It is error alone which needs

(in Notes on Virginia)

19, No. 46.

sh Nationalism

November 15th, 1958

Threepence

## REFLECTIONS ON

# FULL-EMPLOYMENT

the beginning of this year the overnment was telling us that complaint from which the try was suffering was inflation: much money was chasing too goods. So measures were taken irb spending; hire-purchase des were raised and cuts made in e investment and the social ser-In the months that followed diagnosis, unemployment has ised, (but is still below that st as the "minimum" for "full yment" by Lord Beveridge!) production has fallen sharply, are now told that we are suffrom a slight slump: that we too many goods and there is enough money about to buy so now the government has measures to encourage spend-All the shackles on Hire Purhave been removed and public tment is to be increased by millions next, year, equivalent

out 150,000 jobs in the two year

od, as well as a "major rein-

cement" of the economy.

hough the Labour Opposition de great play of this reversal of Government's economic policy, d with general elections in the they exploited every tactical adstage offered by the situation), we not think the government had use to be embarrassed. After all January, when Mr. Amory took er from Mr. Thorneycroft, he deared that two aims would remain paramount" with him: "maintaing the strength of the pound and internal price stability". Everything else had to be sacrificed to the almighty pound sterling, including if necessary a few hundred thousand jobs. Now that pound sterling is strong again it is necessary to try and correct some of the troubles that have arisen in the process, and this Mr. Amory is trying to do by putting the financial machine in reverse! As Mr. Bevan concedes in last week's Tribune:

We are not in the old phase of boom and bust. There is never a real boom and never a real bust. There is only a persistent sabotage of productive potentialities.

He goes on to explain that the main reason for "the fact that the swing of the economic pendulum is not as violent as it once was' is to be found in the fact that quasi-Socialist principles have been inserted into the economy". The measures for increasing public investment are proof "of how past Socialist success is now relied upon to rescue capitalism from committing suicide".

Mr. Bevan and his friends may well be proud of having in part converted the Tory government to their way of thinking. But we wonder how many socialists who support the Labour Party will like to hear, by implication in what Mr. Bevan says, that Labour's economic policies are designed to save capitalism from committing suicide? Yet this is as much as the Labour Party would attempt to do if returned to power. The Labour approach to the economic problems besetting the world differs from that of the Tories only as to the measures to be taken to secure Mr. Amory's paramount aims of "a strong pound and stable prices". There is no question of either side permitting capitalism to commit suicide or of hastening such process. Labour has no objection o a capitalist economy so long as Labour government can control it.

Nationalisation far from representing a revolutionary approach to the methods of production, a first step in the direction of workers' control of industry and the abolition of the capitalist rationale for production, is simply the implementation of Labour's theory that capitalism can be made to work smoothly if the government replaces "private enterprise" by State control in all the major industries and services. And even this theory seems to have fewer enthusiasts in the Party than at one time, but whether this is due to sincere misgivings or simply betrays the opportunism of those leaders of the Party more concerned with winning elections and enjoying the fruits of personal power, it is difficult to say.

THE concern working people of all countries show for the question of full-emploment is understandable...but spineless! Yes, spineless, because in the industrialised countries of Europe and America industry has reached a stage in its development where we should no longer be struggling to establish our right to a job but demanding access to the necessities of life as of a right: not the pittance of unemployment benefit or soup kitchens and relief when we are out of a job.

The idea that "he who does not work neither shall he eat" was an

approach to life the rough justice of which can be understood at a time in Man's history when mere survival depended on every member of the comunity doing his share of work. Life was the struggle for physical survival; work the symbol of life. Such is still the situation in great, and densely populated areas of the world, but not in the established industrial nations. Yet with modifications, emulating Orwellian cynicism, the concept that only those who work are entitled to eat has been carried into present society. Production has become an end in itself, unrelated to needs. Workers operate machines which produce goods simply to keep men in employment and the machines turning. Man's ingenuity is taxed to find new uses to which the machines can be put irrespective of whether what they produce is useful, harmful or useless. There are workers who spend a lifetime in the armaments industry producing weapons for their own destruction or which by the time they come off the production line are obsolete and automatically transferred to the scrap heap.

The workers themselves are the last to question the social value of their work. What counts for them is that they have a job which provides them with the money to buy food, shelter and a few frills to hide the emptiness of their lives. Coal

Continued on P. 3

# Popes, Cardinals & Priests

ONE reason for the Catholic Church's continued existence is undoubtedly its high entertainment value. Even on quite ordinary occasions the magnificence of its cerimonial makes the performances of its Protestant competitors appear feeble and uninspired by comparison. It was not surprising, therefore, that the recent death of Pope Pius XII and the election of his successor should have aroused such widespread interest among those whose business it is to supply the public with the spectacular. After all, Popes are not elected every day; and with a young and healthy queen on the throne the prospect of a coronation at home is unlikely for many years to come. So for the newspapers and the newsreel and television corporations the Vatican circus must have seemed like an oasis in the desert of the everyday and hum-

They were not disappointed. It is true that at times the grand occasion took on the appearance of a comic opera. There was, for instance, the disastrous outcome of Prof. Galeazzi-Lisi's laboursaving method of embalming the Pontifical corpse, which began to rot even while it was lying in state in St. Peter's. As many of the faithful believe, quite wrongly, that the bodies of the saints have been preserved intact throughout the centuries there is likely to be some heartburning when the question of canonization arises. And it is bound to arise, for the late Pope, with an eye to the future, had been careful to let it be known that he enjoyed occasional visits from the Virgin Mary.

Further light relief was provided by the stove used to make the smoke signals that announce the result of the election. At first it could not be found, and when eventually it was it failed to function as expected. Like most romantic legends, the one about the black and white smoke makes an excellent story but leads to unsatisfactory results when attempts are made to put it into practice.

The indefatigable Prof, Galeazzi-Lisi also provided the element of scandal. Before the body was cold he had sold his account of the papal death throes to the press. Cynical Romans, long familiar with the venality of Vatican officials, were moved to remark: "They've even sold the Pope".

But on the whole it was the spectacular that prevailed. The suspense while the world waited for the result of the election was admirably maintained and not continued so long that interest could flag. The pictures of the occasion were suitably impressive, and the Swiss Guards in their Michael Angelo rompers added a nice touch of the picturesque.

The only thing that has been lacking is an explanation of what it all meant. There has been, it is true, a welter of speculation, most of it beside the point, both during the Conclave and after the election of John XXIII. The most that could be learned from it all was that the new Pope would not be like the last. John, we were told, would not, for instance, continue Pius XII's custom of addressing conferences of such diverse groups as midwives, engineers, and psychiatrists and advise them in detail on various aspects of their work. Ironically enough, the journalists who told us this were to attend the new Pope's first special audience, at which he lectured them on the profession of journalism and complained that in their accounts of the Conclave he had been unable to find more than two lines of truth!

We can be certain of one thing. During Pius XII's long pontificate the church became more political than it has ever been. In many countries Catholic

Continued on p. 3

# GUN LAW IN CYPRUS

IT IS regarded as a feature of a 'civilized' society that the ability to use violence is vested exclusively in the forces of the State.

One of the arguments for World Government is to extend this principe, which is enforced within every nation-state, into the 'anarchic' field of international relations, so that order may reign between countries as it does now within countries. That would be regarded as a great step forward in human relationships, since such idealists hold 'order' to be more important than the liberty and integrity of individuals, and are not concerned with the social, economic or political pattern of a society as long as there is an absence of open conflict, and as long as government maintains law and order.

By this standard Spain and Hungary are peaceful societies and Cyprus will be as soon as the terrorists are crushed and law and order are re-established there.

The re-establishment of law and order, however, is proving a more difficult task than at first thought, and in pursuing it one of the cardinal principles of our civilization is going by the board—temporarily at least.

### **Arming Civilians**

Civilians are being armed by the Government in Cyprus. British civilians, that is, of course. And this is taken as a great morale-booster and an indication of the authorities' determination to step up the fight against EOKA. What it is in fact however, is an admission of the inability of the Crown forces—police and military—to protect civilians.

But this is always the case. Citizens are never 'protected' by police, any more than property is. The function of the police is to appre-

hend an offender after the offence has been committed, and by the punishment doled out to him to deter others from committing similar crimes. It is retribution, not prevention, and the functions of judgment and retribution—or revenge, to give the truer word—which are god-like functions, are vested in the secular authorities which have to keep us in order because we do not accept the rule of God, which theoretically, should keep us good, i.e., servile, rendering unto Caesar, etc...

# Who Shalt Not Kill?

In Cyprus large numbers of the population have, in spite of their apparant respect for Archbishop Makarios, rejected the rule of God as far as 'Thou shalt not kill' is concerned. And no wonder, for they have found their island occupied and turned into a base for the specific purpose of playing a part in the organised killing called war. From airfields on the island paratroopers armed to the teeth have already flown forth to the Suez fracas and to crush rebellion in Jordan. The British masters of Cyprus have no regard for 'Thou shalt not kill', but like to pretend a Christian abhorrence for killing when carried out by somebody else.

Now, however the pretence that law and order can be maintained on the island by the forces of the Crown has been given up. Following the attempts by the Government to put into operation its 'partnership' plan—which, naturally, is no partnership at all—EOKA, which twice in the past has called a halt to its violence when an acceptable solution seemed remotely possible, has now stepped up its activities and is claiming at least one victim a day, either civilian or soldier or policemen.

Whether EOKA's tactics will ever achieve the end they desire remains to be seen, but what they have demonstrated so far is their ability to penetrate the enemy's strongholds. Two incidents have shown this: the planting of a bomb in luggage being loaded on to a Comet transport plane, which went off too soon only because the plane was late in being loaded, and another bomb hidden in a settee in a NAAFI canteen, which killed two airmen and injured seven others.

# All Sacked

The reaction of the military to these incidents has been to dismiss all Greek Cypriot employees from RAF establishments— three thousand of them—and from NAAFI canteens—another eleven hundred. These are all to be replaced, at some cost and inconvenience, by British personnel yet to be taken to the island.

And the reaction of the Governor to the daily toll of civilian lives has been to arm all British men who ask for revolvers. It is interesting to see that the British male civilian residents of Nicosia consist of about 320 bankers, lawyers, business men and civil servants. No workmen, you notice. No farmers or builders or clothing workers. The local population do the useful, productive work; the British are there as the master class.

These civilians are necessary for the British grip upon the island. And because these men like to have their families with them, their wives and children are exposed to the violence of EOKA also. This is a terrible thing—but what do they expect? British civilians don't have to stay there by law, as the soldiers do. The civilians hang on because

there are good pickings, salaries with expense allowances, cheap labour, sunshine, a standard of living not to be found so easily in Britain. In clinging to this they have to identify themselves with an occupying military power forcing its domination upon a resentful people.

# Their Choice

If they choose to gamble with their lives and their children's futures in exchange for their prestige and bank accounts, they are doing no more than the fighters of EOKA and for a much shabbier reason. Mistaken or correct, the Cypriot resistance forces see their struggle as one for their freedom, their independence, their integrity, their dignity, their very lives.

The position of the British civilians in Cyprus is analogous with the hangers-on and collaborators of the Russians in Hungary or the Nazis in occupied Europe during the war. They are there to exploit a situation created by foreign domination, by imperialism, by the bayonet.

All Greek Cypriot employees of the British establishment have now been sacked—so that the supposed benefit of all military occupation, that it brings employment and prosperity, no longer holds. Four thousand Cypriots now have grievances and nothing to do. A good field for recruitment for EOKA, one would think.

The final division is now made. There can no longer be any contact, any friendship, between British and Cypriots. The British civilian stands armed beside the British soldier, surrounded by a population left with no room for any emotion but hatred and no activity but violence.

Gun law is triumphant in Cyprus. What a victory for the British way of life!

THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY, by Henry Pelling. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 188.).

A MONG the Ashantis (so a friend tells A MONG the Ashantis (so a friend tells me) there is a saying: Each man has two shadows. One, large and impressive, is thrown by his virtues, the other, small and ugly, stems from his imperfections. Man must try to get the right place in the sun, that his big shadow may cover the little one. Then he is able to pretend, there is no little shadow at all

This seems to me the position of the Communist Party-member in our time. Turn and turn he does, just as the light from Moscow turns, always ready to toe the newest Party-line, always trying to cover the shadow of the little freak, the British Communist Party, ugly, comical, full of gatheria protectors. full of pathetic pretences

It was Sylvia Pankhurst the suffragette. of all people, who founded the "Communist Party (British Section, Third International)" and she was more or less the first ex-member as well.

Since those days of 1919/21 literally hundreds of thousands of people went into the Communist Party and went out again. Could a party be formed of all the ex-members of the C.P. of Great Britain, it would by far be the biggest party in these Isles.

The book by Henry Pelling, a Fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford and author of books about the Labour Party, etc., is not about the many members who have left, but the few who got stuck in it. It is a nearly complete account of it. It is a nearly complete account of the British Communist Party since it started. With ant-like busyness he col-lected his material from all corners and hiding-places. Some of his sources had long been forgotten, many the average person has never heard of, but here they all are, all well documented and un-assailable. From Tom Mann to Borodin assailable. From Tom Mann to Borodin and Pontecorvo, from M.I.5 to Brian Behan, everything and everybody is mentioned, classified and indexed.

It is a good book for the student, clearly written and well printed. And, maybe, the author is not to blame, if maybe, the author is not to blame, if one puts it down with a feeling of utter dissatisfaction. Perhaps it is, because the author finishes, where the book should really begin. Only in the last lines, when he drops his "objectivity at any price" and says:

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worthy of exploration than the problem of how it came to pass, that a band of British citizens could sacrifice themselves so completely over a period of almost forty years to the service of a dictatorship in another country, and could find it so difficult to adjust themselves to the revelation of the dictator's all too human imperiections

Since Marxists started to propagate their dialectical materialism, since "The Inevitable Evolution of History" had been invented by them, the writing of history became more and more the accumulation of facts, dates and figures. Hardly any consideration is given to the people in history. The Grand Old Duke of York is painted, pictured and giorified, but those ten thousand men whom he marched up and down, are just "ten thousand men", a nice round figure and

Once, Revolutionaries were united on certain principles, like Internationalism. Education, Equal rights to the sources of wealth, Patriotism, Marriage and the Family, Army and the Armaments, State-

There is not one point of these, where Russia and its Communist rulers to-day preach just the opposite what they propagated in the aftermath of the first world war. But the same people, who once called themselves "The spearhead of the Revolution", the Gal-lachers, Pollitts, Dutts, etc., are still ready to defend whatever comes from

Trotsky, Sinovjev, Radek, Stalin, Tito Malenkov, every one of them was a glorious leader. Most of them have been Most of them have been discovered to be "traitors" and in the pay of the Capitalists". On the day pay of the Capitalists". On the day when, let us say, Mikoyan replaces Krushchev, the same game will be played

Now, it is understandable, if men like Now, it is understandable, if men like Pollitt, etc., having grown old in their position, feel themselves unable to be anything else, than a "leader", and are ready to carry on, whatever turn events may take. But what about the members? The fellow-travellers? Why are there still some 20,000 people ready to call themselves members of the Communist Party in Great Britain? Desmunist Party in Great Britain? Des-pised by their Russian masters who ignored them, when they came to Lon-don, laughed at by their sister-parties in other countries, unable to call even their souls their own (organisationally the British Communist Party is subservient to the French C.P.), they wobble in the shadow of Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Malen-kov, Krushchev, or whoever plays the tune

The answer will not be found in an accumulation of data, it will be found in the myth of the great and illuminated leaders, such brave, enlightened, god-like men, incomparable with any of us.

We can only hope, one day, there may be some historian writing history as it

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### granananananananananananag **Book Reviews**

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really was made: by corrupt little weak-lings, covering up behind each other, not daring to stand up for themselves but quite willing to sacrifice the life of mil-lions to satisfy their lust for power. I am afraid, even in such a history, the leaders of the British Communist Party will still be the little ugly shadow of who-ever is the big Russian or Chinese bully of the day.

MAX PATRICK

# Inside

BANG TO RIGHTS" is an account "BANG TO RIGHTS"\* is an account of two years Corrective Training served by Frank Norman in the prisons of Wandsworth, Chelmsford and Camp Hill, Isle of Wight. The author is the 'illegitimate' son of a costermonger and spent most of his childhood in institutions. By the time he was twenty-four he had been bound over once and had served four prison sentences. He was then sentenced for the fifth time and his book records what happened to him book records what happened to him during this period, the people he met and the change he underwent when he dis-covered the purposeful activity of paint-ing. Written without regard for literary style in a vernacular which is a mixture of cockney and prison slang, it is none theless recommended reading for those who believe that imprisonment is just.

The failure of prisons, police and punishment to provide an effective antidote to 'crime' has been a perennial theme of anarchists for many years. The idea that virtue can be inculcated by means of locks and bars has been exploded so often that one wonders how it is that it often that one wonders how it is that it can still be seriously put forward. Yet one still finds indignant moralisers who advocate longer sentences and severer penalties and bemoan the 'soft' treatment prisoners receive to-day. Frank Norman, however, with five sentences behind him, replies in no uncertain tones: "Bird is bird," he writes, "whatever you like to call it: C.T., P.D. (Preventive Detention), Borstal or Remand Home, its all bird. So let's stop kidding ourselves, shall we?"

"Prison can only be usefully reformed by dynamite". This was the view once expressed to me by a comrade who spoke from experience. "Bang to Rights" is a confirmation of my comrade's opinion. In spite of all the efforts of reformers, prison remains one great "wasting of prison remains one great "wasting of men," as the author puts it. The sad procession of men and women in and out of these grim, grimy mausoleums of the human soul is an ever present reminder of that mockery which goes by the name

\*By Frank Norman, Secker & Warburg. 15s.

# Prison from the

S. E. PARKER.

# Single Excursion to the FINLAND STATION

WHEN rogues fall out, honest men come into their own". When Governments fall out, honest (and dishonest) men come into the truth about the governments. This was true of the 1914-18 war when the USSR published the secret archives of the Tsarist Government. Now the German archives are giving up their secrets and amongst the documents which the West has seen fit to release are a selection on "Germany and the Revolution in Russia 1915-1918". This selection has an interesting history. Something similar was done in 1918 by Sisson for the U.S. propaganda services but this was labelled as a 'forgery' by the German propaganda services German propaganda services

Recently Dr. Possony was commissioned by Life to write up these documents for publication. However, the result was found to be too dull for Life, so Alan Moorehead was commissiond to knit the whole thing up into a popularized history of the Russian Revolution, this was done and the result half flesh, half fowl and the rest, red herring, is now on the bookstalls.

now on the bookstalls.

This selection ("Germany and the Revolution in Russia 1915-18"), by Z. A.
B. Zeman, published by Oxford University Press (25/-) needs none of the trappings of Alan Moorehead. In itself it is sufficient to throw light on the Soviet methods of power politics, foreshadowed by the opportunism of Lenin and his group.

Every schoolboy knows by now, and every good communist denies that Lenin and his party were aided by the German to travel into Russia from exile in Switzerland, through Germany, in order to further foment the revolu-

The initial negotiations were made by Parvus under the not very convincing nom de guerre of Dr. Helphand. He later quarrelled with Lenin but like Engels, Parvus belonged to the scorned bourgeoisie which gave a helping had to the vanguard of the revolutionary work class, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and

Like most historical events the side lights are most interesting. The 'excusion' from Switzerland was advertised a Swiss paper. (Steps are being taken to organise a return. Address—S. Bagocky). To pacify the Entente, Russians were included who were in favour of continuing the war. To pacify the Germans, the Russians were to be exchanged with re-habilitated prisoners as soon as possible. habilitated prisoners as soon as possible. To pacify revolutionaries with consciences they paid their own fares.

The irony of history is that this excursion did not save the Germans from defeat nor from revolution. It is true in history that "we have agents here, that do but teach bloody instruction which returns to plague the inventor."

# BRAVE REBEL

BRAVE COWBOY, by Edward Abbey. Foursquare Books, 2/6.

I HOPE large numbers of people will HOPE large numbers of people will be misled into buying this book by the statement made on the cover that it is a "western novel". They will not be disappointed, for it is an exciting story, though hardly a "western" in the ordinary sense. Perhaps it might be regarded as the final "western", the end of the Wild West dream.

The cowboy who is the book's hero, lives in modern times. He still rides the range, a lot of the American West is range, a lot of the American West is still wild enough for that apparently, but taken over to make air-fields and places. testing atom-bombs. His friend, city-dwelling intellectual, has been jailed for refusing to register for the draft (the cowboy himself has been out in the wilds. and has no papers), and the story tells of an attempted rescue.

of an attempted rescue.

Bondi, the intellectual, does not want to be rescued at all. He regards his friend as an anachronism. After his two years or so of prison, he hopes to resume his career. Besides, his whole act of protest depends on his being prepared to face prison rather than register, and he feels that the protest would lose its point if he escaped. Burns, the cowboy, wants to take him, with his wife and son, to a remote refuge in the mountains, ultimately perhaps to escape to Mexico. Bondi plays with the idea, but dismisses it as impractical and unrealistic, although in the discussion that it is the cowboy who is the more practical of the two. After all, he knows already what jail-life is like. But in the end Burns is forced to escape from the jail (which heave escape from the jail (which he had entered by making himself drunk), leav-ing his friend behind.

Burns is hunted up into the mountains, and succeeds in proving that a man on a horse, with a rifle, can hold his own in mountain country, even against police-cars, sub-machine-guns, walkie-talkies and helicopters. (He even shoots the helicopter down).

Anarchist ideas are mentioned quite openly. Burns and Bondi were members of an anarchist group at a university, where both were students, Burns only for a short time. When Burns is arrested, for being drunk and taking part in a brawl, it is found that he has no papers. The F.B.I. are notified.

"'... known to have attended secret meetings of so-called Anarchist group.'

'So-called what?'

So-called Anarchist group." 'What's that?'

'I don't know. They're against all government, that's all I know.

'They're worse than Communists?'
'I guess so'."

The symbolism of the story is easy to

read. Bondi is the intellectual time, guilt-ridden, with an itch punishment, with a fundamental ance of "things as they are" alongside his rebellion Burns repudiates civilisation, and one can contract out of it if one pared to make the effort. He belthat current of American ideas the from Thoreau to Ammon Hennad is the product of the days of the frontier.

I think the author is pessimistic the future. He sees modern societis mechanical cleverness, its resources, its teeming population something fundamentally destructive freedom and creativity, making in than men. The Sheriff and his component who are represented in (modern style) are represented in quite different from that of the T grammes. Their manhunt is son of a muddle, not aided by the appe of a muddle, not aread by the apportunity of a crowd of enthusiastic heavily amateurs, eager to get a shot dangerous anarchist, the "Red" of no draft card

In England it is rather "bad for the anarchist to attack modern tion. Things have not gone so as in the United States. counter-movement has made it ance yet. It is still thought to quixotic to criticise the modern to gical age. I doubt whether such as this could be written by an man, unless he had a conservativ actionary viewpoint. The libert so desperately afraid of being act wanting people to suffer hardship dare not open his mouth,

It seems to me that references I squalor of the Middle Ages, to plays of Ibsen on TV, to the sent higher material living stans are neither here nor there. We are in the Middle Ages, and the fact things were bad then does not make good now. The sheer facts are, i look around you, that people are conditioned to conformity by all the sources of modern science, that sources of modern science, that beauty of the world is being buried red brick, that the seas are being powith oil, that the atmosphere is poisoned with radio-active substat that the wild animals are being off, that all civilisations are becoming same, that the freests are being same, that the forests are being same, that the forests are being enclosed, that the moors are being enclosed, the wireless and the airplane have made world so small that it is increasing difficult for the non-conformist individual to the conformation of the difficult for the non-conformist individual to escape anywhere, that even a man convictions can be changed by brait washing and, to cap all, the very peop who should protest against all this do not dare to because they are afraid a being accused of being "reactionary" or of being branded "in the control of the control o "romantic" or of being branded "impractical" or "unrealistic".

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

# Anarchy in Tristan da Cunha

(Note.—The following passages are taken from a book review by Harry Paxtor which appeared in the October issue of The Catholic Worker [New York]. The book reviewed was: "Rock of Exile"—by D. M. Bovy. Devin—Adair Co., New York).

THIS little rocky island, far from the mainland, had no human inhabitants until the nineteenth century. The present community dates from 1816, when a British garrison was landed on Tristan to forestall any possible attempt to use the island to rescue the exiled Napoleon from St. Helena—far to the northwest. When the garrison was withdrawn, a Scots corporal obtained permission to remain there with his coloured wife and children. The community grew by cast-aways from shipwrecks and sailors who jumped their ships. In 1827 five Negro mulatto women were imported from Helena as wives for some of the ers. All the "founding mothers" Negro. The community was based settlers. upon what our racists term "miscegena-

The islanders had no political theories. The islanders had no political theories. They were simple men and women, most of them illiterate. They took it for granted that they had to work for a living, and did so. They worked as equals, created no authority, paid no taxes. Though these men were of the sailing element which many "social workers" find "difficult", they got along excellently. In the entire century and a half of this growing community, there was not one violent crime. They had guns—which they used against birds, sea lions and other creatures giving them

food or other necessities, but never against one another.

The little community grew—both internal growth, and the addition of other colonists, British, American, German, Danish, Dutch, Italian. There were no immigration restrictions—there was no immigration authority, or any other. The British Government, indeed, tried to create an authority—with rather amusing create an authority—with rather amusing consequences. It empowered one of the missionaries who at times visited the island "to create a headman, a headwoman, an island council, and other officers. The appointments had been made but meant little to most of the islanders. The chief's position was islanders . . . The chief's position was particularly anomalous: he could hold no more power than the other men were disposed to acknowledge him, since he had no other means than the force of his own character of imposing his will."

It was in no way a communistic society —though there was a Village Common and much of the work was done together. Each family owned its own cottage, plot of land, etc. But their co-operative operations were in some respects quite remarkable to the author of this book himself part of a society of orders and obedience. The first he noted, on the big rowboat which took him and others from their ships to the island was:

"... the oarsmen—as if by a pre arranged signal outside our notice of else by some silent mutual understandelse by some silent mutual understanding—all gave way together and began pulling shorewards with long, deep strokes. There appeared to be no captain, even self-appointed, and no word Continued on p. 3

# reedom

19, No. 46. November 15, 1958

### Reflections on III Employment

is in this country and Europe isking their lives digging coal-ing that a part of it is then beed in quarries because there is utlet for it. But what does it er to them so long as they keep jobs. 20,000 London dockers hom there is no work neverss continue to report twice a at the docks because by doing ey are entitled to attendance Even that is a job. Millions pple are engaged in work which spise because they are servile seless, time-wasting and from each evening they flee at the the moment the bell rings, hich, nevertheless, they would at the thought of losing, all everyone must have a job everyone must have had a

ELY the time has come for a ew approach to work. We are thinking in terms of living to when science and technology ade it more than possible to in terms of working to live, not for those of us in the indust-sed half of the globe but for the sand million human beings in rest of the world crushed and iliated by appalling man-main-

Full-employment" is the slogan s an insane society which is em-rassed by too many willing and led hands, and food and indust-surpluses. In a free society re can be no unwanted surpluses use production will be geared to ore of us there are in the world lighter will be our task of pro-

But one cannot legislate for the free society. It can only be born by the actions of men and women is all about and desire it more than to offer by way of consolation prizes in its stead!

#### Anarchy in Tristan da Cunha

Continued from p. 2

of command was uttered. If was a tong time before even the helmsman spoke and then it was only to give direction as to our approach to the shore. The quiet, almost apologetic tone of his voice implied that he was merely issuing information, nothing so presumptuous as

information, nothing so presumptuous as information, nothing so presumptuous as instruction."

There has been "progress" during the past ten years. The Colonial Service has appointed an Administrator over the past ten years. The Colonial Service has appointed an English of the Progress of the Progress

#### VISIT TO CYPRUS-3

(Continued from previous issue)

Commend from previous usual II the towns the buses, all run by private enterprise, are unmistikably British and the property of the property o IN the towns the buses, all run by private

The streets within the walled towns a curious blend of Eastern bazaar and modern European shops, with a mosque or cathedral almost next door to a bank of plate glass, marble walls and won-drous wrought ironwork. Conspicuous even among the generality of short broad Cypriots are many dwarfed individuals Cypriots are many dwarfed individuals. There are importuning beggar women, sometimes in bare feet and perhaps car-rying a baby. There are burly British policewomen, universally disliked by Armenians, Greeks, Turks and British. There are Greek Orthodox Church priests who seldom speak to a Britisher however politely and enquiringly addressed.

politely and enquiringly addressed.

Weaving in and out of these marrow streets and their jostilic growds are jeeps loaded with R.A.F. and Army police in loaded with R.A.F. and Army police in Stiff with tension, all but the drivers grippings instruments of mechanical multiple murder, they appeared to the vastor as neither necessary nor nice, which was not appeared to the property of the property

Within the walled town of Nicosia, in Within the walled town of Nicosia, in which so-called selective killings took place regularly. I felt no fear for my personal actery. Among the reverse passed prams as they shopped and gossiped freely. I once stood at the top of a flight of school steps to photograph a durch, and I was politely invited by one of a group of Greek Cap of the school porch, although one cannot doubt that porch, although one cannot doubt that a part of her church and school tutelage was devoted to maligning my kind without discrimination.

One day a middle-aged Englishwoman in a car gave my wife and me a lift from the Turkish quarter of Nicosia. In the Greek quarter we encountered the occasional dismounted army pattern of the control of One day a middle-aged Englishy

There had been no killing, and we survived unscathed our church visiting. It turned out that our scared driver was a former Cyprus Government women's police officer—which probably explained

Scares are not confined to Britishers.
One night a crowd of thousands of Greek Cypriots living in the suburbs of Varosha rushed out of their homes in response to violently pealed church bells. Varona rushed out of their notine. It is a series of the latest cars, prines, trucks and taxis were placed as roadblocks on all streets leading from the Turkish-inhabited old town of Famagusta. Armed with strcks and suchike to repel a rumoured Turkish were fortunately dispersed without harm being done when it was made clear the rumour had been set alight by the trucklight precession of a peaceful Turkish Dr. Kuchika denounced the control of the control

TMT, in which Turkish throats are cut and Greeks are battered to death by fellow Cypriots, clearly their mutual mistake is of being persuaded to forget their common name and insisting on the prefix Greek, Turkish, or Armenian. This betraval of the Cypriots by themselves differs in no essential from what British rule brings about, an unwarranted interference in the private lives of mostly innocent people

It is not surprising that the official 1956 census of the population divides the total figures into those of the religions. This analysis is:—

Greek Orthodox Moslem (Turkish) Other Religions

TOTALS 528 879 100 09

There is a separate education system for each religion and education is voluntary. The most influential body in the country, the Greek Orthodox Church, has for its Cyprus head the renowned Archishop Makarios, styled Ethaurch. The Ethanach is elected by a body of ex-officio members of the theory of the country of the Cyprus of the Cyprus of the Greek Orthodox community, I was unable to discover how these I was unable to discover how these special representatives were appointed, but I doubt if the Greek Cypriot shepherd and his kind would have much say

The Ethnarchy has a Council consist-ing of thirty members. These are des-cribed as leaders of nationalist political parties, right-wing mayors and joints, all nominated by the Ethna That this Christian body, avowedly ing to promote Enosis, is the parent of EOKA (Ethmki Organosis Kyprior Agoniston) is as sure as that EOKA chief Agonaton's as an entransis, ironically enough, a product of the British Intelligence Service who won renown as a guerila commander harassing the German occupation of Greece during the 1939-1945 war.

Among the recreational rivals of the Cyprus imbroglio can be counted the cinema with its quota of crime and other diversions. Whatever may divide the British and Greek representatives of Christianity politically it is probable that

they are as one in their attitude to the moral welfare of the cinema patron. I happened to look in at one government department, a section of which catered department, a sector film censorship. There is a cosy little cinema theatre a French film had for audience a middle-aged Englishman scatted from the french film had for audience a middle-aged Englishman scatted grifs whom the film of th

There are five Greek, three Turkish and two English daily newspapers (as well as seven Greek weekles) printed in Cyprus. Every British newspaper and other European newspapers, are on sale in Cyprus only one day late. The Cyprus of the Cypru esting bulletins of news in English, Greek and Turkish, of which the "headlines" are repeated at the end of the broadcast. This service gives also the Overseas programme of the B.B.C. and a daily programme in State of the Stat

Of the two Cyprus newspapers printed in English Cyprus Mail is the least dis-liked by the occupying British. Times of Cyprus, the other daily (both of them appear on seven days of the week) in appear on seven days of the week) in English is always looking for an oppor-tunity to criticise the British, more or tess obliquely. It seldom has to look far. Neither newspaper is in the top class, but their difficulties are great— although I found their understandable misprints more excusable than their execrably executed cartoons.

execrably executed cartoons. I visited the offices of both these newspapers. Cyprus Mail appeared to be run spoken. The spoken Times of the proposed to the proposed to the spoken Times of the proposed to the spoken times to the spoken times and the spoken times and the spoken times to the spoken times and the spoken times the spoken times and the spoken times times times the spoken times times the spoken times times times times times times the spoken times times times the spoken times times times times times times times times times the Irish Charles O'Connell Foley, being fined 5200 for expressing a view which would exerte no authority's animosity to relevant to the control of the cont

(To be concluded)

#### Popes, Cardinals and Priests Continued from p. 1

Popes,

Popes,

Botal States and States and States and States and the noisy rotates of Carbolica Minimum and States and States and the noisy protest of Catholic Action, the Legion of Decency, and the Catholic Worker movement have been not content with urging its members to work for positions in Parliament, local government, the editorial boards of newspapers, and in broadcasting and television, the church has pursued a policy of competitive breeding, urging the married faithful to have large families of the states of the states

they would have an electoral majority by mide-centry, a promise that has now by mide-centry, a promise that has now and the state of all States, those that have come most completely under Vatican domination are those of Spain and Italy. In Spain this resulted from Franco success come about in spite of Mussolini's defeat. At the end of the war Pus XII found himself in the position of a man who, having backed all the wrong horses, not having backed all the wrong horses, not to recover his stake money—with interest from the bookmakers. For of the dictators he had supported—Hiller and Mussolini—had been defeated, and the Allies that in the church they would find a useful barrier against the Communist tide that scened on the point of sweeping the third of his suzerainty. The claim that the church was a bulwark against Communism had been advanced before, but the control of the suzerainty. The claim that the church was a bulwark against Communism had been advanced before, but control of the suzerainty. The claim that the claim had been advanced before, but the suzerainty in the claim point of the first time as a real menace.

By persuading the American to support the Christian Democrats the Vatican comment that would be extended of a government that would be extended to a first of their electron success to American dollars—dollars that the Italians have

been led to believe would not be forthcoming if the Socialists or the Communman of the Socialists of the Communpayer, of course, believes that this
financial help is used to sustain the
Italian economy, maintain employment,
and alleviate misery that might induce its
sufferers to vote Communist. But in fact
a great deal of this American money has
a great deal of this American money has
to be common, since it is promptly returned to
economy, since it is promptly returned to
economy, since it is promptly returned to
hoped for economic security as a consolation for not voting for parties they
would have preferred have been doubly
would have preferred have been doubly
would have preferred have been doubly
the church to-day has gained almost as
such control over the lives of Italians
as Pius IX had over the subjects of the
Payal States before his temporal power
was wrested from him by Garibaldi and

Cavour.

In Germany it was again American support that brought the Catholic Dr. Adenauer and his Christian Democrat party to power. Unlike Italy Germany Adeniuer and his Christian Democratic party to power. Unlike Italy Germany party to power. Unlike Italy Germany has a strong Protestant tradition. Consequently the connexion between the State and the Vatican is less intimate than is the case in Italy, the christian is the case in Italy, the christian is the case in Italy, the christian is the case in Italy the christian is the case in Italy the christian is the case in Italy the christian is the control of the christian in Italy in It

party.

In Britain and the United States there In Britain and the United States there is no formal connexion between the State and the Catholic Church, neither country having a concordat with the Vatican. Nevertheless in both countries the Papacy is able to exert considerable pressure on the governments indirectly through individual Catholics in high places and by its control of the block vote of the Catholic anjurities.

Catholic minorities.

With the death of Pius XII there was the possibility of change. Perhaps with the example of Krushchev's denunciation the example of Krushchev's denunciation of Stalin in mind, many people hoped that the struggle for power in the Vati-can would result in a radical change in Papall policy. Not that there was any likelihood of a denunciation of Plus XII by his successor; for, whatever his faults, the late Pope was a long way removed from, say, Alexander VI. And in any case Vatican quabbles are conducted case Vatican quabbles are conducted

trom p. 1
with more discretion. It was known that
some cardinals would have preferred less
polities and more religion—a fact that
led to much speculation about the prospace of a "pastoral" Pope rather than a
pect of a "pastoral" Pope rather than a
to provide the prosecution of the prois not very great; the Catholic religion
is no all-embracing that it regards politics—and, indeed, nearly every human
activity—as falling within its domain.
At best a change of Pope could mean a
through the proper could mean a
through the proper could mean a
tempt in th Catholic concepts.

Catholic concepts.

Whether this would be better than living under Communist domination, in a society based on Marxist-Leninist concepts, is debatable. It is a question we shall hear debated a good deal in the future as we are asked with ever-growing insistence to choose between these two alternatives: either Communism or alternatives: either Communism or concept that they do not have to choose either that they do not have to choose either they do not have to

choose einer.

Catholicism is likely to be hawked increasingly under the guise of a "bulwark
against Communism". But if we examine
the present situation we might well come
to the conclusion that what we need is
much a bulwark against Commuch a bulwark against Commuch and the community of the community
and the community of the community
and the same opportunities as the rest
of us to promogate their ideas, they have In Britain, where the Communists have had the same opportunities as the rest had the same opportunities as the rest succeeded chiefly in the subsequent of t ist party in every respect.

Another point to be considered by any one trying to make up his mind which

side to choose is the possibility that the Vatican and the Kremlin may come to terms with each other in the future. They have, after all, other things in common besides their terrible records. The chief Catholic objection to the Communists is that they are "atheistic Communists". A little less atheism and a few concessions by both sides could well pave the way to a concordat.

The conclusion to be drawn from this

a concordat.

The conclusion to be drawn from this concluse, as from every other in recent in the conclusion to be drawn from the conclusion, and the third in the conclusion of the conclusion simplicity departs them from high office, where astuteness, learning, and diplomacy are more highly regarded than mere goodness. If such a man ever rose to be Pope he would not change the church: the church would change him.

EDWIN PEEKE.

### What is the Success of the Newsletter Movement?

The leading article in FREEDOM, for Nov. 1st refers to the apparent success of the "Newsletter", movement. This is the paper run by Peter Fryer, the excommunist, and a number of other people to whom the label "Trotsey have not they have any other or not they have any other or not they have any other than the control of the late. I to the late of the late Levi Trotsey.

"The Newsletter . . presents as militant and direct a line as any bunch of politicos will when they set out to gather the support of militant workers."

ers."

The fact is that in a few months, they have been quite successful in attracting such support, to the extent that some unions, such as that of the Building Workers, are threatening to expel any members who contaminate themselves with such militant activities. The Newsletter has caused consternation among official circles by its plan to hold a National Rank and File Congress on Nov. 16th.

What I would like to be able to under what I would like to be able to under-stand better is, why does such a move-ment gain support which the anarcho-syndicalist movement has not been able

Within the last few years there have been two periodicals devoted specifically to anarcho-syndicalism, both of which lawe been forced by lack of success to suspend publication. These consistently pointed out the futility of the Trade Unions, and the impossibility of them being of any use to the workers. Feetz-nost, while declaring and maintaining a policy of not ordining itself to industrial issues, has nevertheless devoted a high proportion of its space to these questions, and during crises such as the dock strike

of four years ago the headlines and lead-ing articles dealt exclusively with them for weeks on end,

for weeks on end.

These papers, and the groups behind them have for years called on workers to organise on the job, not only to fight the boss here and now, but to take the means of production from him. The Manchester Guardian has made it plain that it regards these attitudes as absolutely improper, but it would appear that they have only just come to its notice through reading The Newsletter. Furthermore, the anarchists have a philosophy, outlook and tradition into which industrial organisation and strugle on industrial organisation and struggle on the job fit naturally.

We all know that if any of the anarchist or syndicalist groups were to call a national rank and file congress, no one would come to it, and perhaps I am wrong, but I do not know of anyone wrong, but I do not know of anyone being expelled from a union for being concerned in the production or distribu-tion of The Syndicalist or FREEDOM, or the leaflets which the Anarcho-Syndical-ist Committee published some years ago. However, The Newsletter has reached

its present position in a few months.

present position in a few months, can suggest two tentatives reasons; a) The group sponsoring it has better contacts among militant workers on the job. This is due in part to the fact that they have been active in the past in the ranks of the Labour and Communist Parties.

(b) They are still fairly well "inte-grated" in the structure of the political left, so that the workers who follow them have no feeling that they might really have to organise for themselves in an anti-capitalist struggle, without leaders.

Is it simply that there are to begin with, more people interested in that kind of line, so that after the first half dozen comrades have written, edited and pro-duced the paper, there are still some fit to devote their energies to selling it?

As I think there must be many among the readers of Freedom who are better able to assess these questions than I am, due to experience in this type of progadue to experience in this type of proga-ganda, and more intimate knowledge of the way things work in factory politics, I will leave it at that, in the hope that they will contribute to a discussion.

It is, finally, reassuring to notice that despite the despair in some anarchist circles, there still are militant workers, and even the Trotskyist had to admit: "They don't trust leaders and they

won't join parties, but they will organist themselves to fight the boss on the job. It's a great opportunity for you anarcho-syndicalists."

PHILIP HOLGATE

## Meeting University Students

RITA MILTON is certainly right when she says that students at this University of the state of th

New (or old) controvertial ideas play New (or old) controvertial ideas play a minor rôle either in the lecture-rooms or outside them. Even in the social science faculty I find that very little serious discussion of the nature of our society takes place. Most of us are busy learning the currently accepted theories and the stock objections to them. The recent report of the University Grants Committee points out that the danger of University education is that the snecibial is driven "for memorize as

Another case mentioned in Donald Room's letter), is that of the Friesians, who live in the North-West of Germany and the North-East of Holland. Their and the North-East of Holland. They have kept to their language, customs and way of life, in spite of the fact that in all their history they have never had political independence nor a national government and army, this lack of a national government and army must be the reason why they have never waged war on a neighbouring country, but they have proved throughout their history that they were very well able to defend themselves if they were attacked. This history began in the 8th century

This history began in the 8th century when Charles, the first German-Roman emperor invaded the Friesian country for

when Charles, the hist German-Koman emperor invaled the Friesians are Moman-the purpose of making good Roman-the purpose of making good Roman-the Pope had made Charles emperor, and in return Charles had to be the sword of the Church. But the Friesians thought their god Wotan good enough for them and sent Charles and his army home defeated. In the course of its history Friesland has been ruled by a multiplicity of princes and counts, who were, without exception, foreigners. But the Friesians took very little notice of them, extended the price of the country of the price o

helmshaven revolt in the German navy in the first world war.

much as possible . . . in the limite available, leaving him with no tidevelop his powers of thought to any knowledge outside his subject my own view this is not the "dang University education but a prefty description of its present state."

description of its present sant.

Outside the lecture rooms the flourishing soffettes are believed the religious shore of don't go to know the actual membership. A Marxists remain and attract a disgroup of a dozen or so. The procieties with the election pendin making an effort and have succession of the Kationalist Society failed two ago. This year a few of us have rit: we now call ourselves the Thinkers. We include the religious—to broaden our scope and to a bigger audiences. I doubt whether can be much of a force given the proceed." 'closed" minds of most students

"closed" minds of most students. Rita Milion mentioned the fas she felt she was not communication ideas: this is true. But I doubt wery much can be achieved in the of education by the usual intel methods of talks, discussions and philets. The general approach of sis prejudiced: their total outlook first be changed. Perhaps a mas paganda campaign with the slogat activowers of the electioneer or tiser might alter it. I fear that the native must be the 'tiny minori anarchists mentioned in Rita's reg.

Liftownit Pilion, he was keepen and the communication of the communicati

I thought Rita in her talk too placent about the numerical smalln the anarchists. But I hope I am fusing complacency with the realithat organisations cannot grow withe substantial financial backing the anarchist movement does not no the anarchist movement does not p the anarchist movement does not po Given the generation of students at sent at this University, the days of articulate group of people capable encouraging individual responsibility schools, universities or wherever have chosen to work" (Rita Milror as remote as Mr. Ted Hill's probat of becoming Prime Minister. The Union University, Birmingham, 15. DAVID LAN NOV. 6, 1938.

\*University Grants Committee Cmd 534 9/58. para 74.

#### MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS LONDON ANARCHIST

Regular Sunday meetings now held at "Marquis of Granby" Public House, Rathbone Street (near Percy Street and Oxford Street), 7.0 p.m.

NOV. 16.-Philip Sansom on WHAT IS ANARCHISM? NOV. 23.—Francis Tonks on ANARCHISM AND NUCLEAR NOV. 30.—Rashard Gool on AN EVALUATION OF 'DR. ZHIVAGO' (Pasternak)

Dec. 7.—Donald Rooum on THE BOMB-THROWER MYTH DEC. 14.—Max Patrick on Subject to be announced DEC. 21.—Philip Holgate on EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE

CROYDON LIBERTARIAN GROUP For details of meetings and other activi-ties, please write &:

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## **U.S.** Elections Change of Masters

"I do not see where there is anything that the people consciously want the administration to do differently. If I am wrong I would like to know what it is."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER commenting on the Democrat's election victory, 5th November, 1958.

seems quite probable that Eisenhower's somewhat querulous remark on the consciousness of the great Ameri-can voter has more than a grain of truth about it, but it does not alter the fact at Republican administration is not that is wanted. It is improbable hower that the President has no idea what should have done differently. Even, out of touch as he no doubt has been, he, out of touch as he no doubt has been, must have had reports (delivered, one may presume, at the nineteenth tee) on the current feeling of the electorate; it cannot be beyond the powers of the pro-fessionals in the party to have put to work the market-research experts (unconwork the market-research experts (unconscious division) to check the state of the political pulse. Selling politics is no different from selling goods, but it is always necessary to create a demand based on something the consumer may think he wants. The Democrats appear to have been selling the correct product. In all fairness it should be noted that the Democrats were in a better position to sell—for the product most sought after was change. Anything for a change; the vague dimly-felt hope that a difference in administration would make a difference in practical results.

At the same time it has become almost expenses the sought of the product of the product

At the same time it has become almost traditional in off-year elections for the party not in power at the White House to gain ground. Add to this the uncomto gain ground. Add to this the uncomportable feeling that unemployment figures were not impressing themselves upon the Republicans, that the recent recession has made the electorate jumpy, that continuous foreign crises unnerve even the most stellid voters, and perhaps come as execution when the control of the control

and enlightened ideas.

The swing over to the Democrats, which has been compared to Roosevelt's "majestic sweep to power in 1936", bears little comparison in fact. The "New Deal election" was a triumph for Roosevelt and a policy which promised better things for people who had nearly starved in the depression years, and those who whist not so hard-hit could remember the agony of those lean years. This for a specific leader—for the Democrats do not possess one of any account; nor has it indicated the electorate's desire for a specifically new policy—for the same

reason. The result is much more an indeterminate impulse against policies hardly understood (and many of them have been impossible to understand) in the forlorn expectation of something better turning up.

Undoubtedly votes have been cast in favour of personalities not policies. The bemused, confused average American suddenly confronted with a situation in the confused average average. suddenly controlled with a situation in which he can detect no "issues", no well-defined, over-publicised disputes, has been forced to make an intuitive 'choice of the better man rather than the party. It seems likely that the new Democrats had the better men, though the probable effect may not be very noticeable. A slight change of attitude here and there, an almost imperceptible shift of em-phasis on one thing or another. It may seem like a radical change in a country which, for all its progress and twentieth centuryism has not really changed at all

Numerically the Democrats hold ap-Numerically the Democrats hold ap-proximately a two-thirds majority in both the Senate and the House of Represen-tatives, whilst of course the Republicans still have the Presidency. It is to be assumed that the President will neither take nor have a great deal of interest in his next (and last) two years of office. Meanwhile the Democrats will search frantically for a "man of stature" on whom they may pin their faith as next President. The Republicans will have to make do for the present with Nixon or Rockefeller, unless they can find a more inspiring candidate for their uninspired cause.

Both parties have a problem, for both Both parties have a problem, for both are divided amongst themselves. The Republicans are split between Right (reactionary) and middle factions, and the Democrats between Southern (largely reactionary) and middle factions. The two "middles" are probably nearer one another than their respective extremes. (A situation to which we are accustomed

Americans now face the prospect of a Americans now face the prospect of a two-years election, during which time they will be coaxed and courted unmer-cifully. Issues which hitherto have been unimportant will begin to loom Jarge, unimportant will begin to loom large, men who have been as nothing until now will suddenly become the prophets of a new and shining era; industrial workers will be heralded as the sait of the earth, and farmers the backbone of the nation. Negroes may even be considered by some—though temporarily of course—to be first class citizens. A vote is a vote is [ER.J].

### Welsh Nationalism, the Friesians and Anarchism The Wends have lived under these conditions for 500 years.

THIS letter concerns the letter from a reader about Welsh Nationalism in Freedom of Oct. 18th, and the reply by Donald Rooum in the issue for Oct.

It would be very sad indeed if anar-chism could offer no solution for a people struggling for its independence. The solution depends on the willingness of a people to seek real freedom instead of putting its hopes and confidence in governments and in leaders and super-men who should be avoided like the

plague.

One of the many examples of a people's determination to maintain its separate identity was that of the Serbs. separate identity was that of the Serbs. This people was conquered and subdued by the Turkish government in the 14th century, and the Turk stried to destroy every trace of the Serbian culture and language and to make good Moslems of the population. But during the 50 years of Turkish rule, the Serbs kept to their culture, customs and language, and spite of the fact that for the first 400. spite of the fact that for the first 400 years there was not the slightest hope of their being freed from the yoke of the Turkish government. In the nineteenth century the Serbs got their independence, and then they made the mistake of appointing one of their leaders in the struggle for liberty as their ruing prince. This prince and his descendants ruiled out by Tilo, who to-day rules them with his iron hand.

Yet political independence and a native control of the prince of

out by 140, who to-day rules them with his fron hand. Yet political independence and a national government with its coercive institutions are not necessary for a people seeking to keep to its own curous, hand seeking to keep to its own curous, and the seeking to keep to its own curous, and the seeking to keep to its own curous, had to be seeking the seeking to keep to be seeking to keep to be seeking to keep to the people concerned. About 30 miles from Berlin live a group of people called Wends, perhaps 100,000 all told. They have their own language and customs, which are quite different from those of their German neighbours. Their language is related to the Polish language, but they wish to be neither Poles nor Germans, they want to be Wends, and to retain their customs and language.

### Seven Weeks to Find £363!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 45

Deficit on Freedom Contributions received €677 DEFICIT £223 October 31 to November 6

October 31 to November 6
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Mexico: M.S.F. £3/10/00; Lendon: Anon.\*\*
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1/-: Farnham: D.M.B. [0/6: Wolverhampton:
15,Cl.\*\* 2/e; London: L.J.B.
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was the Priesians who started the Wilhelmshaven revolt in the German navy
in the first world war,
Another example is the Basque people
who have lived in Spain since history
began—at least they were already there
when the Romans invaded Spain more
than 2.000 years ago. This people has
never had either political independence
when the restremment but they have
kept to their esterminent but they have
kept to their esterminent but they have
kept to their esterminent but they have
have a rich literature in that hanguage
and all that is supposed to be necessary
for an independent people. Now of
course they are suffering under France,
as all the peoples of Spain are.

When a people has turned its back
voluntarily on its own language, customs
and way of life, as to all appearance the
majority of the Welsh people has done,
there is little hope left for a revival. In
my opinion, under these conditions, the
best that the advocates could do would
be to start centres or schools where
Welsh people could re-learn their way of
life. These centres should avoid the encreatment apport, that would be a
start proof that the people at present do
not care for a "free Walse". But if
people did taken an interest the steps
could be taken for a struggle for independence by applying the techniques
which the late Mahatma Gandhi employed for the independence of India,
but not for the purpose of instituting a
national government with all the authoritarian institutions of a government. Even
a small people like the Welsh could be
an invincible glant for any government
if it really wanted to be free and to
struggle for its liberty.

Wapperlad, Germany. WILLY FRITZENKOTTER.