino showed no signs of resigning voluntarily, President Paasikivi yesterday dismissed him, temporarily appointing the Minister of Education, Kilpi, who is not a Communist, to carry on as Minister of the Interior . . .

"The real reason for the remarkable reticence shown by the Communists appears to be that they know they have lost the support of a great number of their previous adherents and that they are not strong enough to try to resort to force . . .

"Elections take place in Finland at the beginning of July and everything indicates that they will be really free, in which case all forecasts agree that the Communists will lose heavily. So far there is no sign of any reaction from Moscow. However, prolonged strikes would have dangerous consequences for Finland, affecting her ability to fulfil her reparations obligations to Russia."

## U.S. Balance Sheet

U.S. imports increased \$84,200,000 in March to reach an all-time peak of \$666,200,000, said the Bureau of the Census (most spectacular gains were in raw wool and newsprint). Exports also showed a slight increase (up \$54,700,000 to \$1,141,000,000), but they were still 11% under last year.

(*Time*, 17/5/48)

## (IRON) CURTAIN CALL

Dame Edith Evans, one of our leading Shakespearean actresses, has seen Moscow. According to the *Daily Mirror* (4/5/48) she stated:

"I have fallen in love with the Kremlin, which is infinitely more beautiful than I dreamed."

Evidently, Dame Edith has for once forgotten her lines. What better description of the Kremlin than—

"A goodly apple rotten at the heart:  
O, what a goodly outside falsehood hath!"

# What is the Issue of To-day?

control of their own places of work is one that is largely recognised by the workers of Britain to-day, in an unstated and ill-defined manner. They have experienced capitalism and have advocated nationalisation. They are getting it now; and are beginning to realise that control by bureaucrats makes little difference from control by capitalists. But what alternative is there but workers' control? In fact there is a rapidly growing appreciation that the only successor to nationalisation will be either workers' control—as advocated by anarcho-syndicalism—or that bastard form of syndicalism advocated by Fascists, namely, joint control by workers and capitalists under the direction of the State. That is to say, industrial freedom or industrial tyranny.

know that this was merely an excuse they themselves fostered. It was merely an historical accident that Fascism happened to be on the other side. *They* would have acquiesced in any war, on patriotic or merely follow-the-leader grounds, and the fact that the opposite side happened to be Fascist meant no more difference in their attitude than if it had not. All the paraphernalia about Fascism meant no more than the now forgotten Vansittarte arguments about the "guilty Germans" who alone caused wars—forgetful of the fact that they had been on our side in the past—and as now transpires, might very well be on the same side in the future. The arguments against Fascism were true. *Only* we fought against rival imperialism because it *was* such, not because it was Fascist.

And since the war we have been swamped by political catch-phrases of the struggle between "private enterprise" (*i.e.*, capitalism) and State control, although the capitalists want the State, and the State planners have no plans to wind up capitalism. While on the international plane comes talk of a war between Communism and Non-Communism (which has not yet thought of a suitable cognomen—the term Democracy being likely to offend such possible allies as Franco's Spain).

These are *not* the issues of the day: they are only political stock-in-trade; the fake coinage of statesmen. Far deeper than these are the basic struggles that continue in class divided society; namely, the class struggle, on the economic field; and centralization versus decentralization on the social field.

## Workers' Control; and Decentralization

Although some may choose to think of anarchism as a theory which has no practical application at the present time, and as an academic contribution to the present day; yet it still remains a fact that anarchism is not only a solution to its basic problems, but is in fact incognito and unrecognised, playing its part in the major issue of the present time.

The belief of anarchists in workers'

The road to anarchism is along the lines indicated by these two major issues; namely, by the triumph of decentralization over centralization; and by the conclusion of the class struggle. In a society where all social life was expressed through the *commune*—and economic life through the *syndicate*—we should soon achieve the free society of anarchism.

K.A.B.

throughout the history of the Empire—moving to one of the colonies for the sake of building it up." That is a plain lie—they move there to live in luxury, and "building it up" means building up a Tory Utopia. But that is beside the point. For ourselves, we say let each man settle where he wishes—the world is one, national distinctions mean nothing to us as Anarchists. But these people are not settling there to live on their own labour. They go there to live on the sweated labour of the coloured people. If the coloured workers rise to defend themselves from exploitation, the aristocrat exiles expect us to go and defend *them*, just as they expect us to defend them from any attack from outside, wherever it may come—and it certainly has been expected in the Americas. In the same way, the whisky-boozers of Singapore and the English Rajah of Sarawak expected British arms to be used to defend them against the Japanese. In the same way, the white nabobs of India expected British arms to be used to defend them for years against the Indians. The luxury of the Bahamas is bought at the expense of coloured labour, the money taken into that country is what has been robbed of the British worker for generations, the arm of defence is the youth of to-day and to-morrow.

If social revolution ever did come to this country the aristocracy would soon realise they had been squealing years before they were hurt. As Anarchists we have no idea of tumbrils and that sort of thing. But the lords and ladies who left these shores with repugnance would go, not with all the goods they have taken and not worked for, but with nothing save the hands they had to work with in order to earn their living. Perhaps they would not then be so anxious to flock to compete with the superior intelligence of the coloured man.

A.M.

# EXODUS—IN STYLE TO THE BAHAMAS

**AN** exodus has taken place from Britain. The refugees were not the miserable refugees from Stalin-controlled Europe, escaping from racial persecution *via* hellships to Cyprus concentration camps. No, the refugees from Britain were of a much different category. They were lords, ladies and gentlemen, escaping from high income tax *via* luxury liners to the swell hide-outs of the Bahamas.

Some of the titled gentry moved out for a holiday, and decided to stay. Others went out bringing over their wives, children, manservants, maidservants, family heirlooms and everything bar the ancestral castle. Nassau society, long basking under its former Governor, the Duke of Windsor, in the sort of life led by the 'Bright Young Things' of the 'twenties', now has the opportunity to go completely Mayfair. Titles out there are now all the vogue—no worthy citizen of the great American Republic who has the cash to burn need hesitate now where to spend his holiday—as long as he has the dollars he can shake hands with a titled aristocrat whose ancestors stole enough for the next dozen generations to live on.

They are buying up big landed estates, and turning them into castles and chateaux. The exports of luxury goods sent there for the fleecing of dollars from American tourists, are being bought up by the Tory refugees, all wailing how hard they have been hit by exorbitant income tax at home, and all living like the Lord in Paris. In the Bahamas, the island Paradise of the idle rich, there is no income tax, no sales or land tax, and only a two per cent. inheritance tax.

Readers are recommended to the *Leader* magazine (22/5/48) for information on this "New Conquest of the Bahamas". It poses the question that some sections of the Press have branded these people as "deserters" but one replies: "We are only doing what Englishmen have been doing

## WOT!—NO MONEY?

France wants to barter frozen vegetables for British tractors and farm equipment.

M. Andre Fortane, secretary of France's equivalent to the National Farmers' Union, will make the proposal to the British Government to-morrow.

A Treasury official said: "It sounds a good idea."

*Daily Mirror*, 11/5/48.

Barter is not the same thing as free exchange, but if transactions such as this can be carried out in a capitalist world, who could doubt that free production and exchange could work in a free world?

# ISRAEL—A NEW STATE

(From a Middle East Correspondent)

With the ending of the British mandate in Palestine comes the declaration of a Jewish State, to be known as Israel. The new State adopts intact the laws left by the old administration, with the exception of the control of immigration set out in the White Paper of 1939. It struggles to achieve national sovereignty, it transforms the Haganah into an Army, it legalises its own police, it has an organized religion to form an "Established Church"—in fact, none of the ingredients of Statehood are missing. All one can ask is what advance this represents?

THOSE who now pin their illusions on this newest amongst the States will if they survive the present conflict live to see yet a fresh illusion smashed. The survivors of the Irish 1916 rebellion who later declared with joy the establishment of the State later known as Eire, saw the steady decline of the dream of an Irish Republic. The Italians who fought with Garibaldi to form an Italian Republic. The Italians who fought with Garibaldi to form an Italian Republic saw—some of them its steady decline through monarchy to fascism. Nationalism and Statehood have never brought freedom. If any gleam of hope has ever been seen amongst the Zionist experiment, it was the fact that many colonists were able in their early days of struggle to dispense with the State and live their life without reliance on any central authority until their nationalism or religion got the better of their natural instincts.

There is only one difference between this national revolution and any others. The State of Israel proclaimed for the first time since Old Testament days cannot claim that all are present or that it has the support of any Jews other than "the Jewish people in Palestine and the Zionist movement of the world" as its inaugural proclamation stated, thus admitting to "the lost tribes of Israel", namely, the non-Zionist Jews throughout the world, most of whom (possibly the majority of Jews) are completely assimilated save for reli-

## THE GENTLE ART OF DOMINATION

IF one keeps talking about Western Democracy and Totalitarianism and generalising from it, one is apt to allow one's remark to be so completely divorced from reality as to be taken for granted in theory and be fantastically absurd in life.

Miss Elizabeth Monroe writes in *The Observer* (3/4/48) on the "Middle East Dilemma": "What no-one in the West wants is to be reduced to solving the main dilemma by force. Though the Arabic-speaking peoples respect force and disrespect gentleness (witness their inclination to taunt the West as they never taunted Hitler or now taunt Stalin), to bully them on totalitarian lines is alien to Westerners. British policy, therefore and typically, seeks some compromise way."

Evidently the lady never heard of Arab villages being blown up by the British troops in Palestine during the 1936 disturbances. Evidently she never saw free citizens of the independent kingdom of Egypt being kicked and beaten by British troops for whom they were working as labourers, or heard of the military dictum that "if you run over a Wog turn back and make sure he's dead."

Instances of "gentleness" and reluctance to bully would be very hard to find in the long record of kicking "Wogs" about. Perhaps it sounds more convincing talking of Western democracy in an armchair. Incidentally, the reason they "never taunted Hitler or Stalin" may possibly be due to the fact that neither managed to penetrate the Middle East; resistance was made to Britain, Italy and France, which did.

gious customs they may or may not observe, and the clearest thinkers of whom are completely internationalist in their outlook.

## Latest Socialist Premier

The Government set up in Israel is a victory for the social-democratic movement, whose stock was thought to be declining. The key posts are all in Socialist hands, and David Ben-Gurion becomes the latest Socialist Premier. The President is Dr. Weizmann, who, although not a Labour Party man himself, does in fact register a big victory for their policy in view of the hatred felt for him by the Jewish Fascist Party (I.Z.L.) as well as the opposition to him by the Revisionists and orthodox religious parties, in fact by all who supported either the American or Russian dominance and opposed Dr. Weizmann's consistently pro-British policy, which is the line of the Labour Party and Labour Federation as well as of the Haganah which now becomes the official Jewish Army.

## Forgotten Men

The Arabs have not declared a Government; they are in fact the forgotten men of Palestine, and nobody at present even pretends to represent them. The foreign Arab armies are doing that for them. The complete collapse of the Palestine Arabs is due to various reasons. The Mufti was foisted on to them by the Arab Higher Committee which was as obsessed by his "great name" as the British Conservative Party was by Churchill's in 1945. In fact, the feudal Hussein family is not popular, and the Mufti's pro-Nazi support during the war lost him most of the support he had before it; also he could not stand up to the rival claims

of men like Abdullah. No Palestine Arab dared to oppose him openly before the fighting began, but when it started his name was not sufficient to evoke support. The military hope of the Palestine Arabs was Fawzi Kawukji—a noted terrorist but conditions now are open warfare and he failed as a soldier. Moreover he, more than any other leading Palestine Arab, is hated by the other Arab kings and rulers.

Many Palestine Arabs feel that whoever wins, they lose, and this may explain the frenzied rush to leave Haifa to the Jews, get out of Jaffa at any price, and to surrender Acre while new rifles were left unpacked. These places were defended by Palestine Arabs. The only advances made have been by the invading Arab armies, amongst which only the British officered, British supplied and British trained army of Transjordan has made any show. King Abdullah is Whitehall's own little king. What game Mr. Bevin is playing with Adullah is not yet known. It may be that he hopes to enforce partition between puppet King Abdullah, who will be pro-British (or else!) and pro-British Jewish leaders such as Weizmann and Ben-Gurion. Thus, whoever wins, the Foreign Office has won. But this is a dangerous game as it may mean the coming to power of the Jewish Fascist movement (I.Z.L.) which would just as soon have relations with Russia. Hence Truman's immediate rush to recognize Israel before Russia had a chance to, and one of the reasons (other than Zionist electoral pressure) why he will keep on more or less supporting the Zionists, but not so much as to alienate the Arab rulers on whom American capitalism depends for oil.

## Sitting on a Volcano

The Arab countries, other than Transjordan, have not distinguished themselves in the invasion. None of the governments really welcomed this war, but they were too committed to it to back out, and further, they did not dare face popular repercussions at home where the war is popular because it is against "the foreigner", and in an Arab attack on the Jews the man in the street can visualize an attack on the British, the Americans, the Russians and more particularly Greeks and Armenians and every other well-to-do foreigner in Alexandria and Cairo. Basically they think of it as a war against the West. War does not strike them as particularly tragic, since World War II

brought nothing but high wages in military establishments, plentiful work, and a big influx of soldiers and a stimulus of trade. Nobody in the Arab world has any idea of war, other than the completely uninfluential people who inhabited the desert in which World Wars I and II were conveniently fought out. But a long war would bring disillusion, bitterness, and bring to a head the long smouldering discontent of the fellaheen against the Governments and the "effendin", for which anti-foreignism is only a temporary substitute.

## Hope for the Future

On the Jewish side a long war would have the reverse effect; it would strengthen the reactionaries by the continual appeal to nationalism, and also the fact that anti-British sentiment arising out of the subsidy to Transjordan would be grist to the mill of the Right. The Socialists are far less rigidly nationalistic and, amongst them and in some of the left groupings, there is much more intelligent understanding of the Arab position, and

also of the whole question of national sovereignty and statehood. If the totalitarian state did not triumph, they might in later years have some considerable social significance. The League for Arab-Jewish Rapprochement may have difficulty in functioning but it has pioneered this idea of a libertarian approach.

There are in fact three different aspects of hope for the future. One, the possibility of revolutionary discontent in the Arab countries arising out of war causing the reactionary governments to overthrow. Two, the rejection of the idea of national sovereignty by some Arabs and Jews who have an intelligent idea of how to live together although for the moment they are silenced. Three, the fact that the Jewish people outside Palestine have, except for the Zionists, rejected the idea that the state of Israel belongs to them (the Jewish Socialist Bund, influential in many countries, has rejected the idea of Zionism altogether). So, in spite of the weariness yet one more war induces, at least some hope for internationalist principles may be held in this case.

## LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1)

But they are also under the disadvantage of accepting the same basic position of Bevin—the basic position of social democracy in general—that it is possible to apply a socialist foreign policy in the government of an empire. Bevin's defence is always the same. What he does in Greece and elsewhere, he only does because, well, what else could he do? To stop supporting the Greek Government would be to hand over to the Russian sponsored "rebel" outfit, so our boys are in Greece with a mission after all. And the critics accept it because they cannot see beyond supporting either the black reactionaries or the red. For them and Bevin alike—and, indeed, for all socialists—the idea of supporting the Greek people against all who seek to dominate them is quite absurd. It is an "anarchist delusion". Inevitably so in a party which itself wields power over the workers in its own country.

Bevin did not say a word about the situation in Palestine, and he was no doubt glad to get out of attempting to justify the government's intervention in supplying arms to the Arab States. Here again, however, the critics are hamstrung by the fundamental identity of their outlook and Bevin's, for it is not difficult to show that the U.S.A. offers material assistance to the Jewish Nationalists. One may be quite confident that a debate on socialist foreign policy in Palestine would not mention the real issue—that it is just the field for the working out of rival attempts to control the oil resources of the Middle East, and the communications of Empire.

## The General Election

The other dominating influence—one might almost say threat—hanging over the conference is the coming general election. The effect of its influence illustrates very well the manner in which power corrupts. Morrison was quite open about it. We have to have a policy which will be attractive to our own supporters and yet attractive to the electors as a whole. In practice this means the attempt to capture "the floating middle-class vote", and means the toning down of "socialist" proposals (which are not, in any case, very drastic affairs). With characteristic British good humour this process was discussed in terms such as the famous "tinker's cuss" crack of Shinwell, amid genial socialist laughter. When the party was in opposition it was

all right to voice socialist demands; but in office, one finds things are different. Fifteen years ago, the Labour Party denounced the House of Lords and demanded its abolition. In power, their commission of enquiry on its reform breaks down and Morrison declares that the party has grown up since 15 years ago, and socialists are now beginning to see the advantages of a second chamber. Even the terminology follows the familiar pattern; the opprobrious term "House of Lords" is replaced by the inoffensive "Second Chamber"!

## Fire Eaters

So much for placating the middle-class vote. But there is also the problem of providing a programme which shall be attractive to the party's own supporters. Here the "responsible statesmen" of the party sit down, and in come the fire eaters, Anurin Bevan and Michael Foot. Editors have been almost petulant about Bevan's polemic against the capitalist press. Can't they see that he was only providing some of the doctrinal fireworks which provide the sugar coating for the more pedestrian fare offered by Bevin? Labour Party Socialism cannot be nourished solely on practical politics of men; it needs some steam to blow off too.

## Operating the Machine?

What does it all come to? The official socialist believes and teaches that social justice will come by placing the reins of government in the hands of a socialist administration. The socialist critic tries to maintain that the defects of the Labour Party administration spring from defects in the socialism of Mr. Bevin and other leaders. (The Communist critic maintains the same point, with a lot of talk about "true socialism", a "real working-class programme", etc.). But the Labour Party Conference shows clearly that although the Socialists may try to operate the machinery of government, the machinery in fact also runs them. That is what Greece, Palestine, Germany, all show, and the nationalization of the mines, railways as well: the result is a compromise with capitalism, heavily weighted in favour of capitalism. Instead of manipulating the machinery of government, they just find themselves administering a capitalist enterprise. The machine is running them. The purpose of the conference is to justify this process to their supporters, and on the whole, it has succeeded very well.

## Cold War on Celluloid

THE European edition of the *New York Herald Tribune* (19/5/48) has given us a delightful peep behind the star-spangled curtain at the Red hysteria of 1948.

A report from America tells how the American Communists "lived up to their reputation for stupidity" by picketing the Roxy Theatre and drawing attention to the anti-Russian picture "The Iron Curtain". "The Iron Curtain" is the worst propaganda movie I have seen since "Mission to Moscow", Warner Brothers' pernicious attempt during the war to make us believe that all Russians were angels," writes M. R. Werner. This picture "tries to make us believe that all Russians are devilish spies."

He says he was sure that "Mission to Moscow" was the picture that made Stalin get tough at Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam and subsequently, believing that people who believed that kind of thing were a push-over. "The Iron Curtain" is likely "to make sensible Americans believe that the Russians can't be as stupid as the contrivances called characters whom they are asked to take seriously."

But the most beautiful comment came from the *Daily Worker* (U.S.), which got so excited that one of its reporters wrote:

"Parents who take their kids to see this wicked and immoral film deserve to be hauled into court for contributing to juvenile delinquency."

What a pity the unfortunate Miss Blandish didn't manage to fall into the hands of a Commissar. We should have welcomed the addition of the Dean of Canterbury joining the Bishop of London in his condemnation of that picture!

## ANOTHER "CURE" FOR CRIME

Borstals for the parents of New Zealand's young criminals were advocated to-day by Wellington's Health Officer, Dr. Herbert Smith. He believes that if parents in unsatisfactory homes were sent to corrective detention there would be less juvenile crime. *Daily Express*, 1/5/48.

We often hear such suggestions made in the belief that they are original and perhaps a daring innovation. Actually, it is just Hitler's idea of putting all the family in a concentration camp if one failed in his "duty to the State".

Mr. M. R. Werner compares "The Iron Curtain" with its opposite number, "The Russian Question" by Konstantin Simonov (shown in London by Unity Theatre). But there is more to come.

"The Iron Curtain" is only the first of a series, indicating Hollywood's determination to come to the aid of the cold war, even if it kills its audiences of ennui in the attempt. 'I Was a Communist' is before the cameras. 'The Red Danube', 'Portrait of an American Communist' and, inevitably, 'I Married A Communist' are on the celluloid assembly lines."

## ARMS BOOM

Shares went up £250,000,000 to-day in the biggest day Wall-street has seen in years.

Nearly 3,000,000 shares changed hands, and rises per share were as much as 35s.

Experts thought to-day's rush to buy means that another boom market, due to rising profits and rearmament orders, lies ahead. *Daily Express*, 15/5/48.

## "Production Control" in Japan

THE *Observer* (9/5/48) reports Production Control in certain Janese factories. This is when the workers throw the management out and run the concern themselves, and there are about half-a-dozen examples in Osaka to-day."

Their correspondent goes on to cast doubts on the ability of the workers to run the industries themselves—but who else controls the industries anyway? The only difference is that the capitalist cannot take his profits. One steel works has been run by the workers since January 31st. The owners claim it has lost 2 million yen in that period. But whatever initial difficulties there might be, however complacently

certain owners might regard these moves as "experiments which will collapse of themselves", the fact remains that the Japanese workers of Osaka have pointed the way out to the workers of the world. Not by State control—not by private enterprise (capitalism), but by workers' control of the places of work. These efforts will have a hard time surrounded as they are by a capitalist economy and with the military authorities ready to clamp down the moment things look dangerous. But they are the only road to a free society and we hail the attempts with enthusiasm.

The Janese workers have a great tradition of militancy. The

Anarchist movement was once strong there, but was stamped out in countless persecutions, mass murders and dictatorship by the Imperial Government. Time and again it has reasserted itself and it was the only Japanese workers' movement in opposition to the war. We do not know if it exists again to-day. But we do know that this news from Osaka, once a stronghold of the Anarchist workers, is a result of the patient teachings of Kotoku, Osugi and countless others. If only the basic ideas remain—no handing over to politicians or other would-be leaders—the workers of Osaka may succeed where the stay-in strikers of France and Italy did not go far enough.

Freedom Press

- Charles Duff: A HANDBOOK ON HANGING 2/-
Rudolf Rocker: NATIONALISM & CULTURE 21/-
George Woodcock: ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6
NEW LIFE TO THE LAND 6d.
RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY 3d.
HOMES OR HOVELS? 6d.
ANARCHISM AND MORALITY 2d.
WHAT IS ANARCHISM? 1d.
THE BASIS OF COMMUNAL LIVING 1/-
Peter Kropotkin: THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE 1/-
THE WAGE SYSTEM 3d.
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 3d.
Errico Malatesta: ANARCHY 3d.
VOTE WHAT FOR? 1d.
SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS (Chosen by Herbert Read) Cloth 8/6
Herbert Read: THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM 1/-
Stiff Cover 2/6
THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN 1/-
POETRY AND ANARCHISM Cloth 5/-
William Godwin: SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL JUSTICE 3d.
ON LAW 1d.
A. Ciliga: THE KRONDSTADT REVOLT 2d.
M. L. Berneri: WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA 1/-
C. Berneri: KROPOTKIN—HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS 2d.
Alexander Berkman: A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM 1/-
John Hewetson: ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI 6d.
ILL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE STATE Cloth 2/6, Paper 1/-
MUTUAL AID & SOCIAL EVOLUTION 1/-
Gaston Léval: COLLECTIVES IN SPAIN 1d.
John Olday: THE MARCH TO DEATH 1/6
THE LIFE WE LIVE, THE DEATH WE DIE 2/6
P. J. Proudhon: GENERAL IDEA OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE 19th CENTURY Cloth 5/-
F. A. Ridley: THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE MODERN AGE 2d.
"Equity": THE STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORY 3d.
Icarus: THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT 6d.
McCartney: THE FRENCH COOKS SYNDICATE 3d.

27 Red Lion Street Holborn, W.C.1

The Basic Reality

CHRIST STOPPED AT EBOLI by Carlo Levi (Cassell, 9/6).

THE suffering of the poor, the Chinese coolies, the South American peons, the Arab fellaheen, the Italian cafoni, or the workers in general, or again, the Jews,—these," said Ignazio Silone last year, "constitute the only basic reality of human history." This basic reality, inarticulate, helpless, resigned, is always present. Overlaid by civilisations, cultures, nations, states, it is the Black Hole behind the whited sepulchres. To discover the truth about the human species, its heroic proportions, its endless labours, you must go to Bridgeton and not to Bishopston, to Marseilles not to the Cote d'Azur, to the Tobacco Road not Beverley Hills, to the "Barrio Chino" of Barcelona and not the Ramblas. But few of those who have had the benefit of academic education, professional training, intellectual attainment, will tread the stations of this dolorous pilgrimage of the saints and suckers, despised and rejected. Few can say like Whitman:

"I have loved the earth, sun, animals, I have despised riches, Have given alms to everyone that ask'd, stood up for the stupid and crazy, devoted my income and labour to others,

Hated tyrants, argued not concerning God, had patience and indulgence toward the people, taken off my hat to nothing known or unknown."

To this precious company belonged Kropotkin, who spat in the eye of success (by telegram to St. Petersburg: "Most cordial thanks but cannot accept"), and an American in Germany I read about last month, who renounced his U.S. citizenship "to become a citizen of the world". He lives over a pigsty and works as a bricklayer, and says: "Now that I am no longer allied with national interests I feel I can come closer to the true spirit of man." And to the ranks of those who "feel with their heads and think with their hearts", came Carlo Levi, handcuffed between two guards, a political prisoner exiled during the war with Abyssinia to Gagliano, a village in Lucania at the foot of Italy, between Calabria and Apulia. It was

literally a God-forsaken spot, for Christ, say the peasants, got only as far as Eboli, and the Greeks and Romans, also stopped short of these desolate wastes of treeless sun-burnt clay.

None of the pioneers of Western civilisation brought here his sense of the passage of time, his deification of the State or that ceaseless activity which feeds upon itself. No one has come to this land except as an enemy, a conqueror, or a visitor devoid of understanding.

The local gentry welcomed him, for though he was by profession a painter, he had been trained as a doctor, and the village's two practitioners were ignorant and incompetent. They hoped also to use him as a weapon in their interminable family feuds. The peasants greeted him gladly because he was willing to give them what medical help lay in his power, and because he, like themselves was one

of the victims. "Too bad," they said, "Someone must have had it in for you."

They were not concerned with the views of the political prisoners who were in compulsory residence among them, or with the motives for their coming. They looked at them kindly and treated them like brothers because they too, for some inexplicable reason, were victims of fate... This passive brotherliness, this sympathy in the original sense of the word, as suffering together, this fatalistic, comradely, age-old patience, is the deepest feeling the peasants have in common, a bond made by nature rather than by religion.

Levi quickly made the acquaintance of the people of importance. Don Luigi, the mayor and schoolmaster, weak, officious, conceited and fat; Donna Caterina, his sister, the plotting and scheming power behind the throne, whose husband the Fascist Party secretary had gone off to the war in order to get away from her, and the two doctors, bitter enemies, both of whom resented his presence, although he did not at first intend to do any medical work. He visited Don Trajella the priest, who was sent there in disgrace many years before, and lived in filth, which he had long since ceased to notice, while chickens roosted among his books unopened since his arrival.

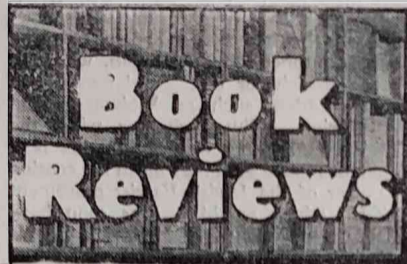
(Continued on page 7)

Freedom Bookshop

- Carlo Levi's CHRIST STOPPED AT EBOLI 9/6
Ignazio Silone's FONTAMARA 8/6
History of Western Philosophy Bertrand Russell 21/-
In Praise of Idleness Bertrand Russell 8/6
Reason and Romanticism Herbert Read 7/6
Selected Writings Tom Paine 8/6
Tom Paine—America's Godfather W. E. Woodward 18/-
Rights of Man Tom Paine 2/6
Journey Through Chaos V. Alexandrov 15/-
Two Plays Albert Camus 7/6
Coming Up for Air George Orwell 9/6
Human Problems in Industry Norah Davies 6/-
Peter Grimes Montague Slater 7/6
and some Penguins
Salome and Other Plays Oscar Wilde 1/6
Siren Land Norman Douglas 1/6
The Grim Smile of the Five Towns Arnold Bennett 1/-
A Narrow Street Elliot Paul 2/-
Penguin Island Anatole France 2/-
The Gilt Kid James Curtis 1/6

Postage is not included in above prices, and should be added.

Please send all orders to FREEDOM BOOKSHOP 27 RED LION STREET LONDON - W.C.1.



Literary Notes

PEACOCK

A Half-Forgotten Satirist

THE poverty of new creative and experimental writing in our present period has at least the compensation that it has induced something of a rediscovery and re-assessment of writers who have been allowed to grow musty among the unread classics, yet who have something of real value in their work which well deserves recovery.

In the last two years there has been a wholesale reprinting of the old authors, and, while many books which we could well have done without have re-appeared, a number of authors have been made available who are worth re-reading. One of these is Thomas Love

Peacock, the friend of Shelley, whose own literary reputation, like that of Godwin, has tended to be submerged by the vast romantic reputation that has been built up around the poet. But Peacock was himself the master of a very individual form of satirical novel, and it is good to see two of his works, Nightmare Abbey and Crochet Castle, reprinted in one volume of Hamish Hamilton's Novel Library (6/-).

Peacock stands apart among the writers of his period as a great humourist. Undoubtedly, the romantic period was one when too many writers took themselves too seriously; even Byron's fun is severe, and Peacock stands with Lamb among the few really good writers of the time who were not over-solemn in their own particular dogmatisms.

It is difficult to label Peacock with any political or literary tag. In that he accepted no doctrine without question, and applied his amiable satire to all "crochets" indiscriminately, he was something of a literary nihilist; in so far as he accepted any positive doctrine, it was that of Epicurus, in which wisely regulated pleasure became the object of man's existence and mutual tolerance the basis of social life. But, similar as his beliefs may have been to those of the Utilitarians, he saw that in becoming too doctrinaire they too had lost the touch of humanity which seemed to him essential.

But, while it is impossible to father any positive social doctrine on Peacock, who insisted on being an individual at all costs, it is possible to realise in his work a general direction of critical approach which was not far removed from that of Godwin and Shelley.

Peacock was not a declared Godwinian, although he knew the anarchist philosopher fairly well. But he had the same general radical background as Godwin, the same distrust of anything that smelt of reaction, and the same tendency to approach every problem, not from the viewpoint of any settled doctrine, but on its individual merits.

Therefore, in his various novels, we find attacks on the corrupt parliamentary system, on the prejudices of fashionable life, on the frauds of the money system, on the perfidy of those writers, like Coleridge and Southey, who had deserted their revolutionary ideals for the self-interested support of the reaction, on the enclosers of commons and other parasites who preyed on the peasants, on the supporters of slavery, and on the general faults of the system of governmental administration. To show the character of some of his social commentary, I quote a lengthy passage from his satirical novel about ancient Wales, The Misfortunes of Elphin:

As Taliesin grew up, Gwythno in-

structed him in all the knowledge of the age, which was of course not much, in comparison with ours. The science of political economy was sleeping in the womb of time. The advantage of growing rich by getting into debt and paying interest was altogether unknown: the safe and economical currency, which is produced by a man writing, his name to a bit of paper, for which other men give him their property, and which he is always ready to exchange for another bit of paper, of an equally safe and economical manufacture, being also equally ready to render his own person, at a moment's notice, as impalpable as the metal which he promises to pay, is a stretch of wisdom to which the people of those days had nothing to compare. They had no steam-engines, with fires as eternal as those of the nether world, wherein the squalid many, from infancy to age, might be turned into component parts of machinery for the benefit of the purple-faced few...

Of moral science they had little: but morals, without science, they had about the same as we have. They had a number of fine precepts, partly from their religion, partly from their bards, which they remembered in their liquor, and forgot in their business. Political science they had none... Still they went to work politically much as we do. The powerful took all they could get from their subjects and neighbours: and called something or other sacred and glorious when they wanted the people to fight for them. They repressed disaffection by force, when it showed itself in an overt act; but they encouraged freedom of speech, when it was, like Hamlet's reading, 'words, words, words.'

And so on, through the press, medicine, the laws and religion, castigating all the crying evils of political society.

Peacock's value, apart from the sheer amusement to be gained from reading the brisk and at times erudite wit of his novels, remains a healthy corrective to the oddity that too often gains the upper hand in radical movements and robs them of a sense of proportion. He hated all kinds of oppression and fraud, but he felt they should be combated by a sane and level-headed opposition. His attitude perhaps had its limitations, for there is often a virtue in being single-minded about one's ideas. But even Peacock had his crochets, of which the most frequent was his grievance against paper money. And, with all his faults of incomplete understanding, it is impossible not to be delighted with a writer who could conceive such an amusing satirical fantasy as the tale of Sir Oran Haut Ton in Malincourt, the tame ape who was trained to become a gentleman of fashion, carried out in the most exemplary manner all the feats of the heroes of romance, and ended by becoming a Member of Parliament, for which function his persistent failure to gain the gift of speech was regarded as no impediment.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

EMOTIONAL PLAGUE

EMOTIONAL PLAGUE versus ORGONE BIOPHYSICS, The 1947 Campaign; by Theodore P. Wolfe. (Orgone Institute Press, New York, 1948, \$1.00)

IT is nearly inevitable that new ideas should produce hostile reactions, especially from quarters which are threatened by such ideas. New ideas in the field of sex are especially apt to provoke such reactions, in which hostile fear and anger take the place of judgment and reason. All objective thinkers in the field of sex, from Havelock Ellis to Wilhelm Reich, to name only those of our own century, have had to face campaigns of denigration and slander.

But although one expects this, it is impossible not to be disgusted on each new occasion by the forms such attacks take—their meanness and pettiness, their unconcern for truth, their use of any and every trick for smearing the sex reformer, their indifference to the sometimes tragic result of their foul polemics. In the campaign for birth control in America, one woman pioneer was driven to suicide; Emma Goldman, with her more embracing social vision, was better able to stand up to the prison sentences and the vilification.

The occasion for these reflections is a pamphlet by Dr. Theodore P. Wolfe, outlining the methods used in a growing campaign in America against the ideas put forward by Wilhelm Reich.

Some months ago some comments were made in Freedom on an article contributed to Harper's Magazine for April, 1947, by a Mildred Edie Brady called "The New Cult of Sex and Anarchy". This slander piece was also recently discussed in the American anarchist journal Resistance. It is doubtful if Mildred Brady's sneering innuendoes have done much damage to the anarchist movement, but they have had serious consequences for the Orgone Institute, the research station where Reich and his co-workers carry on their work. Brady's article has been copied in

various forms, often with additional embroidery of their own, by other smear writers in the American capitalist press. More important still, however, is the fact that her scarcely veiled insinuations that Reich is a charlatan who does very well out of a "sex racket", have been the starting point for an investigation by a government department, the Food and Drug Administration. This claims to be an independent investigation, but Dr. Wolfe is able to show that every question asked is based on the slanderous allegations of Brady. Thus, an irresponsible magazine article has been the starting point for a campaign which serious research workers have to take time for refuting, and which may well jeopardise the whole work which Reich has set in motion.

It is worth quoting Dr. Wolfe on another aspect:

"I wish we could take leave from Brady here and go out for a breath of fresh air. But another thing has to be mentioned: the sneaking way in which she obtained an interview with Reich. Reich does not see journalists, because we do not want publicity. One day a call came from a Mrs. Brady who told the secretary of the Institute that she would like to talk with Dr. Reich. She had, so she said, 'good and interesting news from the West Coast, greeting from friends'. This opened the door for her. (She followed the same procedure with friends of ours on the West Coast.) She told Reich she wanted to write an article about his work because it seemed interesting and important to her. Reich asked her not to write anything and explained to her the reasons for our not wanting publicity."

The methods of yellow journalism are not new, but they continue to produce a reaction of disgust.

Reich's ideas were attacked in Weimar, Germany, and later in Norway, by much the same kind of underhand methods. His views were denounced by both the Nazis and the Communists. (It is interesting

to read in Dr. Wolfe's pages excerpts from an attack by an obvious C.P. fellow-traveller.) He was expelled from the German section of the International Psychoanalytical Association following political pressure from the newly-installed Hitler government. This doesn't prevent the smear writers from insinuating that his expulsion was due to some kind of professional misconduct, nor the fellow-travellers from dubbing his ideas "psycho-fascist" (how typical this phrase is of the Stalinist mentality!).

Dr. Wolfe points out that all this campaign is part of the response of irrationalism, of the emotional plague, which cripples the emotional and sexual life of civilised man. It is not proper to stand by and just watch such campaigns carry on with their smirching of honest work. We have given some account of Reich's work in relation to sexual attitudes because this work seems to us immensely important. We have made no comments on the biological, and more specifically biophysical, aspects of it because we are not competent to pass judgments in this field. Like Dr. Wolfe, we insist that Reich's detractors among the yellow journalists and the State departments are equally incompetent to pass such judgments.

Of one thing we are quite clear: that Reich's work is of tremendous importance. We are not prepared to stand by and see it go down before a dirty slander campaign backed by "independent" government investigations. To quote Dr. Wolfe once more:

"In conclusion, I wish to apologize for having to bother the reader with all this. It is not my fault, but that of the emotional plague. I would much rather do my real job, that of writing a scientific article, of translating one of Reich's books, of preparing the next issue of the Annals for publication. Or just watch my child play and perhaps take some pictures of her. Or listen to Bach. But the emotional plague won't let us—or you—do the things we are entitled to, and so, whether we want to or not, we have to fight it."

And that is the position of all who take up the cause of social justice.

JOHN HEWETSON.

# The Basic Reality

(Continued from page 6)

The gentry were all Party members, even the few like Dr. Milillo who were dissenters. The Party stood for Power, as vested in the Government and the State, and they felt entitled to a share of it. For exactly the opposite reason none of the peasants were members; indeed, it was unlikely that they should belong to any political party whatever, should, by chance, another exist. They were not Fascists, just as they would never have been Conservatives or Socialists, or anything else. Such matters had nothing to do with them, they belonged to another world and they saw no sense in them. What had the peasants to do with Power, Government, and the State? . . . To the peasants the State is more distant than heaven, and far more of a scourge, because it is always against them.

So it was among the peasants (except for Don Cosimino, the sad old postmaster, who used to slip him his letters on the sly to evade the censorship), that Levi found his friends. There were 1,200 people in Gagliano, and there were 2,000 men from the village in America, and consequently the regime was a matriarchy, and many of the children were of unknown fathers.

The letter-carrier at Grassano, a spry old man with a slight limp, and a fine handle-bar moustache, was renowned and revered in the village because, like Priam, he was said to have fifty children. Twenty-two or twenty-three of them belonged to his two or three wives; the rest, scattered about the village and its surroundings, many of them perhaps legendary, were attributed to him, but he paid no attention to them and in many cases appeared to ignore their existence. He was called "King", on account of either his surpassing virility or his regal moustache, and his children, of course, were known as "Princes".

From Giulia, who kept house for him, Levi learnt of love philtres, spells and cures, and of the magic that invests animals, and even inanimate objects with a communicable life of their own, and from the ancient gravedigger and town-crier, he heard as he lay in an open grave, the one cool spot in the village, the endless legends of the exploits of the brigands in the last century.

When the malarial season was about to begin, Levi drew up a list of recommendations for combatting it, and persuaded the mayor to pass it on to the proper authorities. The only reply was an order that he should cease to practice medicine. Then a sick peasant sent for him from another village. There followed a day of arguments and refusals and he was allowed to go, but the peasant died.

That day, if I had wished, I might have put myself at the head of several hundred brigands and have either laid siege to the village or fled to the wilds.

# Education & Aggression

**H**AVING had every opportunity for disillusionment during ten years' work in a progressive school, a spell of 18 months' teaching in several types of secondary schools in England and in France has more than ever convinced me that the progressive schools are years ahead in their attempts to provide a sane education. The State schools possess the tremendous material advantages of equipment, comparatively high salaries for teachers and no fees for pupils. The tragedy is that so many of them are pervaded by an authoritarian discipline. Not only are you still advised: "if you have any trouble with that form send a couple of boys to the Head for a beating", but it is expected that "no healthy boy wants to work", and that therefore he must be forced to do so. The result is that in the end the boy's spirit is broken, he is content to be regimented in preparation for commercial life, and to acquiesce when called-up for military training. He has been led to think that his own conscience should be disregarded, for he has learned to do not only what he does not like, but

also what he does not approve of. In the last 25 years the progressive schools have conclusively demonstrated the need of children and adults for creative activities. We know of particular cases of children who were aggressive, or who had a resistance to learning, who

capable, of completing what they make. One of a vast number, each by himself creates nothing.

In an authoritarian school competition for marks, for which you are beaten if you do not get sufficient, trains you to compete, as your teachers do for promotion or salaries, which are held up as the standards of success.

Progressive schools have led the way in showing the value of co-operation between pupil and teacher and between the pupils themselves, that competition is not necessary where interest is the mainspring of learning.

They are only beginning to understand, however, the importance of a system of joint responsibility among the staff. Where there is no Head, or where the chief administrator is elected by his colleagues, there is a tendency towards respect for individuality which is an example that the adults should strive hard to set the children. They must be bold enough to admit their failures and inadequacies, and to give the children, by stages, opportunities for coping with disorder.

One of their greatest contributions to educational practice has been the successful dealing with aggressive children which

has been achieved by allowing them to live out their aggression. But this very success contains a snare. For the belief has grown up that there must be something wrong with a child who does not indulge in a boisterous phase. We are told that the real problem is with "the quiet child at the back", who does not clamour for attention, and who must therefore be repressed. We should not just sit by in the school where in carpentry, for instance, it is the craze to make swords and daggers—whatever Freudian interpretation may be given. For this strengthens and gives exercise to, the aggressive instincts. The same things can be made with a world of difference if the atmosphere of the school is such that the child comes home and calls his construction a cross roads, or on another occasion a windmill.

It is important to establish that though an aggressive phase may not have been merely for adornment in an acquisitive society, it is by no means an ineradicable characteristic of man. Brought up to a morality of mutual aid we should expect children not to be aggressive when they are young nor to have to compensate for this as adults. As teachers we need to know far more of the technique of mutual aid in education, and what routines are most likely to develop adherence to such a morality in later life.

ANTHONY WEAVER.

## READERS' OPINIONS

The two articles on this page are contributions to our monthly feature **READERS' OPINIONS**. Help us to keep this feature and *Letters to the Editor* going by submitting articles (not exceeding 800 words) and *Letters* (max. 350 words) to the Editors on any topic you consider important.

have changed their attitude as a result of being made to feel that they were loved and valued, or by being precipitated into some form of creative activity. And we know in general that war is one of the symptoms of people's boredom with life; that if they were satisfied by their work they would undoubtedly not find it half so thrilling to become fighter pilots. One of the curses of mechanisation is that so few people have the chance, or are

For a moment I was sorely tempted, but in 1936 the time was not yet ripe. Instead, after considerable effort, I managed to calm the peasants. They took home their guns and axes, but the anxious look did not leave their faces. Rome and the State had wounded them to the core; one of their own had been struck down. Under the heavy weight of death they had felt the hand of the distant government and they rebelled against its steel vice. Their first impulse was to wreak immediate vengeance upon the symbols and emissaries of Rome. If I dissuaded them from taking this course, what was left for them to do? As always, nothing. But to this eternal "nothing" for once they were in no mind to resign themselves.

So they made an impromptu play wherein an angel (in the doctor's white jacket), and a devil in black fight over a sick man while his mother wails in anguish. The devil finally tears out the patient's heart (a pig's bladder full of blood). The drama was performed time and time again that night throughout the village, and before the houses of all the gentry.

Levi concludes that the "reversal of the concept of political life, which is gradually and unconsciously ripening among us, is implicit in the peasant civilisation". He sees the hope of a better future in an "organic federation of autonomous rural communities".

But the autonomy or self-government of the community cannot exist without the autonomy of the factory, the school, and the city, of every form of social life. This is what I learnt from a year of life underground.

*Christ Stopped at Eboli* is a fine and compassionate book. May it be read widely, and may its lessons be learnt!

COLIN WARD.

# THE LIBERTARIAN APPROACH

**T**HE writer has the proverbial "bee in the bonnet", and must accept what punishment is forthcoming, when he dares to suggest unity in the Libertarian ranks! Many have tried it before, with obviously unsuccessful and poor results. It is the hope and desire of the political idealist that men of goodwill should get together on a platform of broad issue in which agreement is a necessity for the masses of exploited humanity. So many times it happens; so many times it fails; yet no anarchist would be worth his salt who would not, in spite of this traditional failure, dare to approach other libertarian groups with a view to possible unifying methods against war and loss of individual and social freedom.

Again, readers of *Freedom*, the *Socialist Leader*, *Peace News* and *Common Wealth Review* will note that the writer is making an effort to bring together those holding a general political attitude, or philosophy, rightly or wrongly called *Libertarian Socialism*, and in doing this, he is seeking to find agreement around such "dynamic" problems as Conscription, War generally, Freedom, and the question of Socialism without the robotization of the Communists, or the camouflaged, democratic Labourism, amounting to little else than State Capitalism. It seems astonishing cheek to even suggest that the anarchist can work with elements of certain political parties, who up to recent date were contending for a seat in the "holy house" of authoritarian parliament. That is, nevertheless, the sort of desperate cheek the writer is guilty of!

There is, of course, the excellent organisation known as the Freedom Defence Committee, doing vital work for the exiled political "rebel" and all those opposing, vigorously, the authoritarian

methods of coercion and the "Police State". Unfortunately, this organisation is not linking the elements in question, and as the words suggest, it is a Defence committee, and in this psychological approach means little more than a brave collector of cash and moral support for individual battles against legality. Good, but not enough!

## "Unity" of the Past

So much *unity* of the past has been between groups of the Communist "fellow-travellers"; and was in the main, centred around the Spanish Civil War and for the opening of a Second Front to support the Russian Armies in the East, midway in the last war. Other incidents brought them together, but these two serve to remind us of the power of unity, and also the horrible betrayal of the decent folks of the earth, when it is used to further the ends of one faction under cover of happy fellowship. Can there by any betrayal so disastrous to the working-class of this, or any other country? Certainly, that is a unity to avoid at all costs: better the lunacy of sectarianism and sectionalism than such hypocrisy masquerading under the false colours of "liberty-for-all", with a definite belief in freedom for none!

This, however, is not the sort of unity under discussion here. No one believes anarchists or libertarian socialists are easy people to unify, or even to bring together on discussing such a subject as *unity*. Precisely because they believe intensely in the freedom of the individual they will hesitate to link up on issues that may lead, inevitably, to more talk and less action.

## The Present Situation

But before we make further excuses for not attempting something in the nature of unity on broad issues, let us look around

us to-day, and in seeing the national and international situations revealed in all their tragic significance, can we honestly adopt an irresponsible "pose" in which cynicism is the main attribute? With the best will in the world do we honestly believe the Labour Party can unfold the imaginative and scientific freedom of Socialism? Do we believe any more in the regenerative force of an enlightened Communist Party? Do we dare to consider what reaction means in the possible gentlemanly introduction, per Toryism, of a less ruthless but all the more sinister Fascism? Do we appreciate what we have to offer in a decentralised organisation of Workers' Committees really interpreting the vital freedom of a libertarian Socialism? Is not this the real answer to the previous methods of authoritarian and brutal control of humanity by a callous bureaucracy?

We have the answer. In liberty allied to imaginative and scientific Socialism lies the great hope of all of us: artist and artisan, skilled and unskilled worker alike.

The final appeal, then, is for all those holding the Libertarian point of view, whether attached or not to an organisation, to come together on these broad issues of *Peace*, *Freedom* and *Food*; in the latter suggestion of *Food* this is meant in the deepest sense, since most of the world is agonisingly short of a sound, staple diet, and this upon an earth where plenty could be the normal routine for all.

Space forbids further elaboration: it remains for the groups concerned to thrash the matter out to their own satisfaction, remembering time is all too short and this IS the atomic era! Let discussion be hot and furious! What unity we do get, let it be free of the hypocrisy we condemn in others!

J. H. MOORHOUSE.

# Through the Press

## PROPPING UP FRANCO

A £30,000,000 trade agreement with Spain, covering the next 12 months, was announced by the Treasury last night.

Spain is to send Britain potatoes, pyrites, iron ore, olive oil, fruit and other foodstuffs.

Exports from Britain will include coal, machinery, chemicals, electrical goods and a wide range of other products.

The £30,000,000 does not represent a startling increase or new departure in our trade relations with Spain.

*News Chronicle*, 15/5/48.

## WHAT UPLIFT!

Lord Dukeston of Warrington, once a navy and a former president of the T.U.C., died in a London hospital yesterday. Ian Mackay writes: "When I heard that Charlie Dukes was dead I felt that a great trade union epoch had come to an end."

"Dukes was one of the last of the great leaders who, a quarter of a century ago, lifted the trade union movement from the barricades to the board room."

"Born in Stourbridge in 1881, he learned his alphabet and his Socialism together."

"He was a life-long teetotaler and, until Hitler came, an extreme pacifist."

*News Chronicle*, 15/5/48.

## PLEASURE AT ANY COST

Unabashed by a poor Press for his midket car racing is Bert E. Friedlob; his week-end public saw two spectacular crashes. ("Too bad they didn't happen on the opening night at Chelsea," said Friedlob.)

The captain of the U.S. team, Jack Stroud, had his car burst into flames; he escaped with a leg burn, but the car was a dead loss.

Chauncy Crist, another American, was not so lucky, he roared over the crash-wall, turned over three times and broke

a collarbone in five places. He will be out for the rest of the season.

*News Chronicle*, 18/5/48.

## MILK OR BEER?

"Would a child, free to choose between milk and beer, choose milk?" The answer is yes—if the child has been brought up with self-regulation, that is without compulsive training in food and habits. Such a child of two tasted my beer and spat it out.

My daughter of 18 months chooses to live on fresh fruit when she has a cold; meaning that the organism of a child can be trusted to take the right way. I am willing to suppose that a child might choose beer if it had been reared on too much starch, too much moralising, too many verbotos and slaps.

—A. S. NEILL in a letter in *Forward*, 15/5/48.

## ILLITERACY IN ENGLAND

There has been widespread comment on the report on religious education drawn up by the Bishop of Liverpool's commission and attention has been drawn particularly to the commission's estimate that more than 3,000,000 adults and young people in England and Wales can scarcely read or write. One contribution is a letter from Mr. J. D. Newth in last week's *Spectator*, in which he suggests that the reason for this extensive illiteracy is not hard to discover.

In 1928, he points out, when many of these 3,000,000 were at school, the consultative committee of the Board of Education issued its report on books in public elementary schools. Among the committee's findings was the fact that

the average annual sum spent on books in modern (central) schools, senior, junior and infant schools in England and Wales was approximately 1s. 8d. per pupil.

*The Bookseller*, 15/5/48.

## THE NATIONAL PRESS OPINION—1

"Why," Mr. Bevan asked, "should we, who are clearing up the muddle, allow ourselves to be scared by headlines in the Capitalist Press?" It is the most prostituted Press in the world, most of it owned by a gang of millionaires.

"These newspapers and employers and owners are engaged in diverting the social will. That is their job."

"The national and provincial newspapers are pumping a deadly poison into the public mind week by week."

"If you listen too carefully to it and allow it to weaken your will the consequences will be disastrous."

*News Chronicle*, 17/5/48.

## OPINION—2

Mr. W. C. Warren, in his presidential address to the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, said: "As an industry concerned with the production of newspapers, it is our duty to stress again the urgent importance of an increase in the supply of newsprint."

## MORE RACIALISM

For two hours here to-day police on foot and horseback fought to control big crowds outside premises in Great Lister Street, Birmingham, occupied by 30 Indians.

The Indians barricaded themselves in two adjoining houses following a "vigilante" attack by 100 local residents who alleged that a number of white women were in the house.

Police arrived in cars and on horseback, batons were drawn, and there were heavy blows, but no serious injuries.

There was loud boozing from the crowd and shouts to the police of "Get rid of them". Four white women and a number of Indians were removed in police cars.

*News Chronicle*, 18/5/48.

## COURT MARTIAL REFORM—WHEN?

On April 20th, in the House of Commons, Mr. Shinwell announced that he had received the Lewis Committee on Courts-Martial Reform Report. It is to be hoped that it will be published with the least delay.

In Mr. Bellinger's day, Courts of Appeal were suggested and reforms promised, but that was a long while ago. Let us hope than any recommendations will be speedily introduced.

To many courts-martial are conducted by officers untrained for the work so that inadequate sentences are passed and many accused do not get justice.

*Letter to News Chronicle*, 18/5/48

## THE HARD WALKING BUTLER

Earl Fitzwilliam, killed in the same air crash, was owner of the 365-room Wentworth Woodhouse, in Yorkshire—so immense that the butler once calculated he had walked 50 miles in its rooms and corridors during a four-day house party.

A few months ago, he let the house for £800 a year to the West Riding Education Committee, retaining about 30 rooms for his own use. In London he lived at the Ritz.

Fitzwilliam was rich. His father, who died in 1943, left £1,320,000.

*Evening Standard*, 14/5/48.

## BOLD PLUS RISKY THINGS (1)

Sir Stafford Cripps, addressing young people at a religious service at Swindon last night, said: "By all means do the bold and risky things, because in that way you will serve your fellow men."

*Daily Telegraph*, 10/5/48.

## (2)

The boy who admitted stealing from his employer's shop and taking money from his home, said he had spent the money on political books. He wanted to become a full-time political organiser.

*Evening Standard*.

## CAT'S LIFE

Left . . . by Miss Mary Clay of Philadelphia, to her nine cats to provide them with a salaried caretaker, the run of the first floor of her house, fresh chopped beef, lamb for stewing, canned salmon, milk and bread: £18,750.

*News Review*, 13/5/48.

## DOG'S LIFE

Mrs. Elsa Goldsmid, of the Save the Children Fund, spent a week listening to these cases. She investigated the case of a girl of good manners and education, who had been charged with persistent prostitution. She found the girl in a cellar of a bombed house. Here she had gathered together a group of stray children and looked after them with the motherly affection which more fortunate girls of her age would lavish on dolls. The girl had turned herself into a street-walker to feed these children, and when she was warned about her way of life there was only bewilderment and no understanding of sin.

*Picture Post*, Europe's Children Special Issue, 24/4/48.

# BUILDING AND THE PEOPLE BRIAR PATCH & BUREAUCRACY

THE Battle of Briar Patch has received such a lot of well-deserved publicity, that it is only necessary to reiterate very briefly the facts of the case. Mr. Leslie Kirby and his family were bombed-out in 1940; they lived for a time in lodgings, and in a caravan, but try as they might, they could not get a place of their own. So Mr. Kirby, a carpenter and a man of resource, bought himself a patch of land at Bracknell, Bucks, and with secondhand bricks and timber, and wood from the trees he cut down, and old picture frames for windows, he built a bungalow and settled down with his wife, her invalid mother and their two children. But, since the house was built without the sanction of the local council, and contravened the building byelaws and the Town and Country Planning Act, the local Council gave him notice that they intended to dismantle his house and sell the materials in order to pay for the demolition.

But the workmen sent to disconnect the electricity and water supplies refused to do so, and one of the demolition workers asked for his cards and quitted the job. Crowds gathered and prevented Council officials from approaching the house, until forcibly removed by the police. Eventually Mr. Kirby's garage and workshop were taken down, but then the demolition workers refused to move the furniture out of the house, and thus stopped the work from continuing. Meanwhile orders came from the Ministry of Town and Country Planning that the demolition was to be stopped—but for the solidarity of these workers, the reprieve would have been too late.

The alternative accommodation that the Council offered was a standard army Nissen hut, 36 feet long and 16 feet wide—this for three adults (one bedridden) and two children. It is hard to imagine what sort of building byelaws would pass the Nissen hut and condemn Briar Patch.

The Bracknell bungalow is not, however, an isolated case. A Lancashire farmer at Asham-in-Furness, with a wife and baby, built a bungalow on his own land, having nowhere else to live. Since the land is scheduled for agricultural purposes, the Dalton Urban District Council proposed to demolish it. Well, there can be few farmers who do not live on their own land, and, taking into

account the fact that the biggest obstacle to increasing the number of people working on the land is the lack of houses, this proposal reaches the apex of stupidity and folly, especially when we recall the quotation in the "Land Notes" in the last issue of *Freedom*, 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".

Thus our responsible authorities, themselves incapable (as they are bound to be within our economic structure) of solving the housing problem, take punitive action against people with enough initiative and independence to solve it for themselves, and are only prevented by working-class solidarity and public outcry, forcing the hand of a higher authority. At a time, when 22,000 building operatives are unemployed, and architects are idle behind their drawing-boards, all that can be offered is—a Nissen hut.

In last week's *Socialist Leader*, Ethel Mannin, writing on the estimated cost of £50,000 for renovations to Clarence House for the Royal newly-weds, pertinently comments:—

"It may be argued that Mr. Leslie Kirby, carpenter, is one thing, and the Duke of Edinburgh, Greek prince and husband of the heiress presumptive, quite another . . . though John Ball's enquiry—  
"When Adam delved and Eve span  
Who was then the gentleman?"  
is still valid."

There are, of course, other issues involved in the Briar Patch controversy. No-one wants to see the growth of new colonies of shacks and shanties, but are not the authorities themselves the worst offenders in this respect—putting up groups of the flimsier varieties of 'pre-fabs' on all sort of sites, whether suitable or not? The excuse, which has considerable justification, is that the extreme urgency of the present situation makes these temporary measures inevitable, but this applies with equal force to Briar Patch, and Mr. Kirby certainly doesn't intend his bungalow to be his permanent home.

And, with regard to agricultural land, surely the worst offender is the government itself, through the demands of the service departments.

The recent annual report of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England shows that the real disregards of Town and Country Planning requirements are the authorities concerned with administering the Town and Country Planning Act, and not individual homeless people. *The Listener* for May 13th, 1948, says that "on what is happening in the way of development in Greater London, the report expresses grave concern. It talks of the public being lulled into security and affirms that the growth of London's population and industry is greatest in the suburban ring and in the Green Belt. And the offenders, declares the report, are not the speculative builders, but those Ministries which are blind to anything but a narrow, short-term policy of providing houses and more production quickly and certain great local authorities who have learned nothing from the war, and who pursue the old selfish ways of local aggrandisement or house dumping on any obtainable sites. What has happened in Greater London, the report submits, is a

complete policy of drift—and drift in the wrong direction."

We heard a lot in the last few years about "organic planning", and "planning for human needs", but we have seen little of it in practice. For that sort of planning is not born of Acts of Parliament and Byelaws, it rises "like a lark from the furrows" of a free people working together for the fulfilment of its daily needs and aspirations.

C.W.

## PAYMENT DEFERRED

Squadron Leader E. Kinghorn, Socialist M.P. for Great Yarmouth, pleaded in the House of Commons committee to-day that school-leaving reports should be destroyed after three years because of something that happened "when I was 10". But what that was he kept secret.

Instead of his own story he told this one:

"When the B.B.C. were investigating recently the antecedents of members of their staff, a girl, doing an excellent job, was brought before the principal of her department and told that she had had a conviction at a juvenile court at the age of 10.

"She was entirely in ignorance of that fact, but she was, nevertheless, discharged from the B.B.C."

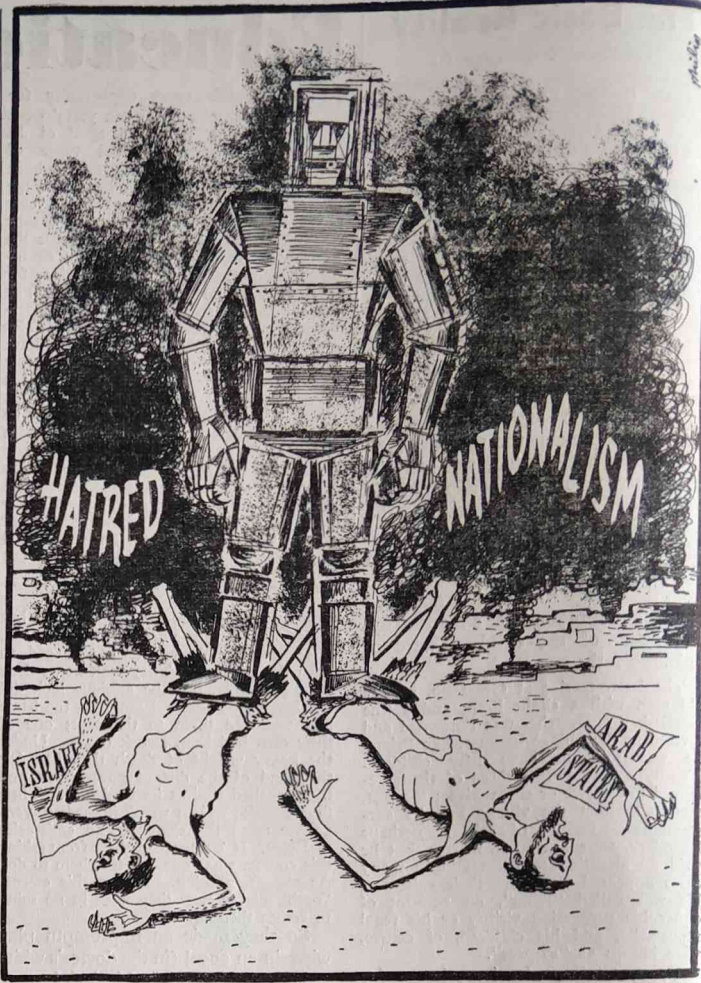
*News Chronicle.*

## DO AS I TELL YOU

"If it is thought that in raising the dividend from 12 per cent. to 20 per cent. we are going too far, I would point out . . ." (Mr. K. M. Chance, chairman and managing director, at annual ordinary general meeting of British Industrial Plastics Ltd.)

"Rising wages are a curse to everyone, especially to those who receive them . . ." (Same man, same speech.)

*Reynolds News, 9/5/48.*



# ON ANARCHISM AN EARLY APPROACH

EVERY man's nature is a sufficient advertisement to him of the character of his fellows. My right and my wrong is their right and their wrong. Whilst I do what is fit for me, and abstain from what is unfit, my neighbour and I shall often agree in our means, and work together for a time to one end. But whenever I find my dominion over myself not sufficient for me, and undertake the direction of him also, I overstep the truth and come into false relations to him. I may have so much more skill and strength than he, that he cannot express adequately his sense of wrong, but it is a lie, and it hurts like a lie both him and me. Love and nature cannot maintain the assumption: it must be executed by a practical lie, namely, by force. This undertaking for another is the blunder which stands in colossal ugliness in the governments of the world. It is the same thing in numbers as in a pair, only not quite so intelligible. I can see well enough a great difference between my setting myself down to a self-control, and my going to make somebody else act after my views; but when a quarter of the human race assume

to tell me what I must do, I may be too much disturbed by the circumstances to see so clearly the absurdity of their command. For, any laws but those which men make for themselves are laughable. If I put myself in the place of my child, and we stand in one thought, and see that things are thus or thus, that perception is law for him and me. We are both there, both act. But if, without carrying him into the thought, I look over into his plot, and, guessing how it is with him, ordain this or that, he will never obey me. This is the history of governments—one man does something which is to bind another. A man who cannot be acquainted with me, taxes me; looking from afar at me, ordains that a part of my labour shall go to this or that whimsical end, not as I, but as he happens to fancy. Behold the consequence. Of all debts, men are least willing to pay the taxes. What a satire is this on governments! Everywhere they think they get their money's worth, except for these.

Hence, the less government we have, the better—the fewer laws and the less confided power. The anti-

dote to this abuse of formal government is, the influence of private character, the growth of the individual; the appearance of the principal to supersede the proxy; the appearance of the wise man, of whom the existing government is, it must be owned, but a shabby imitation. That which all things tend to educe, which freedom, cultivation, intercourse, revolutions, go to form and deliver is character; that is the end of nature, to reach unto this coronation of her king. To educate the wise man, the State exists; and with the appearance of the wise man, the State expires. The appearance of character makes the State unnecessary.

The wise man is the State. He needs no army, fort or navy—he loves men too well; no bribe, or feast, or palace to draw friends to him; no vantage ground, no favourable circumstances. He needs no library, for he has not done thinking; no church, for he is a prophet; no statute book, for he has the law-giver; no money, for he is value; no road, for he is at home where he is; no experience, for the life of the creator shoots through him, and looks from his eyes. He has no personal friends, for he who has the spell to draw the prayer and piety of all men unto him, needs not husband and educate a few, to share with him a select and poetic life. His relation to men is angelic; his memory is myrrh unto them; his presence, frankincense and flowers.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

## MURDERS & CIRCULATION

THE editorial of the *News of the World* (16/5/48) endeavours to make political capital out of the maniacal killings in Lancashire, by urging that the killing of two children there proves the case against the death penalty.

"What punishment, one may well ask, can be too great for so monstrous a crime, too dread to deter the hand of every other brute who even at this moment may cherish dark and evil designs?" it asks. It mentions the recent child-killing, and adds, "These are the time in which we live, and this is the hour chosen . . . to remove the death penalty from the Statute Book."

But in its front-page "splash"—"The Terror Stalks and Strikes Again", it describes "the Terror" as "a demoniacal monster who stalks and kills in the light of the waxing moon"—showing the murderer as a criminal lunatic who would not therefore be subject to the death penalty even if it were still law.

view by going so far as to appeal to the murderer to give himself up and thus prevent further murders, if he should read their article in one of his lucid moments. But such publicity as offered by the *News of the World* can only pander to the vanity of a madman imagining himself to be of importance.

As symptomatic of the *News of the World* we give its idea of the limits of "delicacy":

"It would have been indelicate and not in the best of taste to have intruded on a private grief in the Devaney home, so I talked for a moment with Mrs. Ann Whalley, June's aunt, who was to have taken the little girl home to-day. She was heartbroken."

From people who make a living by publishing this sort of thing we can hardly expect a balanced view of the death penalty. In fact, who can doubt but that they have a vested interest in murder. No murders, how much less the circulation of 7,000,000 would be!

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1. and published by Freedom Press, London, W.C.1

## Meetings and Announcements

### UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1. MAY 30th Tom Carlisle

"Workers' Councils" NOTE: The above lecture ends the present series. It is hoped to organise regular out-door meetings during the summer to take their place.

### NORTH EAST LONDON

JUNE 1st "Dostoevsky" Fred Reod 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, June 6th.

### 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, June 10th: Variety of Subjects. Bring your friends.

### GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Public Meetings at MAXWELL STREET are held every Sunday evening. Speakers: John Gaffney, Frank Leach, 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.

## Have you received a Renewal Reminder?

Be sure of receiving **FREEDOM** regularly by sending your renewal without delay! When Renewing your Subscription why not order 2 copies and pass one on to a friend?

## Press Fund

8th—24th May, 1948:

S. Francisco: F.S. 4/11; Fulham: W.E.D. 3/-. Tunbridge: O.M. £1/18/10; Anon -/9; Battersea: G.G. 2/6; Glasgow: M.T. 1/-; Lenark: T.C. 2/6; Broughton-in-Furness: E.M.W. 2/-; Glastonbury: E.O.I. 2/-; Burton-in-Lonsdale: F.H. 11/6; Stroud: S.L.R. 1/6; Birdham: L.W.R. 3/6; Yarmouth: L.F.B. 9/3; Gillingham: M.C. 5/6; Anon 2/6; Houghton-le-Springs: A.B. 1/6; Hornchurch: P.W. 1/6; Ipswich: W.M.D. 3/-; Highgate: J.B. 9/-; Derby: A.F. 1/9; Glasgow: A.H. 1/6; Hassle: G.T. 3/2; London: L.K. 6/6; London: B.G.D. 4/6.

Previously acknowledged ... £6 3 8 £189 9 3  
1948 TOTAL TO DATE ... £195 12 11

## FREEDOM Anarchist Fortnightly Price 3d.

Postal Subscription Rates 6 months 4/6 (U.S.A. \$1) 12 months 8/6 (U.S.A. \$2) Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies. 6 months 7/6 (\$1.50) 12 months 15/- (\$3)

All Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers

FREEDOM PRESS  
27 Red Lion Street  
London, W.C.1 England  
Tel: Chancery 8364