

In this Issue :

Where Anarchism Fails p. 2
Book Reviews - - p. 2
Scientists Denounce War p. 3
Conditions in Portugal p. 4
Nurses Protest - - p. 4

Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

Vol. 9 No. 19

September 18th, 1948

Price Threepence

CAN WORLD FAMINE BE AVERTED?

T.U.C. in Bosses Role

EVERYONE seems to have reasons to be pleased with the results of the Trade Union Congress which has just been held at Margate. The Government got an assurance that the Trade Union Movement was backing its economic policy, the industrialists were told that no effort should be made to limit their profits by law and the leaders of the T.U. were given a proof of loyalty by the repudiation of unofficial strikes. We have once again witnessed the spectacle of a Trade Union Congress supposed to represent 8 million British workers behaving as if its appointed task was to defend inequalities, workers' sacrifices and misery.

To listen to the speakers of the General Council one would gather that workers are no longer interested in such paltry matters as that of wages and cost of living and that they have become public benefactors joyfully accepting increasingly heavy duties and foregoing all their rights. The tone of the Congress was set by Miss Florence Hancock who, in her presidential address, ignored the sordid question of wages and declared that what mattered was the success of the programme of national recovery and the expansion of Britain's export trade. The platform continuously tried to dissociate the question of production from that of wages and even when Sir Stafford Cripps came to address the conference they announced that he would not talk about wages. Cripps however began his speech by pointing out that the two questions cannot be discussed separately and refused to play up of the T.U. leadership by promising higher wages and better conditions in the near future. He roundly declared that however much the workers deserved them, they would not get them.

Who is the public?

Another lesson in humility was given by Mr. Shinwell, who addressed the conference as a fraternal delegate from the Labour Party. If last year Mr. Shinwell attracted a lot of attention to himself by declaring that he did not care a tinker's cuss about the middle classes, this year his remarks, which clearly show that he does not care a tinker's cuss about the workers, have been ignored. The Press obviously considers that when a "Labour man bites capitalist" this is news but "Labour man bites worker" is too common an occurrence to be worth headlines.

After declaring that the government is not enamoured of nationalisation Mr. Shinwell asserted: "We must constantly maintain the principle that, while safeguarding the interests of the workers, the well-being of the public is the primary objective, and nothing would be allowed to stand in the way of its achievement". Perhaps Mr. Shinwell will kindly explain what he means by "the public". Does he consider the workers as being outside "the public"? Is "the public" composed of business men, bureaucrats and trade union officials who lead a parasitical existence on the wealth produced by the workers?

T.U.C.'s complacency

The concern felt by a large number of the unions at the rapid increase in the cost of living was shown by the fact that almost half the resolutions on "Legislation and Government Policy" dealt with wages, profits and prices. This concern was not felt however by the General Council and Mr. Vincent Tewson, the general secretary, reviewing the situation since March, when the General Council secured the approval of a majority of trade union executives for its qualified support of the White Paper on wages, declared that the Council to-day "sees no reason to be dissatisfied with the effect of its recommendations". The Government was complimented because the cost of living has not risen more than it has. Mr. Tewson did not mention that since the Government's White Paper on Personal

Incomes was issued in February, wage rates have risen by two per cent., while prices have risen by four per cent., the Government being directly responsible for the rise in the cost of living by increasing taxation on cigarettes and beer and by removing subsidies. In the Government refusal to give the Congress "reaffirmed the broad lines" of the policy agreed to in March regarding moderation in wage claims.

It is doubtful whether this policy will be adhered to by the Trade Union movement. While the General Council was getting their votes at Margate, Clydeside engineers were demonstrating against the 5/- award, the National Union of Railwaymen were getting ready to ask for a 12s. 6d. increase for half a million workers, and the National Union of Mineworkers was putting forward a superannuation scheme which would cost the National Coal Board 10 million pounds.

A Worker must keep his place

On the question of the management of nationalised industries the General Council was able to impose its view point once again. Some of the disappointment felt by the workers at being left completely out of the control of nationalised industries managed to make itself felt, in a confused way, in some of the resolutions put forward at the Congress. But the General Council rejected the proposal that the unions should directly appoint representatives to the boards of the public corporations and received the support of the majority of the delegates. The only concession forced on the General Council was that they did not oppose the motion expressing concern "at the present composition of the boards" and demanding that "belief in the policy of nationalisation" should be an additional qualification for any post in nationalised administration. Separate resolutions demanding a bigger share for the workers in the control of nationalised industries were dropped in favour of the above-mentioned modest demand.

The dissatisfaction felt by the workers at having no say in the running of nationalised industries cannot find expression in the frame-work of the trade-union movement as it exists today. It is obvious that the gulf between nationalisation of industry and workers' control can never be bridged. Workers' control means that the industry would be run by the workers themselves or through their representatives and factory committees who would be directly responsible to the workers of the industry concerned. Nationalised industries, on the other hand, are run by directors, appointed by the Government and responsible to the Government alone. These directors are some-

(Continued on page 4)

Poor Zhdanov!

WE cannot find ourselves very sad at the death of A. E. Zhdanov from heart disease, at the early age of 52. One reader of the newspapers, at all events, felt considerably more cheerful at the news that this high-up of the Kremlin had moved on. Now one finds amusement added to cheerfulness, because of the Communists' indignant denial that Zhdanov was moved on.

Tovarith Zhdanov was, so to speak, the Tsarevitch of the new Tsarism. He replaced Stalin's son-in-law (who moved on a few years ago—Long life to Comrade Stalin!) as the successor to the General Secretary. Of course, it is impossible to say whether his earthly course was shortened by his brothers of the Politburo. Naturally one thought of that (we non-Communists cannot help entertaining these "foul insinuations"), but the *Daily Worker's* denials make one very much more suspicious. All that appears definite is that his heart disease was not common knowledge before, nor was there ever any suggestion that poor health hampered his work. Finally, no suspicion of his impending demise was allowed to trickle through to embassies and journalists in Russia. Thus Bolshevism honours her best sons!

Ask Nutritionists at Brighton Conference

THAT gross malnutrition is considerably less frequently met with in this country now than before the war is chiefly due to the publicity which nutritionists succeeded in getting for their views before the war. It is to be hoped that the present concern of nutritionists and agriculturalists over the future supplies of food for the world will bear fruit in a similar way.

Two Conferences

The last few weeks have seen two conferences in this country devoted in part to this problem. The first, at Cheltenham, under the auspices of the Family Planning Association discussed the relation of family limitation to world food resources. A few days later the British Association for the Advancement of Science were considering world agriculture at their annual meeting. That two such bodies should be giving public prominence to this most pressing question augurs well for the future and will go some way to secure some practical applications of suggestions which have frequently been made in the past but neglected because governments did not have an informed public opinion to reckon with. At the same time the public scrutiny of the problems involved will inevitably lay bare the obstacles placed by our economic and social system in the way of a rational approach to the relief of world hunger.

Increasing Population

The world population is increasing at the rate of 20 millions every year, and at the end of the century it is estimated that the present 2,000 millions will have become 3,000 millions. Since two-thirds of the present population of the world is undernourished (and in some parts of the world, downright starving) food supplies, according to Sir John Boyd Orr, will have to be doubled in order to cope adequately with the population increase.

We hope to deal more fully with the Family Planning Associations Cheltenham

"I esteem the man who refrains from becoming a politician."

LA BRUYERE.

"It is unquestionably true that government is begotten of aggression."

HERBERT SPENCER.

Declaration of Japanese Anarchists

Our old comrade Li Pei Kan writing from Shanghai informs us that the "de luxe" edition of Kropotkin's "Words of a Rebel" is in binding, and that he is translating "In Russian and French Prisons", to appear in French next spring. He further gives us welcome news of the Anarchist movement in Japan, writing: "I am sending you a copy of the Declaration of the Japanese comrades. There is a great anarchist movement in Japan, and their weekly organ "Heimin Shimbun" (News of the People) sells more than 80,000 copies every issue."

The Declaration enclosed is that of the third congress of the Japanese Anarchist Federation (in Tokyo on 16th May, 1948) and has been translated into Esperanto by the International Group of the J.A.F. (the Japanese and Chinese Anarchists have long used Esperanto as a means of contact with the movement elsewhere).

AN imperialist conflict between capitalism and communism divides the world in two. Millions of people have been killed, and people everywhere driven into starvation and misery by the last war, but nevertheless the cold war marches on to a world explosion. Two powers are squabbling in Europe, the Balkans, the Near and Far East, Japan being no exception. Immediately after the military defeat of Japan, the unsuccessful capitalists and rulers were silent before the voice of the people who demanded true emancipation, but they did not remain idle, and laboured to retain a democratic revolution politically, economically and socially. Finally, with the rivalry between the rival powers they are able to bargain against such measures as the importance of foreign capital, the weakening and decentralisation of organised monopolies, and the conditions of compensation for military defeat. The capitalists can come out openly for exploitation and suppression of the workers' movement.

Thus they formed the Ashida ministry, by collusion between the bourgeois political parties and the Socialist Party, and bureaucratic rule replaced the existing military clan. They believe that they can persuade foreign capital to reconstruct Japan, and in return for this help, which they do not receive, they suppress the working class conflicts, strikes and demands for workers' control. At the same time they have forcibly requisitioned land produce while rich farmers have not complied with the

legal reform of the landed estates system but have collected estate rents on a black market basis, which they retain the power to do. The Government demands a colossal budget and this is mostly obtained from taxes on the people, i.e. raising of postal charges, general consumers' tax, and a tax on farming. They have multiplied police powers and strengthened the Army, and we can clearly see the move by authority to victimise the working people and strengthen rule and exploitation.

Against this tendency the strength of syndicates and farmers' unions ought to be the greatest, but they are directed by leaders of the Socialist Party, and are wholly concerned with the day-to-day struggle, thus supporting the present Government, or coming under the leadership of the Communist Party and welcoming a new authoritarian dictatorship in the name of one of the two powers that are dividing the world. In the same way the Japanese people are being divided and Japan is doomed to be the cockpit of the two powers and its people are paralysed by that idea.

We confirm that our way is that of the Anarchists, we fight to achieve a society based on freedom, equality and mutual aid, and see the need for a free autonomous federation of peoples based on independence of the Japanese people and all peoples of the world. We declare with the whole Japanese masses to fight against governments, capitalism, and their supporters, and against all reactionaries and warmongers.

Increasing Farming Output

The problem is therefore mainly one of increasing the available food supplies. Here there is need of much clarifying of ideas. It is disappointing to find one speaker regarding artificial fertilisers as the answer. They may have an emergency value, but what is required is a stable conservative agriculture capable of increasing present output without further depletion of the soil and consequent loss of fertility. In any case, the chief obstacle to increased output is not a question of fertilisers, but of removing the economic fetters which tie food production to "economic" (i.e., high) prices on the world market, with the inevitable consequence that food products are always insufficiently available to those who need them most—those who cannot pay high prices.

The U.S.A. could produce enormous quantities of food if more intensive methods which produce far higher yields per acre were employed even to the extent that they are in this country or Holland or Denmark.

The Problem in Britain

Certain aspects of the problem in this country were revealed by Sir John Russell's speech to the British Association's meeting at Brighton. He pointed out that since 1891 the population of England and Wales has increased by 14 millions, while 4 million acres which were formerly productive have gone out of cultivation during the same period. How much difference the restoration of these four million acres to cultivation would make is shown by the fact that during the war, 82,000 of these acres were in fact reclaimed; yet this tiny fraction contributed to the fact that during the war the agricultural production of this country was doubled.

The social obstacles in the way of rational farming were also revealed by Sir John's naive suggestion that the only way any large-scale reclamation could be carried out was to offer derelict land (i.e., land which has gone out of cultivation) free of charge for, say, 99 years, to farmers or groups of people who would undertake to bring it back and maintain it in cultivation. Such a proposition strikes at the root of all ideas of property and rent and it is difficult to see how a property-based society like ours could possibly carry it out. The needful alterations in social and economic structure which would make it feasible could only be of revolutionary scope.

This suggestion, though, shows how anarchist conceptions are gradually coming to be recognised as practical and necessary. Implicit in it is the idea that a man's, or a group of men's title to a piece of land is that they work it and make it productive. If they do not do so then they have no rights there. Clearly this is to affirm the right of men to work the land for the good of all, and deny the right of property which entitles a landlord to own and control land even if he does not work it or allow anyone else to do so.

The important thing is that the problems are being faced. They are of a nature which will not readily permit of superficial "solutions".

J.H.

The Organic Society—4

ABOVE the elemental nature which man shares with the other animals, Mumford continues in his *Condition of Man*, there are certain factors which are both peculiar and fundamental to human life. Of these the most important is man's tendency to individuation, and this appears, and indeed, is even emphasised in his group activity. His explanation of this statement is worth quoting at length.

dividual development and communal culture. Culture, built and maintained through language and symbols, gives meaning to life, a meaning whose lack is deadly to the human personality. "For it is in the effort to achieve meaning, form and value that the potentialities of man are realised, and his actual life is raised to a higher potential."

Lastly, Mumford emphasises the necessity for a return to a humanist philosophy, as distinct from the philosophy which regards the physical universe as all-important and man merely derivative. An organic attitude to life must be centred round man, and make the development of human achievements its first concern. For "man is not born into that bare physical universe: rather, he is born into a world of human values, human purposes, human instruments, human designs; and all that he knows or believes about the physical world is the result of his own personal and social development."

These are the basic conceptions of man's nature and needs, from which Mumford commences his study of Western thought and belief. Unlike so much of useless history it does not attempt a false objectivity by pretending merely to represent the facts as they were. Instead, Mumford writes his history so that to-day we can draw the lessons from human achievements and failures in the past, so that we can see how these developments have affected us and the world of human society in which we live. It is only by such an attitude that we can hope to understand the events of our own day and relate them to a desirable conception of human life developing organically to a state of dynamic social and individual equilibrium.

It is impossible here to pay any detailed attention to this complicated historical picture. Suffice it to say that Mumford has shown a remarkable instinct for what is of value to humanity, has detected the falsehood behind such abstractions as those of time and money, which dominate existing society, and has indicated steadfastly the way in which the so-called "Utopian" approaches to social problems of men like Fourier, Morris and Kropotkin have shown a much greater realisation of true human needs than the attitudes of "practical" sociologists like Marx and Engels.

Mumford and Freedom

Here and there occur what appear to me obvious inconsistencies. Mumford has a tendency to avoid the final issue of how an organic society will be administered. In his earlier books we find a mixture of co-operation and some kind of mitigated authority. In *The Condition of Man* the question is never faced

squarely, and we are left still in the dark on Mumford's attitude on this fundamental point. Nevertheless, a certain reverence paid to such figures as Cromwell, and occasional warnings against too extreme a conception of freedom leaves us with the uneasy feeling that Mumford envisages a future where the development of man will still be bound in the shackles of authority, with force, if concealed, at least acting as an ultimate sanction.

In my view a truly organic way of life must arise naturally from man and his society and can only grow in freedom. An equilibrium of any kind can be preserved only in harmony, and harmony is incompatible with force. Therefore a characteristic of fundamental importance to the organic society which Mumford envisages is the thorough application of the principle of voluntarism, or free co-operation drawing its strength from the instinct of mutual aid which is the principal cohesive force in human society. Mumford's valuable criticisms and his constructive proposals for the future organic society would be more consistent and weighty if they were linked to the wholly libertarian social attitude adopted by such men as Kropotkin and Morris. Mumford praises the work theories of Morris and the scientific ideas of Kropotkin; he takes pains to ignore the advocacy of complete freedom to which both were led by their sociological ideas.

These are criticisms of limitations in the scope of Mumford's ideas. They do not invalidate the concrete proposals he has so far put forward for the renovation of human civilisation and the establishment of an organic society based on the integrated uses of our technical and social means for the purposes of life instead of those of power or profit. These proposals have their place as material for building a new and free society, a society which becomes possible as soon as enough individuals begin to strive for it. For, as Mumford himself says:

"... the possibilities of progress will become real again once we lose our blind faith in the external improvements of the machine alone. But the first step is a personal one: a change in direction of interest towards the person. Without that change, no great betterment can take place in the social order. Once that change begins, everything is possible."

Indeed, everything is possible, provided the human personality is made free to follow its own development, and to return to organic processes of growth and adjustment, in a free environment where balance based on change has replaced the illusory progress which has led us to the edge of destruction.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.



THE SELECTED WORKS OF TOM PAINE, edited by Howard Fast (Bodley Head, 10/6).

TOM PAINE is a man who, however one may differ from him in ideas, it is impossible not to respect. His absolute sincerity, his dynamic energy, his vast love for freedom, and the efforts and trials through which he went in its cause, must all be set against the weaknesses of his teachings on certain points.

Paine was concerned with the day to day practicalities of political action; he was probably the greatest political journalist of all time. But he lacked Godwin's vision of the basic elements in social life, and for this reason he failed to foresee that the later degenerations of the American and French Revolutions, which he deplored, were due to faults and tendencies inseparable from political revolutions, which aim at changing but not abolishing governments.

Yet Paine was never a "politician" in the bad sense of that word. There was no element of corruption in his nature or his actions; he was as ready to face the risk of death by denouncing the Jacobin terror after the French Revolution as he had been by defying the reactionary English government a few years before. Always he remained an idealist, always he defended freedom, without ever fully realising its complete incompatibility with authority.

For these reasons alone we should welcome the present volume, which includes, not only his better known works, *The Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason*, but also such important, but not easily available works as *Common Sense* and *The Crisis Papers*. The editor's comments, flavoured with a muddled Marxism with which Paine would have had little sympathy, can well be ignored. But Paine's own writings, apart from their purely historical interest, are well worth the reading, both for the picture they give of a noble and disinterested idealist and the quality of the prose itself. Paine was certainly one of the great English prose writers; there is a vigour and eloquence about his work which is found only rarely among political pamphleteers and is, perhaps, exceeded only by Swift and Winstanley.

G.W.

THE HORSE'S MOUTH by Joyce Carey (Penguin Books, 2/-).

I AM not going to make this into a novel of social importance—I don't think it is intended that way, and any attempt to turn it into social criticism at the expense of its general uproariousness would spoil the fun. There is far too little tomfoolery in modern writing. We have no *Clochemerle* that I can think of, and if we have a *Gargantua* it hasn't yet found a publisher. There was a time when satire was equally hilarious, and depended on the creation of characters who were farcical in themselves, but we are too tired and anxious nowadays for a modern Jorjorcks or Ferdinand Fathom to be anything but a club bore.

Carey breaks out of this tradition of solemnity. The social background is real, if you look closely at it—in fact, it is as real as Orwell's Wigan Pier, but Gully Jimson is not meant as a pungent analysis of the artist. He is the Horse, and his mouth is perpetually open. He is a genius, a painter, a sponging, insatiable, unreliable bum, with the manic energy of a Hugh McDermuid and the hardboiled predatory instincts of something out of Celine. He comes out of jail for uttering menaces to find the little boys using his masterpieces as a dart-board. When he runs out of funds he puts photographs of Brighton Pier in an envelope and touts them as Artistic Views for Artists Only at five bob a time. There has been nothing like him in fiction since Fielding, or at any rate since Dickens, and he howls and batters through the entire book like a typhoon.

It is precisely because Carey has discovered this vein of comedy at a time when it is badly wanted that I was so glad to see *The Horse's Mouth* published cheap. I have had copies in the past but I had given them away one after another. It is certainly the best modern picaresque novel. It is exhausting to read, and was probably equally exhausting to write, but it can be a tonic, if read in the right surroundings. Go carefully through the handout at the end of the Moscow Conference, when it appears, then turn to Gully Jimson. It will take away the taste. Have him ready—you will probably need him.

ALEX COMFORT.

THE JOURNAL OF SEX EDUCATION, edited by Norman Haire, Ch.M., M.B.

THIS journal is a well-balanced compromise between a technical and a popular publication, and something of the kind has long been needed. It seems to be aimed at the public which is active in sex education rather than at the general reader, but this is the public which makes the best use of information and which needs help in breaking down chunks of recent research into a digestible form. It aims, I think, to inform the teacher, social worker, and intelligent parent, and its standard of accuracy is high, a very important quality in view of the amount of inaccurate rehashing of new psychological and sociological work.

I don't know if the militant anticlericalism of one or two comments is good tactics; because the religious public needs information as much as anyone, if not more, and one does not convert people by antagonising them. Apart from this minor criticism the first issue of the journal is very well edited, and it should do valuable work. In its rational approach to sexual morals and sexual responsibility it shares the view-point of *Freedom*, and I recommend it to anarchists as a reliable source of facts.

A.C.

*We feel that the question, whether it is "good tactics" or not, cannot invalidate the active harm done by the clergy in fostering sexual obscurantism, and the exposure of this is necessary and justified.—EDITORS.

Criticism Where Anarchism Fails

AMONGST idealists and peace lovers who feel disheartened at the slow progress made by Anarchism, the question is often raised: "What is wrong with our dogmas?"

The answer is that there is nothing wrong with the dogmas, but that much is wrong with the propaganda and the presentation of the Anarchist ideal.

It is painfully evident that, although the Anarchist gospel is the only rational and the only humanitarian doctrine ever propounded, and has been propagated for over a century, the very word *Anarchism* still scares the masses away.

Anarchist propaganda savours far too much of Salvation Army methods: continual begging and abstract preaching, but no action to put an end to poverty and injustice. Anarchism decries the miseries of man made "Hell on earth", hints, very faintly, at the possibilities of an earthly paradise, but fails to show the path. And omits to depict the paradise. Anarchist, in its present setting, leaves the listener bewildered, with a feeling of helplessness. The only directions given to enthusiasts can be summed up in three words: Subscribe to funds.

Religion, patriotism, politics, these three dopes which have been used successfully and often concurrently to rule mankind on the age-old principle of "Divides et regnes" owe their tremendous power of attraction to the circumstance that they tackle the individual, making a direct appeal to the "Ego". Religion makes the individual believe that he is a sinner, but that he can redeem his sins and be compensated in the next world if he will only pray and practice charity. Nationalism teaches him that he is superior to aliens, that his country is always right, and that he must don uniform to uphold the rights of his country. Politics give him that superb illusion that by recording a vote, he can personally influence the march of social progress.

Furthermore, they provide him with an enemy on whom he can satisfy his scapegoat complex: an enemy he can blame for his own shortcomings, and for

the miseries which his own leaders inflict on him. That enemy is the adherent of other religious sects, the citizen of foreign nations, the follower of other political parties.

And again, they reward their most active supporters munificently with jobs, careers and privileges.

But Anarchism, for lack of a well thought out programme and strategy, after having enrolled the neophyte, leaves him to fight his own battles singlehanded, unsupported.

The braindulling, antagonizing and corrupting methods of religion, nationalism and politics cannot be copied by Anarchism, which is not just a made up artificial creed, but a definite science: the science of justice and happiness for all men. Thus far, however, only the negative side of this science has been taught and proclaimed. The positive or constructive side still remains in abeyance.

Undoubtedly the most urgent and most fundamental need of Anarchism is a well-defined, lucid plan setting forth the objectives, the ethics and the ideology of the proffered Anarchist civilisation, so that the adept shall know not only what he is fighting "against", but also what he is fighting "for". This is specifically a task for scientists: technicians, biologists, anthropologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, eugenicists, sociologists. Philosophers are better not being included, for philosophy is an art, not a science: the art of making the best out of adverse conditions. Whereas Anarchism is intent on abolishing the adverse conditions and setting up instead a hedonistic order in conformity with the laws of progress; an order which will make life worth living as a pleasurable experience from one end to another.

Until the essential, indispensable plan for collective action is forthcoming, there is nothing much the individual anarchist can do beyond eye-opening missionary agitation amongst his immediate contacts, and offering, as well as prompting, passive resistance to the imposts which autocratic powers, falsely describing themselves as democratic, impose upon un-

assenting communities: militarism and war, spoliation, taxation, state interference, capitalistic exploitation, mercantilism, gross inequality, authoritarianism.

It is a characteristic tactic of the world rulers that they never reveal their real intentions. They treat the general public as infants in a kindergarten, who have to obey without asking questions, and no reasons given. With profuse outpourings, through their parliamentary mouthpieces, of misleading side-issues and irrelevancies, and with the subsequent long drawn out, boring, empty and inconclusive press comments, they keep the minds of the masses blurred and confused. Yet their intentions are sufficiently transparent to allow for some pretty safe guessing. The student who endeavours to penetrate the cause of the present world

chaos will not be far wrong when he deduces that what is being plotted is the regimentation of the whole world population under a hierarchy on military pattern, which will make the majority of human beings slaves of the state dignitaries, and will take away the last scraps of individual freedom.

One word will fitly describe such retrograde, anti-natural, anti-social, anti-logical scheming: DEMENTIA.

That the destructive era and the incoherent, absurd conditions it is intended to bring about cannot be of long duration is obvious. How will it all end? There are only two ways out: either total annihilation, or scientific reconstruction on anarchist principles, without property and without authority.

R. ANSAY.

Editorial Comment

We agree completely with R. Ansay on the imperative need for the Anarchist movement to avail itself thoroughly of modern advances in sociology, psychology, technology and other sciences in order to enrich not only its ideas of the structure of a free society in the future, but also its methods of struggle in the period before that society is achieved. This view was expressed in an article by Herbert Read published in "Freedom" some months ago and supported by a considerable subsequent correspondence.

This can be done, not only in the academic field, but also in the day-to-day observation of practical experiments like progressive education, agricultural communities and organisations encouraging voluntary action for common objectives like the Peckham Health Centre. There is also a wide field for anarchists to initiate such experiments, which might act as the seeds of the new society within the body of the old. And there is need for a broader view that will see these currents, as well as the continual struggle against capitalism and the state, all as parts of

one comprehensive process.

On the other hand we would suggest that the idea of planning should be regarded with caution, firstly because it carries with it a danger of rigidity of ideas and methods which may lead to the introduction of authoritarian tendencies, and, perhaps even more important, because the collapse of the old society will not necessarily come in the way or at the time we expect, and any fixed plan may well be defeated by circumstances. What the Anarchist movement perhaps needs more than anything else is a general conception of social and psychological factors which will combine an adequate grasp of the desirable general aim and the possibilities of action with sufficient resilience to take any opportunity the changing pattern of social forces may offer. But for this, we agree with R. Ansay, a comprehensive view of scientific methods is essential, provided always that science is regarded as a means and never allowed to grow into another religion, as it did in the so-called "scientific materialism" of the nineteenth century.—EDITORS.

Freedom Bookshop

John Steinbeck's <i>The Grapes of Wrath</i>	10/6
★	
We have in stock the following works by Wilhelm Reich:	
<i>The Sexual Revolution</i>	17/6
<i>The Function of the Orgasm</i>	30/-
<i>The Mass Psychology of Fascism</i>	22/6
<i>The Cancer Biopathy</i>	42/6
★	
<i>Annals of the Orgone Institute</i>	10/6
<i>International Journal of Sex-Economy and Orgone Research—four vols., 1942-1945</i>	the set ... £3
★	
Helena Wright: <i>The Sex Factor in Marriage</i>	4/-
Michael Fielding: <i>Parenthood—Design or Accident—</i> <i>a manual of birth-control</i>	3/-
★	

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

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

SCIENTISTS DENOUNCE WAR

SCIENTISTS by no means always show responsibility in regard to political matters; the light-hearted way in which the physicists allowed their research to be prostituted for the atom bomb has been one of the most depressing spectacles of recent years. Especially so for anarchists, for since Kropotkin showed that anarchist ideas were firmly grounded in observation and knowledge, the advance of scientific ideas has provided sound reasons for hope in the future of mankind, and the discredit of science constitutes a serious set-back.

If the atomic physicists did much to discredit science, the recent Congress on Mental Health in London has gone some way towards redressing the balance. This congress was attended by 2,000 delegates from 55 countries, took two years to prepare, and concerned itself with Mental Health in the broadest sense, including the political and social tendencies. Speaker after speaker emphasized that the prime need of our time was to do away with war, and did so in no uncertain terms. When Margaret Mead, the American anthropologist (her books on Samoa and New Guinea issued in the Penguin books have provided much valuable support to some anarchist contentions), was asked if it was not barbarous for the British to import head

hunters to help put down the troubles in Malaya, she roundly replied that it is not the methods of war which are an outrage upon civilization, but war itself, and the sanction which war gives to killing.

The very first speaker who opened the business of the Congress, Dr. Carl F. Binger, of Cornell University, declared the chief task of those who wished to see a sane future to be the elimination of war. "If the prevention of war," he said, "is our steadfast goal, then we shall have a better chance of reaching an agreement on the many subjects which will come before us for study and discussion. But the world cannot be saved by scientific conferences. If it is given to us to find the right answers to some of these problems then we must use our psychological insights to persuade statesmen and politicians to give us a hearing and to act on our findings. We must abandon the rôle of isolated esoterics. We must speak a language that others can understand."

One might wish that he had gone further and realised that it is the peoples that must be persuaded rather than their far from disinterested rulers, but what a change this is from the ivory tower attitude of scientists in the past (and psychologists in particular)! What a welcome revulsion from the irresponsibility of the physicists!

The Role of the State

Professor David Mitrany, who followed this speaker, was even more outspoken. How, he asked, could the work

of the psychologists and psychiatrists achieve results in the field of mental health in a world "which breeds and lives on prejudice, which produces continuous and widespread states of anxiety and which periodically subjects individuals and society to the shock of violent conflict?" He went on to point out that totalitarian regimes were only the extreme forms of a world-wide trend—that of increasing control and discipline by the State, and the extension of militarism.

"The discipline of the Army," he said, "is encroaching upon social life at large. Under such conditions individuals cannot enjoy the freedom of following their per-

sonal inclinations and aptitudes or of associating freely in spontaneous groups. They are being increasingly conditioned, not by haphazard, but by prescribed prejudices and stereotypes; a tendency, moreover, which relies on and makes use of the very tools of modern psychology to that end.

"The truth is that the State, which has become too weak to give us security, has become too strong to allow us liberty."

Workers' Control in Industry

This insight into questions of war, was also displayed in regard to problems of industry. Several speakers declared that strikes expressed workers' frustration at conditions in industry. Professor William Line, of Toronto University, said that it was for industry to realize that work was not just a man's means of earning a living. It had to be also a means of fulfilling his personality. One might add that not industry alone has to realize this, but the trade unions, the marxist socialists and liberal do-gooders as well. That work should be a satisfying activity and not a drudgery was a familiar doctrine of William Morris and Eric Gill; it begins to leave the realm of "crank" ideas when scientists recognise its truth and urge it upon their fellows.

Dr. Koekebakker, of Holland, came near to advocating workers' control: "The industrial worker living in a democratic society where he may vote and where he has a responsible rôle in groups outside industry gets embarrassed about the situation in his plant where he has hardly any responsible rôle in the organisation. The easiest way to initiate changes would be to give him an experience of democracy in his work, in that part of his life in which he spends half his active hours."

Dr. Margaret Mead, in her speech already referred to, perhaps unconsciously defined the moral sanction for revolt when she declared that the Western type of conscience formation includes the particular relationship between man and God in which each man is required, for full moral stature, to stand up against any human authority if commanded to perform an act which he has learned is wrong in itself?

Another fundamental anarchist conception also made itself felt in the congress; the realization that human nature is all right, and that the defects of society can be referred to defects in upbringing and custom and education. This was expressed by an American delegate who felt that although at first they all doubted the existence of common ground between the 2,000 delegates, yet there was one proposition which no one would deny—"That babies are O.K." and that it is what happens to turn them into people like us which requires investigation.

Significance of Congress

From the quotations already made it will be apparent that many of the speakers retained viewpoints which anarchists have long since discarded. It was by no means a congress of libertarians. But this fact makes the congress even more significant, for what we are seeing is that scientists from several professions and from many different countries are compelled by the logic of the subject they are studying to come to positions not very far removed from anarchist conceptions. One should not expect practical results from such a congress, but as a straw to show the way the wind of intelligent and informed opinion is blowing, it is very significant indeed.

Portugal & its Government

(From a correspondent in Portugal)

THERE are many persons in foreign countries who are ignorant of the system of government in Portugal, and the miserable life of the people under the dictatorship and the oppression of the Jesuits, who directly influence the whole administration. This is not surprising when one considers the mass of lying propaganda disseminated by the National Propaganda Office, directed by Antonio Ferro, by the Radio, and the Press, particularly the *Diário de Notícias*, edited by Augusto de Castro, a well-known fascist who openly applauded Mussolini's dictatorship.

Far from being a "paternal government" as Premier Salazar claims in his speeches for home and foreign consumption, the Government of Portugal is a typical dictatorship, differing only in the fact that it is directly under the control of the Jesuits, both Salazar and the military commanders acting under the influence of the Catholic leader Cardeal Cerejeira, who, like the rest of the Church in Portugal, is a sworn enemy of progress.

Police Terror

The standard of living in Portugal is extremely low. It is a reasonable estimate that for each person an income of 1,500 escudos a month is necessary (including at least 600 for three adequate meals a day). Only the middle-class and the government officials earn enough to provide adequately in this way. Manual workers and ordinary clerks usually earn 1,000 escudos a month, or less, and may have to bring up a whole family on this; the average rent is 400 escudos a month, leaving in the case of an ordinary family, 600 per month for feeding, clothing, etc., four people, or about a quarter of the necessary provision for adequate feeding. The consequence of this is that the poor people are continually in the hands of money-lenders, while the women resort widely to prostitution from sheer necessity. Pensions are very slight, and old people live under miserable conditions.

Housing and Health

Although the rich live in comfortable homes, there is very inadequate accommodation for the poor, and overcrowding exists everywhere. Much propaganda has been made concerning model housing estates built under the present regime for housing workers; in fact, only a small minority of genuine workers are housed in these dwellings (about 2% to show to foreign visitors) and the majority are occupied by civil servants, officers, etc.

On the other hand, in the slum quarters not seen by visitors, the streets are so narrow that people can shake hands from opposite houses, and here the workers live their degraded lives of slaves. In such quarters prostitution is rampant, while half-naked and hungry children beg in the streets.

The standard of health is low, owing largely to the poor standard of living.

Diseases like Tuberculosis and Syphilis are extremely widespread. Health services are inadequate and poorly financed, but, on the other hand, many individual doctors and health officials, moved by their contact with such terrible conditions, do their best to act humanely.

Education is scanty, and the rate of illiteracy in Portugal is very high. Under the previous liberal regimes some attempt was made to provide adequate cheap or free instruction which would enable the poor as well as the rich to obtain at least some education. Now, however, education has been deliberately made expensive, so that the children of the poor are virtually forbidden to study.

Class Education

The educational system is used to breed an élite from the children of the official classes, the rich and the old nobility, imbued with Catholic beliefs and fascist ideas. The effect of this education is further increased by the creation of a semi-military and fascist organisation for upper class children, A Mocidade Portuguesa, a special legion for both boys and girls.

Children of the poorer classes are destined for general employment, and the few who do gain any education are carefully selected before they are allowed to pass into the higher professions.

This educational system is deliberately fostered by the Catholic Church, and any educationalists, whether in schools or universities, who attempt to teach freely and independently are either sent away or coerced into following the required line.

In this way, by means of keeping knowledge away from the poor, the ruling class hope to prevent them from attempting to obtain better living conditions.

LAB.

(To be concluded.)

News from Macedonia

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Macedonia sprang afresh into American interest when the Progressive Party at its Philadelphia convention deleted it from a platform list of regions victimized by Western imperialism. Observers charged that the elimination had been made because Yugoslav Macedonians had been supporting Tito against the Cominform, though this was denied by convention spokesmen. From a correspondent in South-East Europe, *Worldover Press* has just received the following uncensored dispatch.

In Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, the Macedonian question is again causing intense international feeling. Accusations of "disloyalty" and "imperialist ambitions" are hurled on both sides and tension is growing between the two Slav peoples.

It must be recalled, however, that a large part of Macedonia is in neither Yugoslavia nor Bulgaria, but in Greece, and that the largest Macedonian city is Salonika. Macedonia is one of the centres of support for General Markos. It has no definite boundaries. The Greeks and Yugoslavs claim it on grounds of history, the Bulgarians on grounds of language, insisting that the majority of

Macedonians speak the Bulgar tongue.

Within the framework of the Yugoslav federation the "People's Republic of Macedonia" is a self-governing unit with a population of 350,000. A smaller group of Macedonians, about 200,000, settled on the Bulgarian side of the frontier. Before the Cominform launched its bitter attack on Marshal Tito, it was reported that he had discussed with Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian dictator, various proposals for cultural independence, but without concrete results.

The Soviet Union has not yet made any pronouncement on the new dispute over Macedonia, but it is unlikely that it would want to see any further segment of the Macedonian people inside the Yugoslav state, least of all while Tito is in his present independent mood. Tito has had to make concessions to his own Yugoslavs in the South, who have criticized him for "wanting to go too far" in help to the Greek rebels. In Communist controversies about South-East Europe, including the attitude of Moscow toward the Greek guerrillas and particularly toward Tito, the Macedonian issue plays a more significant part than has been comprehended in the West.

Worldover Press, 6/8/48.

THROUGH THE PRESS

EXPANDING MONSTER

Non-industrial staff employed in the Civil Service increased from 693,400 on April 1 to 715,300 on July 1.

Their number grew by 35,200 in seven months for the January 1 figure was 680,100.

The July total was made up of 694,900 whole-time and 40,800 part-time workers, two part-time workers being counted as one whole-time worker for statistical purposes.

On April 1, 1939, the total was 388,100.

Additional staffs in the Ministries of Food and National Insurance account for almost all the increase between April 1 and July 1.

The Food Ministry staff rose from 38,700 to 50,200 and that of the new Insurance Ministry was enlarged from 23,100 to 33,900—nearly double the January total of 17,600.

News Chronicle, 4/9/48.

MILITARY GLORY

One of the methods being used by the U.S. occupation forces to reduce venereal disease is to give plaques, with appropriate ceremonies, to units which fail to show any new case of infection in a 90-day period. D Troop of the 6th Squadron in Coburg was recently cited for this achievement, and at Schwabach the 53rd Constabulary Squadron won the 6th Regimental plaque for a number of accomplishments, among them "V.D." control. The 583rd Ordnance Ammunition Company, operating the Oberdachstettds Explosive Depot, for completing the 90-day period without a new "V.D." case, won a day's holiday from duty.

Worldover Press, 20/8/48.

DICTATOR SPEAKS

President Peron to-day warned political opponents that his patience was giving out, adding: "My voice will be firm when I order them to be hanged."

Reuter, 9/9/48.

GLASSHOUSE BOSS

What have they done to Shinwell at the War Office? Maybe it's because he is now the boss of the glasshouse that has stopped throwing stones.

News Chronicle, 7/9/48.

CENSORS OR SNOOPERS?

While the Washington spy hunt continues, one aspect of wartime handling of information by government functionaries goes unexplored. The generally intelligent wartime censorship of personal correspondence crossing the Mexican border into the U.S. nevertheless made it possible for a large number of Washington officials to know the contents of personal mail dealing with purely private matters. Contents of many private letters were copied and distributed in a mimeographed and widely-circulated "dossier".

A writer was introduced to a top official in the office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Said the

official inadvertently: "Oh, I know who you are—I've enjoyed reading a good many of your letters."

Worldover Press, 20/8/48.

MARSHALL AID NEEDED

Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing reported to President Truman:

1. Every year 325,000 Americans die because they can't afford a doctor.
2. Barely a fifth of the people can afford medical care.
3. The nation loses £6,750,000 through sickness each year.

News Chronicle, 3/9/48.

U.S. BOSSES CHEATING

Some violations of the minimum wage, overtime, and child-labour provisions of the Fair Labour Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act were found in more than one-half of the establishments in the Nation inspected during the year ending June 30th.

In announcing this 1948 fiscal year inspection result, Wm. R. McComb, Administrator of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, U.S. Department of Labour, pointed out that only 30,053 selected inspections were made. While 15,799 of the inspections showed violations of the three major provisions of the two Acts, McComb said this does not necessarily mean that the non-complying employers had been revealed to be in current or prolonged violation during the period of activities covered by the inspections.

Of the employers found in violation, 9,582 arranged to make restitution of \$4,256,761 in back wages to some 100,000 employees. About 90,000 of these employees were owed back wages because they had not received overtime compensation at the rate of time and one-half their regular rate of pay for work beyond 40 hours in a working week. However, approximately 12,000 were owed back wages because their employers had failed to pay them at least 40 cents an hour at sometime during the past two years.

Industrial Worker, 14/8/48.

SLAVE LABOUR

Increasing numbers of escaped slave workers from the uranium mines in Saxony are reaching Berlin, and special provision is being made to feed and house them.

Contrary to recent reports, conditions in the mines are not improving. There have been frequent beatings and recalcitrant prisoners have gone to Siberia from the punishment camp at Zwickau. Food has deteriorated and poor bread causes increasing sickness from stomach complaints. Russian medical control is arbitrary and ineffectual. There are still secret police and plain-clothes spies watching each shift.

Working conditions and equipment are desperately bad. There is a lack of clothing, and a high death-rate. So-called "Stalin parcels" now consist of special coupons to buy goods which are no longer available in the shops.

Manchester Guardian, 30/8/48.

FOR A RANK AND FILE NURSE MOVEMENT

THREE weeks ago a small group of nurses in South London disatisfied with both the reactionary policy of the Royal College of Nursing and the apathy and vacillation of the officials of the various unions published a leaflet criticising these bodies and calling upon all nurses, irrespective of sex or branch of work, to unite on a work-and-file basis to fight for better conditions.

The leaflet briefly stated our case as follows:—

Throughout London nurses are on the march in rebellion against the exploitation of their desire to serve humanity.

The rigid system of discipline by which nurses are dominated is outworn; the modern nurses resist the encroachment on her liberty.

Nurses are doing a good job of work upon which the future health of the citizens of this country depends. Upon the lever that nurses cannot leave their patients, the inhuman institution of pauper wages, excessive hours, petty restrictions and domestic discipline has been weighted.

It should not be a surprise therefore that nurses now make a break for ever with these intolerable conditions.

It is surprising, however, that the former betrayers of nurses are now coming forward as the new champions of the nurses' struggle. Union officials and Royal College of Nursing representatives clamber over each other to take the lead.

In 1935 George Gibson, on behalf of the trade unions advocated a 40-hour week for nurses. The "Limitation of Hours" Bill reached the second reading in the Commons, when Sir Francis Freeman of the Royal College of Nursing stated "to limit the hours of nurses would interfere with the nobility of their profession." The Bill was defeated by 12 votes.

When the Rushcliffe Committee was formed in 1938, only one demand was granted—one month's leave with pay.

The Rushcliffe Committee met once a month. Out of 500 anomalies which were put before them, they dealt with only about 5. When the Rushcliffe scale of wages was finally made law, the increase was then well below the rising economic standards.

The Rushcliffe Committee recom-

mended £15 per year increase for 5th July this year. When the 5th July came—Rushcliffe was gone!

BEVAN NOW OFFERS THE NURSES THE ORIGINAL £15!

This is after the increased National Insurance and superannuation has reduced the average wage of a student nurse to £1 2s. 9d. a week!

The latter wage applies to mental nurses who are better off than the General Nurse.

FELLOW NURSES.—The Royal College is seeking to divide us, saying that, as nurses, we are professionals and should not be united in a union. On the other hand, fat-salaried Union Officials are being forced to take action on our behalf. We have no confidence in either of these sets of officials.

Our aims to-day should be: to build our solid, basic contact units—the neurones of our nursing body! Solidarity through direct contact at the bottom, thus ensuring mutual aid. The enforcement of true representation on the Whitney Committee. Loyalty to each other irrespective of sex or branch of work.

That the views expressed above also represented those of a very wide section of ordinary nurses was obvious by its reception when distributed among the Health Service workers at Hyde Park last month. A platform erected near the mass meeting just as it closed soon attracted a crowd

of the more militant minded workers who were able to use it as a forum in open debate with their colleagues.

The bulletin *Purgative*, which has arisen out of this meeting is likewise intended as an open forum where all members of the nursing profession can freely exchange news and ideas.

We believe that there is a real demand for a genuine rank and file paper amongst nurses and other hospital workers. A bulletin written by nurses for nurses, whose columns can be laid open for discussion on every aspect of the profession and where our detailed demands can be set forth.

Nurses do not strike, for the patient is not the enemy. The strength of any action we may wage is dependent upon our ability to win public support for our demands. Our aim is to build up a federation of the rank-and-file, irrespective of sex and branch of work as well as the unions to which they belong, thus ensuring mutual aid and militant action throughout the whole health service.

Towards a federation of nursing groups throughout the country, controlled by the rank and file. Link with each other by communicating with: RECEPTOR, 274, Hillcross Avenue, Morden, Surrey.

Intellectuals Peace Talks

THE recent Congress of Intellectuals

held at Wroclav—formerly called Breslau—provides an interesting example of certain political methods. It has been said that it is right for intellectuals to try and influence politics, especially by seeking to imbue them with their own special virtues of respect for truth and intellectual honesty. With equal justice it has been said that intellectuals are guilty of a shameful treason when they allow the politicians to use them and permit intellectual dealings to become muddled with the especial vices of politics—intellectual dishonesty and complete disregard for truth. The intellectuals gathered at Wroclav were guilty of this treason.

How Easily They Are Fooled

The Russians may well be contemptuous of Western intellectuals—they so easily permit themselves to be used. Most of those attending were men who had shown themselves critical of imperialism. Now that's all very good in itself. But such people ought to know better than to cheer when they hear Imperialism denounced by Russian Imperialists; they are merely contemptible when they agree to denunciations of the lack of Freedom under American Fascism coming from representatives of the regime which maintains the largest army of concentration camps the world has ever seen. And so on. It is not intellectually honest to applaud when one gangster denounces another.

These intellectuals signed the final resolution with many of them admitting that they did not believe the general assumptions of the Congress, but apparently unwilling to disagree with the vague proposals of good will offered. For them the right course was clearly that taken by Mr. Taylor—to get up and defend the truth. And that means also saying the things that were so carefully not said behind the Iron Curtain. Kingsley Martin, in his *New Statesman* Report naively exposes the feebleness of the fellow travellers, some of whom were delighted with Taylor's speech, in which he mentioned Yugoslavia, indicated that other countries had fought against Hitler besides Russia, and generally refused to swallow the official Russian tone. One fellow traveller said to Kingsley Martin, "Of course, I didn't agree with all Mr. Taylor said, but by God it needed saying! Why then didn't the fellow travellers say it too?"

The Function of Congress

The aims of the congress officially were to promote the bonds of peace. But these intellectuals realized right from the start that there were other aims. The redoubtable Mr. Taylor, for example, tells us that the Polish Government had a practical political object: alarmed by the reluctance of the Western Powers to recognise the Oder-Neisse Line, they wished to establish the world fame of the 'ancient Polish city' of Wroclav and to blot out all recollection of Breslau.

For the Russians the practical object was to strengthen their Fifth columns among the fellow travellers of the West, and to show the world that Anglo-American Imperialism is denounced even by its own intellectuals, etc., etc. One wishes that the same could be said of Russian Intellectuals.

Soviet Genetics

It would be unfair to close without congratulating Julian Huxley for raising the question of the purges in Russian sciences, especially with regard to Soviet genetics. (Professor Haldane, by contrast, was almost fawningly abject before the Party Line.) But what is one to think of Picasso who attended despite his apparent disillusionment with the French Communist Party, despite his being denounced as a degenerate in the best Munich style, and despite the present purge of Soviet painters? Could he not have raised his voice against the denial of artistic freedom which has made an aesthetic desert of Russia?

The behaviour of the German intellectual before the Nazis was, with some heroic exceptions, fairly contemptible. At least they had fear of Dachau in their minds. The attitude of Western intellectuals before Russian authoritarianism is far more contemptible, for they have not such practical fear before them—yet.

T.U. CONGRESS

(Continued from page 1)
times chosen among trade union leaders but their first loyalty must be to the government and not the workers.

When the T.U.C. wakes-up

The only two questions on which the Congress showed some semblance of militancy were the question of unofficial strikes and that of Communist infiltration. There at last T.U. leaders could let themselves go without fear of giving offence to politicians in power or to big capitalists. The Communists provided them with an ideal scape-goat. The attacks against them varied from the veiled allusions of Miss Florence Hancock to the fiery speech of Mr. Deakin against the W.F.T.U. "which is rapidly becoming another platform of Soviet policy".

Unofficial strikes, it was plainly hinted, are the work of Communist infiltrators, of agents of a foreign power. In this manner the real grievances of the workers were discredited and brushed aside and a resolution was passed condemning unofficial strikes as "the disloyal activities of small fractions of the movement which are ignoring constitutional practice and thereby undermining trade union solidarity". The resolution was passed by a large majority. The delegates being mostly local officials and members of committees, and not rank-and-file members, felt directly threatened. Unofficial strikes are a direct attack to their privileged position and they are determined to maintain discipline in the T.U. movement and crush those shop-stewards and strike committees which are genuinely representing the interests of the workers.

A Concrete Proposal

OUR appeal to comrades and sympathisers for £900 to put Freedom Press on a sound footing, appeared in the issue of "Freedom" for August 7th. In one month, then, we have received just under £200 and if the present rate of progress can be maintained it will take us a further four months to raise the necessary amount. But we must not be blind to the fact that half the £200 so far received was contributed by one reader, and unless we can expect to receive three similar amounts during the next three months our calculations of four months will seem optimistic. We believe we have a few readers who could follow V.T.'s gesture and we hope our appeal does not fall on deaf ears!

But we do not want to rely on those large individual contributions, nor do we think there is any justification for those comrades who can afford only small amounts to feel that their contributions will make little difference to the position of our finances. The vast majority of our readers are working people who have little money over at the end of the week. But if 500 of them resolved to each send a weekly contribution of only one shilling, our fund would benefit at the rate of £100 a month. Now, a concrete proposal on these lines has come from a London reader, R.D., who writes:

"Although I am not an Anarchist, I am sufficiently in sympathy with your ideals to view with grave concern the prospect of any diminution of your activities solely

through the chronic financial poverty of your organisation.

"I feel that your main need lies in a guaranteed income on which FREEDOM PRESS can rely through both bad times and good. As a small token towards that end, and as I hope an incentive to comrades with larger incomes I will promise to send you 5/- a month for the next 12 months. I will double this amount if 50 readers of FREEDOM will do likewise."

Are there 50 comrades willing to follow R.D.'s lead? We would venture to suggest that there are many more, and we hope that during the coming week our optimism will be justified by your support.

SPECIAL APPEAL

3rd List to Sept. 10th

Barry: V.H. 10/-; Gt. Yarmouth: L.F.B. £1/13/0; Hoddesdon: A.L. 4/-; Bardney: W.A.L. 10/-; Paris: M. & L. £1/11/6; London: V.T. (per V.R.) £100; London: A Friend £5; Stamford: F.P.H. 5/-; Glasgow: J. McL. 10/-; London: W.H.T. 1/6; Cambridge: C.L.D. 5/-; Fulham: W.E.D. 6/-; London: Anon 1/6; London: D.C.M. 1/-; London: R.D. 6/6; London: C.W. 1/-; London: A.M. 3/-; London: J.P.B. 5/6; Arran: N.M. 11/6; Glasgow: J.D. 2/6; Thornton Heath: L.H. 1/6; London: G.M. £1; Long Eaton: F.M. 2/-; Liverpool: H.S. £1; Derby: A.F. 1/6; London: E.L.M. 5/-; New Earswick: H.A.A. 12/-; Castle Douglas: M. & J.A. 5/-; London: W.R. 4/-; Oxford: B.E.H. 15/-; Coleman's Hatch: D.M. £1; O.M. £4; Macclesfield: H.W. 11/6; Cardiff: H.L.D. 11/3; Glasgow: J.T. 11/6; Colchester: W.M. 9/-; Withersna: J.D. 10/-; London: P.B. 3/6.

£124 11 3

Previously acknowledged 67 12 4

TOTAL TO DATE ... £192 3 7

Anarchist Summer School

THE third annual Summer School of the Union of Anarchist Groups was held at Glasgow on the 21st and 22nd of August and continued on the Isle of Arran the following week. About thirty comrades were present at the opening session held at the Clarion Fellowship Halls on Saturday morning. John Gaffney, as chairman, welcomed the visitors and outlined the programme of activities in Glasgow. Saturday and Sunday mornings were to be devoted to U.A.G. business, the afternoons to open lectures and discussions, Saturday evening to social activities, and Sunday evening to a public meeting in the Central Halls.

Saturday morning was accordingly spent in reviewing the past year's activities, and members from groups in Glasgow, Chorley, Liverpool, Manchester, Portsmouth, and London spoke of the work done in their groups and of future activities. Several comrades put forward the view that the work of propaganda must be developed in three directions: sale of literature, open air propaganda, social activities. Many useful suggestions were put forward both regarding the distribution and the contents of *Freedom*. A comrade expressed the wish to see more articles in the paper with concrete ideas on the social organisation of a free society and suggested that such theme should form a basis for letters to the editors. A member of the Freedom Press Group pointed out that *Freedom* would welcome more letters from readers. Often they have published the most controversial articles, but have heard nothing, either of agreement or protest from readers of the paper. He also mentioned that readers could be of very great help to the paper in providing information on the struggle in their own industries, and in giving factual news of local industrial problems and disputes. When the paper first appeared on 8 pages, it was intended that the back page should be the "Movement Page", but news was not forthcoming from the groups. Regular reports would be an encouragement to further activities. On the question of articles putting forward concrete ideas on the social organisation of the future society a comrade pointed out that we must beware of the blue-print mentality. Anarchism is not a political philosophy and its aims are not political aims. What is needed is revolutionary preparedness. Industrial workers must prepare themselves for taking over control of their own jobs. In Italy various groups of workers are studying the structure and the technical problems of their industries from this point of view. But neither *Freedom* nor any other propaganda body can do this,—

it must be done by the people concerned. After lunch on Saturday, Eddie Shaw took the chair for lectures on aspects of anarchism by Alfred Booth of Chorley and Mat Kavanagh. A stimulating discussion followed, and the evening was left free for social activities.

On Sunday morning, John Gaffney as chairman, led a continuation of the discussion on means of propaganda and in the afternoon there were lectures by Stephen Marletta on Non-Violent Resistance and by Eddie Shaw on Altruism and Egoism, Mutual Aid and Individualism. Vigorous argument followed both these talks and the session concluded with a brief discussion on next year's Summer School. While some comrades were in favour of holding it in Paris, it was generally thought that more people would be able to attend it if it were held in Lancashire. The comrades present expressed their satisfaction with this year's summer school and their gratitude to the Glasgow comrades for their organisation and hospitality. The Summer School closed with a public meeting at the Central Halls on Sunday evening. Frank Leech was in the chair, Mat Kavanagh, Tony Gibson, Philip Sansom and Eddie Shaw addressed an enthusiastic audience of about 400 people.

The following day, twenty-one comrades left Glasgow to spend a week on week on the Isle of Arran where they had ample opportunity for further discussion and the exchange of ideas. This year's summer school has not only had the effect of encouraging isolated comrades to form groups in their locality but has strengthened the bonds of comradeship among those who attended it. The presence of German and French comrades was particularly welcomed and it to be hoped that next year more comrades from the Continent will be able to join us.

FREEDOM Anarchist Fortnightly Price 3d.

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

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed and payable, and addressed to the publishers.

FREEDOM PRESS
27 Red Lion Street
London, W.C.1 England
Tel: Chancery 8354.

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
Sunday, September 26th, at 7.30 p.m.

Tony Gibson:
"Blue-prints and Social Revolution"
OCT. 3rd Tony Weaver
"Education and Non-violence"
OCT. 10th Marjorie Mitchell
"Mutual Aid in the light of modern theories of evolution"
OCT. 17th Sean Gannon
"Ireland since 1922"

NORTH EAST LONDON

Next Meeting: Sept. 21st.
Comrades interested should ring WAN 2396

LIVERPOOL

Public Meeting at Cooper's Hall, Shaw Street, Sunday, October 10th at 7.30 p.m.
Speaker: Mat Kavanagh.

Open Discussion Meetings held every Tuesday at 7.30 in Central Liverpool.
Comrades interested ring Royal 4669.

BRISTOL

Public Meeting
Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, 7p.m.,
OCTOBER 5th Tom Carlisle
"The Wage System and the Worker"

BIRMINGHAM

Discussion Meeting at
Dick Sheppard House, 36, Holloway Head.
Subject: "Sex and Anarchism"
Sunday, September 26th at 7 p.m.

YORKSHIRE

Will readers in the Catterick—Wakefield—Darlington area of Yorkshire interested in forming a Group communicate their names and addresses to Freedom Press.

HULL

Anyone interested in the formation of an Anarchist Group in the Hull area please communicate with Freedom Press.

STOCKPORT

Readers interested in forming a Group in Stockport please write to: James R. Howes, 43, Swithamley Road, Cheadle Heath, Stockport.