

Freedom

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Threepence

On the First Anniversary of Indian 'Independence'

FOR many years the attainment of Indian independence was the rallying-cry for anti-imperialism in this country; and the final achievement of national status has been a dampener on the ideals and aspirations not only of Indian nationalism but also of British anti-imperialism. The more far-sighted saw that the replacement of Englishmen by Indians in the seat of power could not mean any substantial improvement so far as the Indian masses were concerned. But insofar as it meant the shifting of emphasis from Nationalism to the class struggle then it was a step forward; and more particularly insofar as it meant the lessening of British Imperialism.

Congress, which for so many years, claimed the undivided support of the Left everywhere, has shown itself in power as drunk with Caesarism. The jostle for places of power, together with the absence of any opposition due to the canalising of the two main political trends by partition, has gone completely to the heads of all the former vigilant anti-imperialists, apostles of non-violence, and revolutionary socialists. Particularly in divided areas like Bengal, the vigilant leaders of Hindu and Muslim communities rushed to the other side of the partition line, leaving behind their former followers (sometimes after already having taken the oath of allegiance to India or Pakistan) to take governmental jobs in the country where their community dominated.

War Between Neighbours

The reactionary line taken by Jinnah and the Muslim League was partly to

be expected, and they never inspired much confidence in liberal-thinking people elsewhere, who if anything tended to considerably under-rate their influence, and to think of them merely as stooges of British Imperialism. But Nehru and others were idolised by many sentimental socialists who thought of them as the master-minds of the Indian struggle, overlooking the nameless thousands. Their actions in power would come as some surprise if it were not to the interests of the left elsewhere to conceal them. Only the Communists have that interest, in view of Nehru's leaning towards the American camp in the Third World War.

The greatest blow served to internationalism has been the disputes between Pakistan and India. The Conservatives have endeavoured to make capital out of these disputes saying that it is all due to the restraining hand of British Imperialism being withdrawn, regardless of the fact that these disputes have all arisen from the policy of division pursued by Imperialism. Moreover, the fact is that the Indian Empire did not divide into Dominions because of the Labour Party believing in independence, but because it realised that it was no longer practical to maintain the Army there in present circumstances.

The fact however that having attained national status the two Dominions should rattle the sabre against each other is a sad commentary on the fact that in political life the people you quarrel with are always those nearest to you.

The situation in Kashmir is that the Hindu Maharajah decided to accede to India without consulting his Muslim people. While in Hyderabad the Indian Union threatens the Nizam and his Muslim ruling class with war because they wish to maintain the old paramountcy over a Hindu people, in Kashmir the Government is prepared to wage war in defence of paramountcy. They can only defend this position by the claim that the Muslims in Kashmir support Congress, and cite the fact that Sheikh Abdullah, a Muslim, is the Congress leader. In the old days of struggle against the Maharajah, Abdullah commanded a vast following amongst Muslims and Hindus alike; but it is idle

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T.U.C. Congress and the Vicious Spiral

THE Annual Congress of the T.U.C. is to be held at Margate next month. It is the first big get-together of the British Trades Unions as a whole since the effects of the Government's wage-pegging policy began to be felt. And from the preliminary agenda it is clear that the T.U.C. is in for an uncomfortable time.

Eighty-seven resolutions have been tabled for discussion, put forward by the individual unions which will be represented at the congress, and nearly all of them centre around the standard of living and the relationship of wages and prices.

Some time ago, the T.U.C. warned the workers (we get very little but warnings these days, do we?) that it

was going to be extremely difficult to hang on to the existing standard of living without considerable increases in production. We have had increases in production; coal is now coming up in sufficient quantities to allow of large exports, steel is breaking all records; textiles, radio, automobiles and machinery of all kinds are producing at more than pre-war

quantities; but still the standard of living is going down.

It is true that wages have risen on an average throughout the country by 6% during the past year (June 1947-June 1948) but the index of retail prices has risen by 10%—and in the case of food, 13%. In other words, although money wages have slightly risen, real wages have fallen by nearly twice as much—your £1 to-day is worth about 2/- less than a year ago but you may be getting 1/- more, so you are 1/- in the pound worse off.

So where do we go from here? What the unions—and the Government—told us was the way to stop prices rising (i.e., by more production) is proved to be manifestly untrue. When the Government appealed for the freezing of wages, it was accepted by the unions on the condition that prices were pegged, too. They have not been, and the Government has played its part in sending them up by removing the subsidies from some articles of clothing—subsidies which, of course, we pay for in taxation, but since taxation has not been noticeably lessened we have not benefited by their removal.

The solution, therefore, lies elsewhere. The position of wages below prices in an inevitable one in a profit economy. And a highly complex, centralised society like ours cannot be maintained without hordes of middle-men all making profit out of the work of primary producers. It is the tremendously high proportion of non-producers to producers which raises the costs of goods by the time they reach the consumer, and the Socialist alternative of nationalisation is one which, far from solving the problem in any degree, tends rather to aggravate it. For nationalisation, instead of reducing the middlemen—the non-producers—actually increases them through its necessity for regional and central boards and hordes of officials to work them. The fact that it is the State acting as the employer instead of private companies, makes no difference—indeed we are learning now from personal experience that neither the worker in a nationalised industry, nor the consuming public are any better off with the State controlling production, for the workers are subjected to disciplinary action if they are not completely docile (e.g., Coal Board prosecutions against miners) and the cost of the products to the consumer is increased.

This should not be regarded as a plea for free enterprise of the Conservative variety. It is simply to point out that we are drawn again and again to the revolutionary solution. Mechanical progress for the last two hundred years has steadily improved the possibilities for abundance, yet our living standards steadily decline. The solution lies in the radical alteration of our social system—the elimination of middle-men, the elimination of money, the destruction of the profit motive and of everything connected with capitalism, and the establishment in their places of direct workers' control, ensuring production and consumption according to the needs of humanity.

In short, the solution to the vicious spiral is still what it has always been—a social revolution! P.S.

Domestic Difficulties In Japan

CONSIDERABLE difficulties are being experienced in Japan in putting into force democratic measures such as trade unionism. The American administration has sought to replace the Imperial absolutist regime by one which has all the glosses of majority rule, but is coming up against difficulties where such measures are taken seriously enough by the Japanese workers to threaten the stability of the underlying government structure—a highly centralised State machine.

Reports show that while the administration officially encourages trade union activity on the grounds that "the healthy development of the labour movement here is the best safeguard against extremism, whether of the Right or Left", even such union activity as does take place is jealously watched by the secret police. The *Observer* recently described how a member of the secret police was found skulking in the projection room of a city hall which was being used for the purpose of a union meeting.

Police Spies

The *Observer's* correspondent, Honor Tracey, goes on to say that spying by plain-clothes men at union meetings "is a usual practice". Police permission has to be obtained for any demonstration and severe restrictions are imposed upon such. Police frequently enter and search workers' homes, and their victims accuse them of thefts. The police were out fully armed with pistols and truncheons on May Day, and beatings up are a commonplace in the prisons.

Severe Sentences

Meanwhile, trade union leaders who have made what are alleged to be "inflammatory" speeches are now serving sentences up to four years and nine months' hard labour.

It is perfectly clear in fact that the kind of trade union activity that the democratic administration envisages is one of tame negotiation between workers' "representatives" and employers, such as is the rule in Britain and the U.S.A. Where either workers or their representatives show any disinclination to accept their allotted rôles the police step in to teach them a lesson. Of course, where police excesses become public and the outcry resulting is an embarrassment to the administration, a few policemen will be found "guilty" of these excesses in order to save the face of democracy. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the modern democratic state, no less than its openly totalitarian predecessor, relies heavily on the by now familiar methods of police spying, searches, beatings-up, and terroristic sentences for militant activity.

No Strike Ban

More recently, MacArthur has issued a no strike ban, which has quite rightly been recognised by Japanese trade unionists as a fundamental blow at workers' civil liberties. The right to strike, to withdraw one's labour, is clearly a necessary condition of political freedom. The teachers in government employment responded to MacArthur's ban by promptly going on strike, and thereby paralysing the educational programme. But, true to type, the majority of Japanese leaders have proved unwilling to follow this lead and carry on a struggle against the decree. Just as in Britain they have been only too ready to sell this fundamental liberty of the workers.

Tito Facing Both Ways

THE struggle between the Cominform and Tito is beginning to appear in its true colours through the mists of ideological denunciation. For some time the Yugoslav regime has found the presence of Russian supervisors in all state institutions, and especially in the police and armed forces, increasingly irksome. The Russian officials moreover were paid at a rate considerably higher than the native bureaucrats and this discrepancy has proved a fertile source of jealousy and friction. It is becoming clearer that Tito's real crime against the Soviet Union is his unwillingness to permit his government to be run by these emissaries of the Kremlin. His reasons for this may be nationalistic, as has been suggested, or it may be of a more practical nature. For these foreign controllers may well be incompetent and pursue courses which threaten the stability of Tito's regime. Whatever the cause, the fact of Yugoslav hostility to direct Russian control seems undoubted.

The propaganda attack by the Cominform having failed to bring Tito to his knees, the Russian government is said to be applying more solid measures for his overthrow. Movements of Russian

Divisions on the Yugoslav borders are reported, and are seized upon by the press as evidence that armed force against Tito's regime is contemplated. This seems to be speculating a little too widely at the present stage, but there are other indications of pressure being brought to bear on the recalcitrant Marshal.

Economic Sanctions

Rumanian petrol supplies are said to have been cut off, and Tito has bought already 30,000 tons of oil from Britain. It also appears that capital equipment expected from Russia will not be forthcoming, and that Russian cotton, newsprint and asbestos have already been cut off. Accordingly, the Yugoslav government is seeking to acquire these necessary materials and machinery from the Western powers.

Once again therefore the scene becomes set for another manifestation of the struggle between the Western Powers and the Russian dominated bloc. On the one side is Russia, seeking to replace Tito with a regime even more completely subservient to Russian interests; on the other, Britain and America who will undoubtedly seek to turn the conflict to their own advantage by detaching Yugoslavia from Eastern influence, not for the sake of Yugoslav independence but for the purpose of bringing Tito under their own influence.

Help From The West?

It seems likely therefore that if economic sanctions are really applied by Russia and

the Russian satellite states, Tito, whatever his ideological commitments, will be driven into the arms of the West, in order to save his regime. It is possible, of course, that he may abdicate his power and seek to escape into voluntary exile, but this seems unlikely. Faced with an acute shortage of necessary raw materials and capital goods he will be bound to look to the West for these things. And they will not be slow to take advantage of his necessity, and only supply such goods at the price of virtual economic control of Yugoslav economy. In such a case, Tito would occupy a position analogous to Franco; officially reviled both by Russia and the Western Powers, but in fact tolerated and supported by the latter.

It is hardly necessary to remark that all three of the would-be controllers of Yugoslavia are utterly inimical to the Yugoslav workers and peasants, already groaning under the naked brutality of Tito's regime. American support for him would only bring added security to a hated dictatorship, while Russian control spells exactly the same thing. If the occasion provides an opportunity for the workers and peasants to throw off the yoke of their oppressors—and it seems very likely that such an opportunity will arise from this conflict—a successful outcome for any Yugoslav uprising could only come if it were given the practical support of the workers in other countries.

Dilemma of the Anarchist Teacher

August, 1948.

"DOES education remove a child from the reach of society?" asks Phil Harrison in his article "Education and the State" in *Freedom* of 24th July. He answers "No"; and adds that no educational reform will remove the necessity for a change in the productive forces of society, and that "we are right to suspect the state, whether democratic or totalitarian, when it attracts our children into school".

With this conclusion most readers of this journal will agree, and also with his rather naive discovery that the private progressive schools' "freedom" does not exist in a vacuum. Whoever said it did? Do any of these schools claim that it does?

That education has less effect on a person than heredity or "the influences of society" means only that it is important to make the wisest use of this limited factor in a person's growth: because salt is required in the perfect omelette, don't scorn that pinch nor say that the omelette consists entirely of salt.

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The barrenness of the state's own ideas on education is shown by its tendency to copy. The *Sunday Times* recently heralded the new boarding school for 200 boys to be opened in the autumn by the Surrey County Council at Ottershaw Park—complete with the House system; marks, games, colours, etc.—as the first Council Public School. This was followed on 25th July by a letter of welcome, under the heading "Public Schools in Germany", by Mr. J. S. H. Smitherman, Headmaster of Prince Rupert School, Wilhelmshaven, who said that:

"There are in Germany two co-educational boarding schools which we believe are, in fact, the first publicly maintained boarding schools envisaged by

the 1944 Education Act. The schools are run under the auspices of the British Families Education Service, for the sons and daughters of British personnel in Germany.

Prince Rupert School was opened on July 1st, 1947, and has 250 pupils between the ages of 11 and 18. The only qualification for entry is that the child must be over 11 and live in Germany. On the grammar side the normal school and university entrance examinations are taken.

King Alfred School, at Plön in Schleswig-Holstein, came into being on May 7th this year, and at present has 460 pupils on the same terms as Prince Rupert School. After the summer their numbers will probably increase to 600."

A personal experience may be illuminating here. It happened six months ago that I was offered a job of Housemaster at that school at Plön. The job appealed to me (still trying to work within the state system) because it seemed likely that the experience of this school might be used later in England under the terms of the 1944 Act. Starting from scratch, in another country, it might be possible to build up a school free from the worst English provincial traditions. To begin with it was to be a co-educational boarding school, on the multilateral principle, and there was much talk of a mixture of English, German and Danish pupils which would lead to the development of a number of international schools in Germany.

Within a few days of my appointment, however, the Control Commissioner, having discovered that I was an agnostic, caused me to be dismissed! The clause laying down freedom of opinion for teachers was said not to apply because the school came under the Foreign Office, not the Ministry of Education. So much for Mr. Smitherman's belief that this is one of "the first publicly maintained boarding schools envisaged by the 1944 Education Act". I was told

that one of the purposes of the school was to combat Communism by showing the Germans the 'Christian way of life'. At the same moment the internationalism disappeared: there could be no German teachers on the staff, only German domestic servants; and it would be impracticable to allow contact with German children since they would ask awkward questions about the double rations of the English.

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But let us realise that the progressive schools exert an influence quite out of proportion to their number. For example:

(1) The Project method, that they have for so long advocated, has just been adopted by Middlesex County for its primary schools. This means that 'environmental studies' are to take the place of separate lessons in English, Arithmetic, History, Geography and Science.

(2) In the Froebel syllabus for the Training of Teachers in 1947-8 the only English educationalists, out of a dozen names, whose work the students are asked to study, are W. B. Curry of Dartington Hall, and A. S. Neill.

(3) Kingsmuir School in Essex, a branch of Summerhill, receives payment of fees for several pupils from County Education Committees, although it has not been recognised by the Ministry. Its worth cannot be concealed. The co-operation and initiative of the children there has demonstrated to some officials of the state the benefits of a persuasive discipline which along with corporal punishment and religious worship has also discarded compulsory attendance at lessons.

ANTHONY WEAVER.

Reader's Opinion

Anarchism & Youth

DURING recent years all the political parties have engaged—sporadically with the Tories, Labourites and Liberals; persistently with the communists and fascists—in campaigns to attract youth into their particular folds. Not to be outdone the State and Church have subsidised and fostered innumerable "voluntary" organisations—the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, etc., together with the more obviously authoritarian and militaristic cadet corps—all of which are invaluable for the inculcation of obedience to authority in those of our youth who display sufficient initiative to participate in activities other than those of the dance-hall, cinema and billiard-room. Thus, we have a vast network of organisations seeking to consolidate the work of the authoritarian family and education system. It is small wonder, therefore, that the cumulative result of this is to induce those of our youth with libertarian sympathies to either adopt an ivory tower attitude or merge their individual identities into a mass party machine which does their thinking for them.

It is one of the peculiarities of England that, unlike their fellows on the continent, its youth have participated in but meagre numbers in movements of social reform or revolution (that is, movements which at least pay lip-service to a social ideal, as distinct from the so-called voluntary movements which aim at retaining the status quo). Thus one is forced to the somewhat pessimistic conclusion that in the case of this country there will be no fundamental change in the majority of youth until conditions have deteriorated to such an extent as to shock even the most apathetic into some semblance of thought. This is particularly true with regard to the post-war generation who have spent their adolescence in a war environment with a consequent inhibition of what little resistance possessed by their predecessors. An example of this can be found in the gradual dwindling of C.O.'s as the war progressed and those youths who had been at school before the war were conscripted and also in the fact that military service is now accepted as a matter of course.

Yet such a situation need not necessarily force the socially conscious youth into despair or cynicism. However subservient to accepted social habits the majority of youth may be, or become, it will still be possible to find "a spark to be fanned into flame" and it is the rôle

of the anarchist to be in constant revolt against attempts to stultify society and therefore to be the fanner of the spark. I would contend, therefore, that the propagation, especially by anarchist youth, of anarchist doctrine amongst youth is of the highest importance. One immediate target at which anarchists could aim is the encouragement of the formation of a network of libertarian youth groups, throughout the country, the members of

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Literary Notes

AN attempt to assess contemporary poetry in non-Marxist and more genuinely literary terms is represented in Derek Stanford's new book of criticism, "The Freedom of Poetry" (Falcon Press, 8/6). There is a vaguely libertarian undercurrent in this book, and, though the standard of criticism is at times rather disappointing, the book as a whole represents a quite useful introduction to the work of a somewhat arbitrarily selected group of younger poets, ranging from Alex Comfort to Kathleen Raine.

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The way in which propagandists can distort the writings of others to suit their own ends is illustrated admirably in the July number of an American magazine, "Common Cause", devoted to advocating the World State. An article, on T. H. Huxley's ideas, quotes Kropotkin, among other scientists, as an authority for the theory that "co-operation and mutual aid, from the most primitive protozoan level to the most elaborate societies has been no less, and even more, conducive to survival and progress. Transferring their conclusions from the animal kingdom to the states of men, these biologists advocate human solidarity and the abolition of rivalry and intraspecific struggle." So far, so good. But the writer then goes on to spoil it all by saying in the next sentence, "The World State is the next logical mark along this line of evolution." One can guess what Kropotkin would have thought of this distortion of his intention. But it is certainly an interesting indication of the way in which propagandists are often blind to any conclusions being made from a given theory other than those they themselves desire to see.

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The Indian Sociologist has just published as a supplement Randolph Bourne's excellent pamphlet on "The State". An admirable development of the theme already sketched by Kropotkin, this essay well deserves republication, and it is hoped that at some future date an English edition will appear.

The Organic Society—2

THE second phase of industrialism, which Mumford calls paleotechnic, had its roots in the earlier and slow development of mining and iron-working, but did not develop till the use of steam power and a more efficient production of iron for making machines changed the nature of mechanisation. The development of the machine brought an external regimentation of society and was used to justify the application to men of the same uniformity as it imposed on its own mass products. The result was social chaos, for there occurred a disintegration of the old social forms based on organic rather than mechanical relationships among men. Regimentation in factories and slums went hand in hand with the individualistic competition of *laissez faire* capitalism and the mass unrest of a century of revolutions and emigrations. The result was a lack of any genuine social integration, the break-up of natural social forms, and the rise of power units in economic and political warfare which have culminated in the last world war and the beginning of an era of atomic warfare. Yet, as Mumford points out, "While, humanly speaking, the paleotechnic phase was a disastrous interlude, it helped by its very disorder to intensify the search for order, and by its special forms of brutality to clarify the goals of humane living."

This interlude of chaos passes into the neotechnic phase, characterised by the assimilation of the machine, and its dethronement from dominion over men to subordination to the needs of society. To-day we are living in a time when the main technical advances of such an era, the use of forms of power like electricity and atomic energy, are already well-developed, while the power-pre-

occupations and social regimentation of the preceding era remain and, as in the totalitarian state structure and atomic warfare, have still sufficient power to use the potentialities of the new era for destructive purposes on a scale unimagined before.

The Era of Equilibrium

But the neotechnic age, according to Mumford, merges into the biotechnic age, when technics will learn the lessons of biology and become assimilated into a truly organic society. Mumford sees the main purpose of the biotechnic era as a return to the consideration of human and social functions based on personal fulfilment. It will involve a change, from the chaotic action and reaction of the preceding phase, to dynamic equilibrium, in which technics will take its place as one of a number of integrated elements in the balance of social life, centred on human satisfaction and cultural achievement.

The practical implications of such a conception lie in the recovery of equilibrium, and here Mumford's opinions deserve to be quoted at length:

"First, equilibrium in the environment. This means first the restoration of the balance between man and nature. The conservation and restoration of soils, the regrowth wherever this is expedient and possible of the forest cover to provide shelter for wild life and to maintain man's primitive background as a source of recreation, whose importance increases in proportion to the refinement of his cultural heritage. The use of tree crops where possible as substitutes for minerals, and the reliance upon kinetic energy—sun, falling water, wind—instead of upon limited capital supplies. The conservation of minerals and metals: the larger use of scrap metals. The conservation of the environment itself as a resource, and the fitting of human needs into the pattern formed by the region as a whole: hence the progressive restoration out of such unbalanced regions as the over-urbanised areas of London and New York. . . . Not mine and move, but stay and cultivate are the watchwords of the new order."

"Second, equilibrium in industry and agriculture. . . . The more or less uniform distribution of mechanical industry over every portion of the planet tends to produce a balanced industrial life in every region: ultimately a state of balance over

the earth itself. A similar advance remains to be worked out more largely for agriculture. With the decentralisation of population into new centres, encouraged by motor and aerial transportation and by giant power, the processes of agriculture, as so admirably practised to-day in Belgium and Holland, there is a tendency to equalise advantage between agricultural regions. With economic regionalism the area of market gardening and mixed farming—already favoured by the scientific transformation of our diet—will widen again, and specialised farming for world export will tend to diminish, except where, as in industry, some region produces specialities that cannot easily be duplicated.

"Third, equilibrium in population. If equilibrium takes place during the next century one may look forward to a rational re-settlement of the entire planet into the regions most favourable to human habitation. The balancing off of the birth-rate and death-rate, and the balancing off of rural and urban environments—with the wholesale wiping out of the blighted industrial areas inherited from the past—are all part of a single integration."

The result of such changes, Mumford considers, would be an inevitable simplification and lowering of the tempo of life into a more natural rhythm, and it would also involve the replacement of capitalism by a more rational and organic form of organising production and distribution.

The Significance of the City

In his next book, *The Culture of Cities*, Mumford goes much farther, by a consideration of the social relationships of men and the communal forms in which they are integrated, to criticise existing authoritarian structures.

Here, considering it as the most significant manifestation of social organisation, Mumford shows how the city concentrates and epitomises the nature of the society from which it springs, and demonstrates how it develops the complexity of communal and co-operative life.

In our own day, under the power of centralised states, the communal nature of city life is hidden under a framework of abstractions—money, credit, political sovereignty—created by the power structure of its rulers. The result of the consequent lack of understanding of civic community has been, as Mumford

expresses it admirably, "a crystallisation of chaos, disorder hardened uncouthly in metropolitan slum and industrial factory districts."

The Culture of Cities represents a reasonably successful attempt to apply valid sociological standards to the study of the city's growth, and also to develop a conception of the city in which its true communal possibilities will become evident in a natural and balanced way, tending towards organic growth.

Mediaeval Culture

Historically, it deals with the successive phases of the city, from its rise in the Middle Ages, after the disintegration during the barbarian era of the old cities of classical antiquity. In describing the mediaeval city, Mumford sets out to dispel the prevalent notion that the Middle Ages were "a compound of ignorance, filth, brutality and superstition", and proves by a mass of evidence the contentions put forward before his day by Kropotkin and Reclus, of the socially advanced and healthy nature of the free mediaeval cities. It was, as he shows, their culture that "invented the mechanical clock, made radical improvements in mining, sailing and military attacks, and learned to cast iron and manufacture glass spectacles and utilise physical energy on a scale never before achieved by any other civilisation." Furthermore, he demonstrates, "our hard-earned discoveries in the art of laying out towns, especially in the hygienic laying out of towns, merely recapitulate, in terms of our own needs, the commonplaces of sound mediaeval practice."

The mediaeval cities declined with the rise of the national state and of metropolitanism, with its grossly enlarged capital cities, and the decay was completed in the chaotic industrial agglomerations of capitalism. With the death of communal values, the evil in cities came uppermost. In our own day this industrial city persists. But it is threatened by mechanical destruction in the wars which the property desires of its rulers have made inevitable while their system survives. It exists as a symbol and crystallisation of a social pattern based on property and caste.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

(To be continued.)

Freedom Bookshop

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ANARCHISM AND YOUTH

(Continued from page 2)

which would attempt to act, and if possible to live, insofar as one can under governmental society, in accordance with what they conceive to be consistent with an anarchist way of life. Such groups would serve the purpose of negating the social and sexual conventions by which authority seeks to enslave youth and also of encouraging both individual and collective disobedience to the demands of the militarist.

Obviously such a task cannot be approached in that half-hearted manner which usually results in propaganda being regarded as an end rather than a means. It needs a recapitulation of the spirit which motivated the Russian youth in the nihilist and revolutionary movements, the young intellectuals of France and Germany in the dadaist movement (I am not concerned here with the more hysterical manifestations of this movement, but rather of its negation of conventionalised art and society), and the revolutionary youth of Catalonia in their attempt to build free communism.

This then is, as I see it, the call of anarchism to youth: the anarchism offers not subservience to a party machine and discipline, not the pseudo-bonhomie of "teamwork", but a means by which they can realise both their own potentialities in an atmosphere engendered by the ethics of self-determination and the mutual respect of conscious individuals working together in groups based on the voluntary principle. And it is the uniqueness of anarchism that it seeks not to guide or confine the energy of youth but to liberate it:—

"Brothers! the slave within the heart is dead, there's nothing more to slay—can you not hear, already love is finding means; around the world are whispering creative voices and bravery blooms like the flowers."*

Birmingham. S. E. PARKER.
(*Art and Social Nature by Paul Goodman.)

A CALL FROM BULGARIA

Dear Comrades,

In the dark gloom of Bolshevism a few Anarchist journals have arrived by chance, like rays of light from outside. We are glad to know that the Anarchists of the world have taken up the cause of their persecuted Bulgarian comrades with enthusiasm.

We speak in the name of the comrades condemned to a slow but sure death in concentration camps. The students, expelled from the universities. The workers, thrown out of work and condemned to die of hunger. And in the name of all the workers and peasants suffering under the blackest reaction. In the name of the Anarchist-Communists of Bulgaria, and all the Bulgarian Anarchists, the only ones who to-day carry the banner of freedom and human dignity against the dictatorship of Dimitroff.

In spite of all the dictatorial persecutions, in spite of the secret police infiltrating everywhere, the people have not lost their courage, and in spite of the fact that spies listen everywhere, they do not hesitate to express their criticisms of the Government in the trains, stations, tramways, factories, workshops and queues, where the guilt of the Bolsheviks does not permit any partisans of the regime to speak in its defence.

In the present tragic state of Bulgaria, only the Anarchists have refused to bow the head. In the concentration camps the Anarchists have refused to sign the declaration of loyalty to the Popular Front. The only Opposition groups who have not conformed to the one permitted party are the Anarchists. Their courage has aroused general respect even among their opponents. The entire opposition has expressed its admiration for their conduct. The valour of the Bulgarian Anarchists is the only weapon of the opposition at this tragic moment.

What of the future? In spite of the fact that ignoramus put their hopes on the next war and are impatiently desiring it to begin, we have not lost our ideological equilibrium and sense of reality, and we remain opponents of war. We want to see war prevented.

If war comes, it will be a catastrophe for the world. The comrades of the world who look to us can be sure we will maintain our stand with our eyes fixed on a just future, in the name of international anarchism.

Receive our revolutionary greetings—Long live the World Anarchist Movement, the only hope in this epoch of all the peoples oppressed by capitalism and the State—Long live Freedom!

—A responsible member of the BULGARIAN ANARCHIST-COMMUNIST FEDERATION.

(Translated by K.A.B.)

Conscription in U.S.A.

(From an American Correspondent)

STARTING August 30th, all American men between the ages of 19 through 25 will have to register for slaughter. They will have the choice put before them: slaughter or be slaughtered—"Because in this world it is ride or be ridden—slaughter or be slaughtered." Some will not register. Some will register and evade. An overall Resist the Draft organisation, the Peacemakers* will hold demonstrations in many cities throughout the U.S. The Resistance Group and other Anarcho-Syndicalist groups plan joint action with them in N.Y.C. A. Phillip Randolph (he's just against a Jim-Crow Draft) will probably kick up the biggest fuss. The Peacemakers Group is circulating draft-resistance pledges and has collected 700 signatures so far throughout

the country. 35 Clergymen are going to preach anti-registration sermons the Sunday before the Draft.

The Ghouls are getting ready for the war "everybody knows is coming", but "the only way to avoid war is by the draft and being prepared." Aircraft factories are being moved from Connecticut to Texas. Employment is going to reach an all-time high this summer (62,000,000-?) 64,000,000? (Who knows—who cares?) Everybody's working but no-one is creating. Prices keep going up, up. Hogs yesterday reached their highest price in history (4-legged ones).

This year the conventions had a Three Ring Circus! The Democrats—the Republicans—and the Wallaceists. I have before me the N.Y. Daily Worker of July 28th which tells us that

the American Labour Party (N.Y. State's Communist Party Front) has nominated a "strong, independent slate for N.Y.C. Congressional Seats" that includes "but eight nominees of other parties" (out of 24) including one Republican. The P.A.C. of the C.I.O. is still collecting money and advising all its adherents to register and vote. It hasn't told them, however, who its candidate for president is; not because it's anarchist—but because it's stuck—poor P.A.C. doesn't have a candidate "of its own".

The S.P. (Norman Thomas), S.L.P. (Teichert) and the S.W.P., Trotsky's Trotskyites (Farrell Dobbs), are also walking. The Prohibition Party hasn't announced its candidate yet. The Vegetarians may run a candidate too. There must be other parties that I haven't heard of also running (putting on campaigns).

There seems little doubt that the Republicans and Wall Street are in. Dewey never says anything, which shows how smart he is. Truman says a lot of stuff he doesn't mean. And he should know the people don't go for that. Both parties agree on foreign policy and domestic policy—but on domestic policy they say they disagree. Wallace is against war until it starts. He has said he would support America in a war against Russia. Once in a while he slurs his Communist host but they forgive him even if he is a millionaire.

While the Wallaceists were urging their followers to write letters to their Congressman urging repeal of the draft and trying to introduce repeal bills in a Congress which had just passed the act (this is the way they oppose conscription), reaction cracked down with its most daring step yet. It indicted 12 members of the Communist Party National Committee on charges of advocating and inciting the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force and violence. The 12 immediately denied the charge. Of course, like all men, they have to be defended. What is ironic is that the 12 are being indicted under the Smith Act, the same Act under which in 1940 18 Trotskyites were tried and sentenced to 1 and 1½ year terms in Minneapolis. The trial

itself is being used as a precedent. At that time the Communists raised no protest and some say praised their indictment and advocated their conviction. Such is fate.

Now Miss Bentley and all the spies have the spotlight. They are ready to throw men into jail.

Who will be next? Where will they strike next?

So far the government has ignored the anti-draft manifestations. But it remains to be seen if they will or can much longer.

Two weeks ago a young man was sentenced to 2 years in prison on charges growing out of his protest over Civilian Public Service work in the last one. You can't tell any more where one war ends and another begins. You can't tell where peace ends and war begins.

JACK GALLEGOS.

* PEACEMAKERS, Mount Morris House, 2013, Fifth Ave., N.Y. 35, N.Y.

WHO ARE THE PEACEMAKERS?

EARLY in April, some 200 persons met in Chicago for a three-day conference on ways of achieving "more disciplined and revolutionary pacifist activity". Out of this meeting came the formation of "Peacemakers", among whose executive committee members are David Dellinger, Julius Eichel, Cecil Hingshaw, George Houser, Ray Kepler, Dwight MacDonald, Milton Mayer, A. J. Muste, David Newton, Bayard Rustin and Ralph Templin. "Peacemakers" is not a membership organisation; it is not, in fact an organisation at all; its executive committee acts as a stimulating and co-ordinating centre between individuals and groups willing to "practice what they preach" by (a) taking politically radical steps in furtherance of pacifism, and (b) changing their way of life in a co-operative, communal direction. The whole thing is still pretty vague, but at least a few people are trying to make a start toward a more radical kind of pacifist activity.

From "Politics", Spring 1948.

COSTA RICAN DICTATORSHIP

(From our Correspondent)

THE New Government in Costa Rica, has proven to be the best disciple Franco ever had. It couldn't have followed the Spanish pattern in a better way even if Franco had led the Revolution, or revolt, himself. The help given by the clergy has been rewarded by appointing a priest Minister of Labour and dissolving all the labour unions that were not controlled by the Church. The chief of the Revolutionary Council, Jose Figueres, an avowed admirer of Franco, declared himself a benevolent dictator who will rule the country "for eighteen months in order to clean the administration of former evils and lead the country into the new path. After eighteen months, I shall quit and give the power to the man the people appoints in free elections. Until then, I shall rule governed by public opinion." This is an old story. Immediately after his speech, the radio and press of the opposition were shut, the Communist Party declared illegal and its leaders sent to jail, the representatives of the late Government sent to jail or exile, Congress dissolved, and reprisals against all people who did not approve the "new path" ostracized and sent to jail.

From a speech made by the Minister of Finance, you can gather the spirit of this new Government. The speech was made on July 18th and in part it reads like this: "I am talking to the leading classes of Costa Rica. I am addressing those who, by their riches and intellectual preparation, have the historic responsibility of facing and solving the problems that confront all the dwellers of this nation. I love and I admire this leading class and I have all my hopes resting in it. I also love the people that suffer and toil, but I do not consider that one must place the destiny of the country in their hands. One must love the working people like one loves a child full of necessities and weaknesses, one must feed them and educate them, preparing them for the civic and social life." After this introduction, our new flamboyant Minister goes on with more of that stuff.

He goes back to the times of ancient Greece and says that the "Greek miracle can be repeated in the 20th century in Costa Rica: taking advantage of exceptional circumstances of history, race, and position, we can raise in the Caribbean a powerful civilization." I don't know how any Costa Rican with a little bit of intelligence can swallow this, but unfortunately, it seems that this nationalist stuff and historic mission, is doing the not very awake consciousness of the Costa Rican working class. But that is not all. Our visionary Minister gives us more. He mentions the dialectic fight between capitalism and communism and comes to the bright conclusion that capitalism is doomed to death, and he gives us the answer to what should be placed instead of capitalism, "so we won't fall into the evils of communism." "As the dialectic synthesis of this struggle of contradictions,

risers the new social order based in the economic emancipation of the workers under the direction and leadership of their employers, who were the captains of the capitalistic yacht, and who can be to-day, if they so choose, the captains of the ship of solidarism." Solidarism is the word he applies to the thing he calls the new order, but you can see what kind of solidarism. UNDER the leading classes and a strong government.

All these statements and decrees and new laws passed by the new government wouldn't scare me at all if it weren't that the working people in Costa Rica are so doped by religion and lack of experience in direct action, that they believe the co-operation-with-the-employers stuff and fall for it, but, as Proudhon said: the Revolution can be delayed but never stopped.

DANILO JIMENEZ.

WHY MAKE A FUSS?

HARDLY a week goes by without some alarming news in the papers about the rapacious demands of the Service departments for large tracts of land for training. The Minister of Agriculture recently admitted that farmers were "losing the battle of the land" because of such demands.

Last week, the Minister of Town and Country Planning (what irony!) announced that the Government is to retain permanently the 7,300 acres tank-training area in the Isle of Purbeck, and the 27,000 acres battle-training ground between Theford and Swaffham, around the village of Stanford, in Norfolk. When the land was taken, 1,000 people were evicted from their Stanford homes and evacuees from the Purbeck area are scattered all over Dorset. The Minister stated in the Commons last week: "The Government admits without reservation, the pledges that were given or understood to have been given, that persons displaced should be allowed to return to their homes at the end of the war."

The seizure of land which should be providing food or should be open for the enjoyment of the people raises widespread protests. The secretary of the "Hands Off Purbeck" Committee says: "This is but one more disillusionment. What guarantee have we that there will be no further encroachment and if the guarantee is given, what can we hope for now that our faith has been shaken once?"

And the "Friends of Cannock Chase" have submitted a petition signed by 1,300 people. The congregation of Mundford Church have been offering a prayer "that the rulers of the country keeping faith to the pledged word, may release to them the lands of their fathers."

But, as our land correspondent contended in commenting on the case of the village of Imber (*Freedom*, 1/5/48) it is "just illogical sentimentality for people who accept the existence of military forces as natural to kick up a fuss over a matter like this; only those who are opposed to militarism have a right to protest against such action."

Do all the protesters admit the need for armed forces? If they do, what right have they to object to those forces being properly trained, especially now that we can no longer give them inexpensive battle experience in Palestine or on the North-West Frontier?

If the people submit to a regime of guns instead of butter isn't it right that the land should be used for testing guns instead of producing butter?

Anyway, who expects governments to keep promises?

THROUGH THE PRESS

TACTLESS SUBJECT

Sir Stafford Cripps goes to Pentonville Prison on September 6th. He will talk to prisoners for three-quarters of an hour. His topic: The Financial Situation.

When the Chancellor has finished, prisoners can ask questions. Only financial questions troubling most of them at the moment is the price of tobacco and cigarettes.

Evening Standard, 6/8/48.
Prisoners earning a maximum of 11d. a week are not likely to be impressed by Cripps's financial problems.

20th CENTURY AMERICA

Three thousand robed and hooded members of the Ku Klux Klan gathered in a field near Stone Mountain, Ga., for the largest Klan ceremony since 1924. They fired up oil buckets hung on a cross of iron pipe, initiated 700 new members, and cheered a prediction by Grand Dragon Samuel Green that "blood would flow in the streets" if civil rights for Negroes were enforced in the South.

Time, 2/8/48.

CANDID

America's nudists, who closed their convention in New Jersey yesterday, passed a resolution saying that Nudism could produce world peace because, if armies did not wear clothes, it would be impossible for fighters to recognise their enemies.

Daily Herald, 9/8/48.

IMPARTIAL BUSINESS

Macy's, neatly fusing politics with haberdashery, offered its customers the Candidate Cravat—a 99c necktie of "rich, full-bodied rayon" bearing a picture of either Harry Truman or Tom Dewey.

Time, 2/8/48.

"PETIT BOURGEOIS"

Peace sentiment is so strong in Hungary that it is creating deep concern among some of the country's military leaders. Chief Army Inspector G. Palfy-Osterreicher recently declared: "A Marxist-Leninist cannot be a pacifist. Pacifism is a petit bourgeois illusion, spread by the imperialists and their agents to lull our watchfulness. . . . Memories of the recent war are still alive in the masses, who flee from them in the most primitive manner and do not want to hear about arms, armies, armed forces. They make no distinction between just and unjust wars. Our party will extirpate these pacifist remnants."

Worldover Press, 6/8/48.

FENCE SITTERS

A resolution deploring laws forbidding mixed marriage between persons differing in colour, nationality, race, or religion was adopted by the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations Economic and Social Council here to-day. The resolution, which was presented by Canada, was adopted by 12 votes to nil, with six abstentions, including Britain, the United States, and Russia.

Manchester Guardian, 5/8/48.

The abstention of Britain is not surprising but it is difficult to understand that of Russia which is supposed to have abolished all racial discrimination.

OLYMPIC MUD

An international festival in which Russia chooses not to take part is, of course, a touchy subject for her friends. Hungary had to justify her presence among "some of the countries which devastated Europe"—an oddly pharisaical attitude for an ex-enemy country—by claiming that she wanted to convince the West of her strength. We are delighted to see the Hungarians, or indeed anyone else, do well, but to Mr. Barcs, of their official news agency, each Hungarian triumph is "a telling denial of all the accusations of the imperialist anti-Hungarian propaganda." What about the American successes: are they refutations of Communist anti-American propaganda? Far from it: they are merely "arrogant and militant America" up to her old tricks. But the real tirade comes from the Rumanians, perhaps to console themselves for having withdrawn their team. The Olympic flame itself was "probably kindled with gunpowder"—why not by a death ray?—and all kinds of scandals are being hushed up by "a press with Fascist concepts, which fears the leakage of all dirty aspects of these dirty sporting competitions in which graft and political discrimination prevail."

Manchester Guardian, 10/8/48.

HOLY-WOOD?

Darryl Zanuck and Henry King, Hollywood film producers, were received by the Pope at his summer residence, Castel Gandolfo, to-day.

The Pope complimented them on their films, *Song of Bernadette*, *Key of Paradise*, and *Behind the Iron Curtain*. Mr. Zanuck presented the Pope with a portable altar.

Evening Standard, 15/8/48.

Industrial Notes

THE writing of industrial comments from an anarchist point of view in these days of nationalisation is becoming increasingly a matter of "I told you so." The usual satisfaction that we may smugly expect to get from this, however, is missing as we feel the tragedy behind the dawning disillusionment with nationalisation as it is practiced.

For generations now the anarchists have been alone in pointing out the futility of expecting a truly socialistic, freely communistic, society to be brought into being through the medium of the State. But the Socialists and the Communists have believed in the State, and the workers have followed them. And like the children who followed the Pied Piper, the workers are lost—lost in the fog between the sleek promises of politicians and the conflicting evidence of their own experience.

"The National Coal Board brought a successful action yesterday against three miners for alleged 'ca' canny' working at the Blaenhirwaun Colliery, Cross Hands, near Llanelli." So reported the *News Chronicle* on July 30th. Other miners have recently been fined for striking—as were the Grimethorpe and Whitehaven miners earlier this year. At that time we said that these attacks by the State upon the miners could only be stopped by direct action; that constitutional action when the State is employer, prosecutor, judge and to all intents and purposes union as well, is completely hopeless. We can only repeat it now, with the comment that we are surprised to see the miners taking this lying down.

Already the "crimes" for which miners can be punished by court action are increasing—first for striking, now for going slow, soon for absenteeism, later (who knows?) for dumb insolence towards officials—and the police state marches on. Stop it now!

CARRY YOUR SPANNER, SIR?

DEEP in the heart of industrial Mayfair, where production of the "New Look" is superseded in importance only by the wearing of it, the elegant young men who are responsible for publicity for the Government have seen fit to erect a tremendous poster. As the workers trudge down Bond Street on their way to the early shift behind the cosmetic counter they are encouraged by a message from the Central Office of Information. A large shifting spanner says "Some make big stuff", a small spanner says "Some make small", and the adult appeal is finished off with "More from each means more for all".

Of course, just round the corner in Berkeley Square, Lord Hyndley is presiding over the National Coal Board. We can only suppose, therefore, that the implied exhortation to greater production is aimed at these Mayfair miners at head office, who, after all, would certainly have to produce a helluva lot of both big stuff and small to earn their inflated salaries.

But perhaps we are unrealistic. After all, we are living in a democracy, and if working class areas are to be plastered with Government publicity it is only fair and just that non-working class areas should be too. And if production is not increased, who knows what dire results may attend? Perhaps we should not be able to import any more of those glistening streamlined automobiles which grace the streets of Mayfair...

Meetings and Announcements

BIRMINGHAM

All enquiries to S. E. Parker, 72, Coldbath Road, Billesley, Birmingham 14.

NORTH EAST LONDON

AUG. 24th F. A. Ridley
"The Jesuits"
Comrades interested should ring WAN 2396

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, Sept. 2nd. Variety of subjects. Bring your friends.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST RALLY

CENTRAL HALLS,
25 BATH STREET
Sunday, 22nd August, 6.30 p.m.
Speakers: Mat Kavanagh, Tony Gibson, Eddie Shaw and others.

BRISTOL

Public Meeting
Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, 7p.m., 7th September.
Speaker: K. Greenslade on "Facts supporting Anarchism".
Meetings will be held every Monday at 7 p.m., at 73 Whitehall Road.

Not Unexpected

THE MANCHESTER PRINT STRIKE

ONE strike about which the newspapers have really kept very quiet has been the strike in Manchester by the printers of the Northern editions of the national daily and Sunday newspapers—as represented by the Typographical Association.

THE difference between Old King Cole and the National Coal Board is that Old King Cole knew how many fiddlers he had!

—Radio Wit.

True, the strike was reported by the papers, but as to the cause of it—that was kept rather obscure, and appears to have been a fairly ordinary wage dispute. It was an official strike, and it was quite a change to see militant action being taken

again in this industry—one of the most unionised in the country—which has won very good conditions for its members and has a long tradition of militancy, but in which to-day trade unionism consists mainly in rather absurd divisions of labour.

During the General Strike of 1926, the printers played a very important rôle in reducing the power of the State's propaganda machine—and since the State's power exists more in propaganda than in fact, this importance can be judged very highly!

The Manchester men were out for about a fortnight, and only went back when the Newspaper Proprietors' Association took action against employees not affected by the strike by issuing dismissal notices to all their journalists, telegraphists, foundry workers, etc. It would appear that the strikers went back pending negotiation, after refusing to do so, in order to protect the jobs of their fellow workers in other unions. In other words, a form of blackmail was used by the employers, and a strong sense of solidarity and responsibility was shown by the strikers.

Anarchist Commentary

THE ENGLISH

LOOKING at the English from outside, one or two obvious facts stand out which the English themselves ignore completely. Their ruthlessness, for example. The English in America exterminated one race, the Red Indians, almost completely, and imported another race, the Negroes, as slaves, on whom they inflicted unspeakable brutalities. The English in Australia carried extermination even further than in America. They accomplished a good deal of it by the simple use of arsenic, though there were other ways, more horrible and straightforward, which the Australians themselves have chronicled. This characteristic has not passed away. Some of the English achievements in the late war, notably the burning of Hamburg, make the blood run cold.

There are other characteristics of the English, well-known to their neighbours, but altogether unmentioned by themselves. Their propensity for endless aggressive war, for example. The Hundred Years' War looks quite different from the French side of the Channel. Let those who think it simply a piece of mediaeval romanticism ask the Scots—or the Welsh—about their experiences. It would be inadvisable to ask the Irish.

This is a quotation from a front-page article in the "Times Literary Supplement" for 7/8/48. It is all very well to be wise after the event with such dis-

arming frankness, but when, in September, 1943, we condemned the butchers of Hamburg, did we find the "Times Literary Supplement" ranged on our side?

MONTGOMERY'S VALUES

FIELD-MARSHAL MONTGOMERY that famous moralist, recently visited an Army Cadet Camp, and with the inquisitive impertinence characteristic of our military leaders, went behind the N.A.A.F.I. counter to conduct a one-man quiz of the cadets. He asked: "What is your job? How much are you paid? What pocket money do you get?" Afterwards, he complained that: "Boys who leave school at 15 and go out to work are getting a lot of money, usually between £1 and 30/- a week. That is too much. When I was 15 I got a shilling a week." The Field-Marshal, of course, forgot to mention that when he was 15, a shilling was worth far more than it is to-day, and that, at that age, he was attending an exclusive public school, while these boys are earning their livings. His Lordship concluded by observing that there is a danger that the cadets will grow up without learning the value of money. But is there not a far graver danger that, in their pre-occupation with irresponsible militarism, they will grow up without learning the value of life?

A Task for the Tenacious

WE print below the first list of contributions to our Special Appeal for £900 to pay off FREEDOM PRESS debts and to return to the 8-page issues of "Freedom". Our thanks to the contributors for their words of encouragement and practical solidarity. In spite of the holiday season and the fact that the first list includes only those donations sent almost immediately on receipt of the last issue of the paper, we feel that our comrades and friends will be making every effort during the coming weeks to raise the amount required in order to see a full-size "Freedom" once more.

★
LAST week we sent out 250 renewal notices to subscribers whose subscriptions to "Freedom" are either already due or expire this month. Many have already responded—some have sent renewals for two copies instead of one, so as to use the spare copy to introduce new readers. If you have not already sent your renewal, please do so now. Every subscription counts. 250 renewals for 12 months means an income for the FREEDOM PRESS of over £100!

★
TO raise the £900 and to put "Freedom" on a sound basis for the future requires a sustained effort.

The task of maintaining a minority voice is one which calls for more than temporary enthusiasm. To put over the Anarchist ideas demands tenacity, and the ability (and patience) to see beyond the immediate future. Our call is to all who see the need to pioneer the ideas of Anarchism in a world desperately trying to commit hara-kiri.

SPECIAL APPEAL

1st List

to August 14th:

Denver: R.B. 8/2; Birmingham: B.S. 1/3; Glasgow: M.D.T. 1/-; London: W.G.A. 3/2; Newton Abbot: W.A.B. 1/3; Newark, N.J.: per O.M. £19/15/0; Abinger: W.H.H. 10/-; Callington: P.J.S. -/3; London: H.A. Group 7/9; London: M.T. 11/6; Burnley: J.R.S. 5/-; Portishead: W.S. £1/0/0; London: J.B. 2/-; London: I.A. 5/-; Sidmouth: J.S. 1/6; Anon 2/6; Cambridge: C.L.D. 5/-; Anlaby: D.R. 2/6; MELF: A.McC. 3/6; Birkenhead: G.H.W. 10/-; Halifax: J.M.W. 10/-; London: E.B. 17/-; Dagenham: R.E.J. £1/0/0; London R.R. 12/6; London: L.A. 10/-; Norwich: J.B. 1/6; Claygate: E.R. 1/6; Llanelli: E.G.R. 5/3; London: E.G. 1/6; Edinburgh: A.S. 1/6; Stapleford: E.S. 2/-; Hounslow: D.M.E. 7/6; St. Leonards: D.H. 4/6; Glasgow: S.M. 6/3; Mundsley: S.V.P. £4/0/0; Glasgow: F.L. £5/0/0.

TOTAL ... £38 17 4

*79 dollars made up as follows: Detroit: P.T. \$3; Vancouver: L.B. \$3; S. Francisco: G.T. \$4; comrades per d.l. \$11; Ontario, Calif.: M. \$1; Needham, Mass: Libertarian group \$16; Allentown, Pa.: W.S. \$1; San Francisco: part proceeds picnic \$40.

On the First Anniversary of Indian Independence

(Continued from page 1)

to pretend he does so to-day, and neither he nor Congress are willing to put that claim to the test.

What does submission of the case to U.N.O. mean? As U.N.O. has demonstrated in many cases—Trieste is a copybook case—it is not concerned with the rights or wrongs of the affair, it is simply a testing-ground of the cold war between America and Russia. They will decide whether it is more politic to placate Pakistan or India. American capitalism is investing in India and knows Nehru is willing to join its bloc. But Pakistan tends to be pan-Islamic and Russia has alienated the Muslim world over its policy in regard to Palestine which was based on quite different considerations. But Russia borders Pakistan and could easily come to dominate it if they could be allies, as was the case in China. As Gandhi's successor, Acharya Vinoba Bhave truly remarked, power politics would "lead to dependence on countries like America and Russia". There is no longer any isolated struggle. The fighting in Kashmir is almost certain to lead ultimately to Russian penetration and a Russian-dominated republic in the north of India on the lines of the Red dictatorship in China.

Utility Empire

Britain's rôle has been very simple, and in keeping with the utilitarian imperialism which is the new order in Whitehall, one commending itself to the Labour imperialists and to military men of the Mountbatten-Montgomery type alike. Namely, to keep in 'with both sides, in an appearance of impartiality, but sufficient to be able not to lose influence with either side, as Russian and American direct intervention does. The policy is very plainly followed in Palestine, where the plaintive cries of bankrupt political Zionism about the only matter for agitation they can ferret out (namely, the fact of Glubb Pasha and several officers formerly from the British Army serving with the Transjordan forces, and the continued subsidy to King Abdullah) has rather tended to obscure the fact that the Government has maintained British influence on the Jewish side, where there are several hundred such officers, and where, after all, another Englishman, Major Eban, represents Israel at Lake Success. Further, the presidency of Dr. Weizmann and premiership of Mr. Ben-

Gurion, together with the social-democratic-dominated government, is a feat of diplomacy for Whitehall in keeping a foot in both camps.

Similarly, the position of the military missions and British influence in both Pakistan and India is an assurance that however America and Russia may commit themselves, attempts will be made to keep on both sides, whoever may be the victor. In the meantime, nationalists in both Dominions are clamouring for military adventure; the only resort of nationalism when the illusion of national freedom is seen through.

Fortunately, many thinking Indians and Pakistanis see through the illusion of communalism and nationalism; and if they cannot make their influence felt, it may be partly because they are still thinking in terms of a new political party to oppose the Hindu and Muslim sectarians and the one-party system, while realising that political life does not in reality afford any way out.

INTERNATIONALIST.

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LAND OF (COCONUT) MILK AND YAMS

There are 18,000 Polynesians in American Samoa, and nine in every ten don't want to earn any money. Nature provides them with all they need.

In their report to UNO on territories they administer the United States describe Samoan natives living placidly and contentedly, eating breadfruit, yams, coconuts and bananas which the land prodigally provides.

Doctors don't send any bills... Trade unions are permitted but the natives don't want them. If native chiefs try to interfere with the rights of tribesmen they can be fined or gaoled... Each family's assets are pooled and shared.

There are only 150 radio sets among the 18,000 people, who see only one aeroplane a week.

News Chronicle, 2/8/48.