

Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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Threepence

Russian Imperialism

How Menacing is it?

FACED with the accomplished fact of Communist success in China it may be that the government has had no other choice than to accept the situation. Yet the equanimity of the Western powers in the face of this new situation has indeed been remarkable. In appearance the extension of Russian influence into Eastern Europe and China gives a new access of power to the leaders of the Soviet Union; but it is as well to give consideration to certain other aspects of the development of Russian imperialism which are less regarded.

The extension of British influence overseas during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries provided an enormous access of power to the British ruling class. Not merely was great wealth extracted from overseas empire, but the export of industrial goods and industrial capital provided an immense stimulus to the development of home industry, against which the difficulties of imposing colonial rule on newly-subject peoples provided only small offsetting disadvantages. The situation is quite different for Russia, still a comparatively unindustrialised state unable to fill the demands of its home economy adequately, much less supply the industrial needs of an increasing number of satellite countries in the colonial manner.

Moreover, whereas it was once easy for Britain to maintain an economic stranglehold on subject countries without the need for a large administration for direct political subjugation, Russian imperialism has to rely on armies of occupation, utterly subservient quisling governments, or a highly organised and loyal political police (or all three). In such circumstances considerable dilution of Russian power occurs with each acquisition of territory. It may be that considerations such as these lie behind the apparent unconcern with which American ruling circles regard the acquisition by Soviet Union of such a vast territory as North—and perhaps also South China.

Problems of Transport

Nor does the reverse side of the picture end there. One of the great difficulties which Kaiser Wilhelm II had to face in the pursuit of German imperialist ambitions was that of transport. For that reason the Berlin-Baghdad railway became a political objective of the first importance. But while he was struggling with the almost insuperable difficulties of overland transport to the Middle East, the British were in a position to send an almost unlimited quantity of shipping through the Mediterranean. Sea power is still of overwhelming importance in the successful development of overseas empire.

Now, in the case of China, the problem of transport is simply vast in its extent and complexity. Overland solutions to the problem can scarcely be achieved within fifty years—a long time at the modern political pace. So even if China is overrun by the

Communist Party, and even supposing that Russian industry was able to supply the needs and reap the profits, it still remains true that the supplying of China with industrial goods and capital is still easier for a maritime power like the United States—or even Great Britain. Meanwhile the weakness of Chinese economy makes it easy for any power trading with it to interfere in internal affairs simply by manipulating its needs for overseas supplies.

Security for the Older Imperialisms

In the light of such considerations as these, the Western

powers may well be reflecting that the failure of napoleonic France, and both Imperial and Nazi Germany to shake the position of the older and firmly established imperial powers, is likely to be repeated by the renaissance Russian imperialism of Stalin. Indeed, political leaders in the West no doubt feel confident that, as in the past, a new attempt to shake Anglo-American world hegemony may only succeed in establishing it all the more firmly.

Such prospects are doubtless cheering enough for experienced imperialists; for workers all over the world they only darken the outlook still further. To be involved in struggles which only end in establishing the yoke of imperialism still more firmly than ever is dreary indeed. As such prospects become clearer the revolutionary solutions advanced by Utopian Anarchists and "dreamers" may gradually be seen to be practical, though they will never be easy.

Shades of Nazi Germany in Democratic America

ONE cannot too often draw the public's attention to cases of racialism whether here or in other countries, and in cases where official institutions are responsible for racialism, the responsibility of the individual citizen in acquiescing or feigning ignorance at what is happening, is even greater.

MORE ABOUT WORLD CITIZEN

IN spite of the campaign of silence in the British Press, Gary Davis, who renounced American citizenship to become a citizen of the world, continues to attract public attention and a big "Press" in France, the centre for his activities. Recently, an international mass meeting was held at the Velodrome d'Hiver in Paris which was attended by nearly 20,000 people. Among the speakers, we were interested to see the name of Carlo Levi, author of that fascinating and moving study of life in Southern Italy, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, which many reviewers considered an "anarchist book".

Just before Christmas, Gary Davis received more publicity by obtaining an interview with the President of the French Republic. He was accompanied by three members of his French "committee of solidarity". The purpose of the visit was to explain to the President why they attached so much importance to Mr. Davis remaining in France and asked him for his good will and assistance. This was necessary because according to a statement read by Gary Davis, he had declined on principle to ask the French police for a prolongation of his *permis de séjour*, though he would abide by the country's laws as long as he remained in France.

At a later stage it would be both useful and interesting to make a detailed study of the Davis campaign, because it is undeniable that he has succeeded in putting his message across and of winning wide support and sympathy.

There have been two cases in America recently where the State has played its part in support of racialism. The first is that of a certain David Knight of Mississippi, aged 23, who married, and who was later arrested because it was alleged that he was a Negro and his wife a white woman. It had been discovered by an enemy that Knight's great-grandmother was a Negro slave-girl. Through succeeding generations the Knights had married white men or women. Davis Knight's own parents had not known of the Negro strain in their ancestry.

For this crime, miscegenation, Knight was sentenced to 5 years in jail.

The important point to note in this case is that in Mississippi there is a law making it a crime for a coloured man to marry a white woman. Therefore legally one cannot do anything about the savage sentence. But what of those Americans who have been fed on the horrors of racialism in Nazi Germany, and the cases of men and women being debarred from public life, etc., because they had a Jewish grandfather or other distant relative with "Jewish blood", and who yet tolerate exactly the same kind of legislation being used

THE BUS STRIKE

New Methods Are Necessary

THE usual calumnies are being levelled at the busmen of London by all sections of the press for their having dared to strike on Saturday afternoon. Heart-rending stories are told of housewives walking for miles in the rain loaded with shopping and of the thousands deprived of the pleasure of standing in the rain watching football.

The fact that 40,000 busmen might have had the opportunity of seeing football matches which they otherwise would not have seen, was not mentioned. All the press did was to pick upon a few unhappy incidents and present them as an over-all picture of a miserable London. Neither did any journalist seem to think that Lord Latham, London Transport boss, had behaved other than reasonably in flatly turning down the busmen's claim. And the claim is supported by the union, too, although the strike is not.

That the men have a legitimate case is fairly obvious, and it takes only a few minutes' conversation with any busman to find out more about it. But what is also obvious is that the partial nature of the strike makes it unlikely to succeed, and that in any case it is time the busmen learned from experience and tried other forms of direct action to fight the boss without alienating the sympathy of the public.

The men's case is that, because Saturday is the busiest day of the week, they always have to work in the afternoon and although, if they are not on the early shift, the time is part of their 44-hour week, they feel they should be paid time-and-a-half for Saturday afternoon work. What many of them really want is not to work on Saturday afternoon at all, but if they do, on a fair rota, to be suitably recompensed.

Three Saturdays a Year

On present working, busmen are likely to get about three Saturday afternoons free per year. When they are working the early shift—i.e., from 5 a.m. to about

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

HERBERT SPENCER.

"The workers have no native country."

AUGUST BEBEL (1870)

2 p.m., they are usually ordered to work on, and are, of course, paid overtime at time-and-a-half. But they would rather have the leisure, and apparently the union has been striving for years to have established a regular system of rota, whereby busmen worked their 44 hours and had the right to finish work whether their week ended on Saturday or not. One conductor I spoke to thought that the recent reduction of hours from 48 to 44 was a mistake. He would have preferred a 5-day week, even of 48 hours, on a regular 5 days on—2 days off arrangement.

But the Board will not accept this and have stubbornly refused any alteration in scheduling which would give the busmen greater freedom at the week-ends.

Another source of irritation since the strike began, is the publication by some papers of inflated figures as the wages earned by busmen. What these papers have obviously done is to publish the wages busmen can earn with overtime, without mentioning that this is above the basic wage. Thus the men are made out to be earning anything up to £1 a week more than they really are—with the consequent lessening of public sympathy for them.

What Chances for the Strike?

The chances of this strike succeeding, however, are not particularly bright. For one thing, it is not complete even as far as the buses, trams and trolley-buses go, and the Underground is operating exactly as usual. The union tactic of separating the workers up into neat little water-tight compartments is here shown at its best. Although about 85% of the road transport stopped running, while the trains continued, obviously the real effect was not felt. It is no use one section of London Transport coming out while another section virtually act as strike-breakers.

At those garages and depots where the busmen continued working, they did so not because they did not agree with the causes, but because their past experience of striking has discouraged them with the strike as a weapon—and in view of the fragmentary nature of London Transport strikes in the past, that is not very surprising. They should realise, however, that a weapon must be used properly before its efficiency is judged.

The Strike an Effective Weapon

There is no doubt whatever that in a place like London the strike can be a terribly effective weapon if properly organised and conceived. The long distances to be covered, the vast crowds to be moved, all make the life of London absolutely dependent upon transport. Stop that, and the whole town is brought to a standstill. But it must be completely stopped. Buses, trams, trolleys, coaches, trains, taxis—stop all these for half a day and see how dependent upon its humble workers our great city is!

But other methods of striking at the boss must be developed. One way—we have suggested it before—is for the workers to work the transport, but to take no fares. This immediately puts the public on the side of the strikers! And hits the employers where they feel it most.

These other methods, however, must be worked out the men themselves. One good feature of the present strike is that each garage has its own strike committee and is perfectly autonomous. It can decide whether or not to strike, but obviously to be effective the strike must be 100%. London's busmen have not much to learn about solidarity—but that must be learned!

LATER

SINCE the above was written, two developments have occurred. Mr. Strauss, the Minister of Labour, has been approached to intervene in the dispute and, more important, Lord Latham has issued dismissal notices to all busmen failing to work next Saturday afternoon.

LATER STILL

Strike threat withdrawn.

THE growth in popularity of detective novels since the days of Sherlock Holmes, until this type of fiction has reached the top of the book market, represents a phenomenon which has not yet been adequately discussed from the sociological point of view, and particularly from that of the libertarian critic. Some years ago, George Orwell wrote an illuminating essay entitled *Ethics of the Detective Story*, which, unfortunately, turned its spotlight not on detective stories proper, but on a completely distinct phenomenon, the crime thriller, a novel in which the criminal and not the detective is the hero. But, apart from one or two interesting articles from Julian Symons, himself a detective story writer, I have encountered no penetrating critical work on this extremely influential form of writing.

I think I might well begin these very brief notes by a consideration of the difference between what I have called the "crime thriller" and the detective story proper. The "crime thriller" is concerned primarily with the criminal; he and his act form the central theme of the book, and the activities of the representatives of the law are only incidental to his triumph or his tragedy. As will be readily seen, a category of this type lends itself to various kinds of treatment, and "crime thrillers" can range from sadistic and socially harmful books like *No Orchids for Miss Blandish*, in which the appeal is wholly to destructive emotions in the reader, to novels in which the theme is the essentially sound one of the social misfit and his struggle against an alien society, with the theme of pursuit becoming dominant. On this verge of the thriller we find the books of such conscious writers as Graham Greene, and it is interesting to note that this class of writing has a libertarian ancestry, since the first genuine crime thriller, complete with its struggle of the individual against a hostile society and theme of relentless pursuit, was Godwin's *Caleb Williams*.

The basic attitude behind the thriller can therefore be either harmful or essentially sound in its implications. That behind the detective novel is, to my mind, wholly harmful, and it is made all the more so by the insidious influence of a remarkable suggestive technique.

The detective novel is characterised by the dominance of the theme of detection. A crime has been committed; the hero of the book sets out to track down the criminal. As in the "thriller" the theme of pursuit and suspense are there, but they are subordinated to an intellectual pattern, and the "sympathy" of the novel always lies with the detective, either an official representative of authority or an amateur who represents the revengeful normality of the collective.

The influence of the detective novel is made all the more dominant in that the essential basis is always an in-

tellectual problem of the kind which gives relaxation and exercise to many people. It is the kind of problem which lay at the basis of the intrigue plays so fashionable in the 16th and 17th centuries, which is used in the characteristic intellectual game of chess, which appears in the crossword puzzle and similar mental exercises. But in the detective novel, unlike these other forms, this basic intellectual problem is subtly linked to a collective authoritarian view of society as a whole pursuing and destroying the recalcitrant misfit.

The effect of the detective novel is made all the stronger in that its fairly constant intellectual pattern, with the need for economy of writing and presence of mind, have given it a technical quality usually absent in other classes of modern literature. Having read a score of detective novels in recent months, I have been deeply impressed by the level of per-

formance; for sheer craftsmanship, the best detective novels are certainly far above the ordinary run of fiction published in this country to-day. But this fact, while it may make such books interesting from a point of view of mere writing, gives them all the more ability to represent an authoritarian standpoint. I do not say that all detective story writers are lacking in social consciousness; some of the Americans, like Raymond Chandler, give interesting sidelights on the corruption of the legal and police systems, but it is still from the standpoint of the collective, of authoritarian morality exposing authoritarian immorality. Similarly, in England a number of detective story writers are distinguished Socialist intellectuals;

they include G. D. H. Cole and Margaret Cole, Raymond Postgate and Julian Symons. But this fact is even more significant of the authoritarian nature of the detective story, since the socialist vision of an ordered and obedient collective give all the more point to the pursuit by its representatives of those who do not conform.

In the detective story the criminal is usually a murderer or a big-scale thief; his acts and his character are generally such as are likely to recruit our sympathies against him. But we should not be put off by this unpleasant exterior or by the sympathy which the writer rouses in us for the ingenious detective with his chess-players' mind. Under the disguises,

the fundamental theme is that of you, I, or any other individual who might decide to step outside the collective pattern, and the way in which society will eliminate the diversion.

These notes do not intend to present an adequate criticism; a large volume would be needed. They are merely to draw attention to a powerful means of literary propaganda by which the intellectual claims of the established order are put to the reading public in a particularly insidious way. Whatever our personal opinion of detective fiction, we cannot get away from the fact that millions of people read it, and that its effect combines with that of newspaper, radio and other propaganda methods to reinforce the general reaction of obedience to the demands of official society.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

A Libertarian Opera

It has often been observed that works of art produced for specifically propaganda purposes are seldom aesthetically satisfying. (The exhibition of paintings by David, the painter of the French Revolution, now showing at the Tate Gallery, is perhaps an example.) But it is not often realized how much social and political questions are woven into the structure of certain operas. Beaumarchais' satire on the French ancien régime, *The Marriage of Figaro* was used by Mozart in an opera in which the silliness and shallowness of the life of the leisure class was most forcibly represented. In *Don Giovanni* conventional morality is treated in the most disrespectful way, while *Così fan tutte* satirizes the life of the upper class in a quite hilarious manner. It is true that Beethoven criticised Mozart for setting such "frivolous" librettos, but one feels that what Beethoven objected to was the light-hearted and unserious way in which Mozart dealt with important subjects, not that he disapproved of lampooning ruling class ways of life. Indeed, he probably felt that Mozart did not go far enough. For the *Magic Flute*, in which Mozart conveyed subversive masonic ideas in a more or less concealed way, Beethoven had nothing but praise.

Beethoven's own opera, *Fidelio*, now being played at Covent Garden in an excellently clear English version by Prof.

Edward Dent, is political through and through. It is concerned with the rescue of a political prisoner, Florestan, by his wife Leonora, and is based on an actual incident occurring in France under the Terror. It was intensely topical therefore in Beethoven's own day, and is perhaps even more so to-day. Yet it is astonishing to find that very few opera-goers realize the political implications of the score. It may be that the comparative unpopularity of this greatest and most moving of all operas comes from a failure to understand the issues involved, and perhaps a certain disappointment that the love element is treated in a serious and fully adult way—in striking contrast to the usual romantic and theatrical thinness of general opera repertory.

Trouble with the Censor

The fact that the opera deals with political imprisonment and treats the prisoners themselves in an entirely sympathetic way (they are never regarded as criminals but always as unfortunate who have been deprived of their liberty) made difficulties with the Viennese censors right at the start, and it was first refused a licence. It was only after most strenuous representations on the part of the librettist, Sonnleithner, that the refusal was revoked. The singer who brought the opera to high esteem with the German public,

Wilhelmine Schroeder-Devrient, later took a prominent part in the German revolutions of 1848.

But the political vicissitudes of *Fidelio* have not yet ended, for it was banned in Belgrade during the 1939 war because of its subversive subject; and it is highly doubtful if it finds a welcome place in countries where the G.P.U. operates.

To turn to the treatment of the subject by Beethoven. It has often been pointed out that Leonora, the heroic wife who enters the prison service disguised as Fidelio, is not the emotional centre of the work; that place is reserved for Florestan. He has been imprisoned for two years, and we learn that he fought for truth and spoke it too freely. He is kept in solitary confinement, and when Fidelio tries to draw information from the gaoler Rocco (a materialist who urges the need to place one's faith in gold), and suggests that he must therefore be a very terrible criminal, the latter cynically retorts "or else he has powerful enemies—it's much the same thing!"

It would be out of place here to try and describe the depth and emotional power with which the personal relationship of Florestan and Fidelio-Leonora are treated. We have already pointed out that Beethoven speaks in a fully adult way, and on the evidence of this work alone one feels that Beethoven's own difficulty in establishing a satisfactory sexual relationship arose from the fact that he understood the seriousness of the sexual problems too well to be satisfied with anything short of his ideas and ideals.

Prisons and Prisoners

But it will be in place to touch on the treatment accorded to the general prisoners who provide the chorus for the opera. At the end of the first act, Leonora arranges for them to be let out to exercise in the garden of the prison, ostensibly to enable her to scrutinize each prisoner in the hope of finding her husband. But in Beethoven's hands this detail of mere plot becomes completely submerged in his absorption in the emotional response of the prisoners themselves to the open air and sunlight. The opening music as they totter out of the darkness of the cells half-blinded by the unaccustomed daylight is unforgettable moving. Indeed, the whole chorus of prisoners comes near to being emotionally the most powerful passage in the whole opera. For those who have experienced the deprivation of freedom which is prison, Beethoven's sympathy and insight seems little short of miraculous, and this scene provides an emotional experience unlike any other in the whole realms of music.

The attitude of the composer and librettist to the prisoners is made quite explicit in the words of their chorus, in which they say that "a prison is a grave". And in a passage in which they cry "Oh, freedom, freedom, will it yet be ours—Be silent, never speak that word, here we are watched and overheard", the reiterated whispering of the word "freedom" becomes almost obsessional.

Writers and reformers have inveighed against the squalor of prison, have even achieved mitigations of the rigours visited upon prisoners; but no one has captured and clearly stated the central fact of prison—the loss of personal liberty, which no privileges and concessions can mitigate—so well as Beethoven in this chorus.

Fidelio's theme, which is freedom and the iniquity of depriving men of it, becomes in Beethoven's hands the most moving and deeply emotional experience in opera. But to audiences who never think about such problems it no doubt seems rather bewildering. Perhaps it is significant that the more expensive seats at Covent Garden have been virtually empty, even though the cheaper ones have been packed. It is difficult to believe that a work of this kind can fail to leave a permanent impression, however inarticulate, in the hearts of those who hear it, unless they are utterly committed to the superficialities of leisured society. At all events, for those who have ears to hear, it is a tremendous experience.

ERIC THACKER.

Controversy on 'The Standards of Humanity'

A Christian Viewpoint

DEAR FRIENDS,

Is it not true that the libertarian way of judging any approach to ethics is by deciding whether it will be effective in helping human beings towards a healthier, freer, mode of life? If all those who uphold the scientific view were of the moral calibre of Alex Comfort, and others near to the anarchist movement, I, for one, could feel happier about the claim of science to reveal a basis for social behaviour. I am far from condemning the scientific view on the strength of the social examples of Haldane and company, (I intend to suggest a non-rational alternative and am conscious of my own vulnerability in a similar way), but I, nevertheless, challenge its claim to hold, even potentially, the secret of knowledge necessary for healthy human conduct.

I hold that the search for ethical standard, if that standard is to be an inward and vital one and not an external

code, is inseparable from the search for the true basis of human existence. Science would say in effect: Human existence only has meaning in the light of natural evolution. Against this I would affirm the belief that natural evolution only takes on meaning in the light of human existence. These are not two ways of saying the same thing! Science has yet to learn the lesson which the greatest philosophers and theologians have learned with humility; namely, that there is a mystery inherent in being as to its primary source. A mystery which can never finally be rationalised. It is true that reason tends to hypostasize the mystery, but unless one is to reject reason completely, which nobody (certainly not the Christian) wishes to do, I cannot see how a hypostasis can be avoided. In Christianity it is essentially a *personal*

hypostasis—and therein lies its positive and eternal value for mankind and the universe.

One naturally tends to confine one's application of ethical standards to the moral decisions that face one personally. It is, however, all too easy to evolve an approach to ethics which, though it may help its author considerably, will be of little use to other people. One might be inclined to say: Leave each man to form his own basis for conduct, if he needs to do it explicitly, since that is preferable to submerging individual responsibility in a form of mass-morality! But most anarchists, I suppose, would agree with the modern libertarian view that it of little use liberating human beings from outward codes, unless an attempt is also made to educate them, with all the complex problems that this entails, so as to assist them to live together in free and healthy community. The question I should like to put is not whether that education should be largely scientific or not; (it would be quite reactionary to deny that science must play a leading part in the creation of a free community) but whether science, even with the magnificent abundance of useful conclusions it affords to mankind, can penetrate deep enough to uncover the secret of transforming *society* into *community*. A moral sense which was merely the product of society might help men to *associate* in a world freed from outward authority; but would it enable them to commune one with another? Science has not solved the primary secret of the human personality; and the nature of personality is such that I doubt if it ever will. Further, I do not think it desirable that it should!

Knowledge is the basis of morality. That is an obvious pre-supposition. But knowledge is of two kinds—explicit and implicit. There is a sense in which explicit knowledge becomes implicit; but it is a necessarily limited sense. If personality, the essence of "human-ness", could become the object, wholly, of explicit knowledge, it would lose its true meaning, which is rooted in the unsearchable mystery of being, and the triumph of the bee-hive society would be assured! Knowledge of the ultimate personal mystery is reached by communion, and not by analysis. An essentially religious truth! *God* is this supra-rational

mystery—not to be identified with the "Ultimate Good" of the agnostics, and still less with the "God" of State morality who hovers in a heaven directly above Westminster Abbey!

Science tends to regard all existence as potentially accessible to rational analysis. All can be known—explicitly; and presumably the subconscious assurance instilled by an expanding objective knowledge can provide a basis for healthy, creative, free society.

I rather believe that man would soon become the slave of his knowledge if that were so!

I hold the view that rational analysis is always *secondary* in the quest for knowledge of human nature. The creative reorientation of the personality, which I consider to be *primary* in any approach to ethics, is the task of poets and artists, and not of scientists. Comfort's own efficacy as a poet is not dependent on his scientific knowledge, of that I am sure. Even in the service of liberty, scientific research needs to be systematised. Not so poetry; which in its deepest and widest sense can help to establish the revolutionary morality which is necessary to smash the rigid framework of convention. The superficial "shock tactics" suggested by one of your recent contributors cannot strike deep enough to achieve any fundamental reorientation.

A poetic-religious symbolism such as Martin Buber introduces in "I and Those", is tremendously penetrating—and does not depend on scientific knowledge for its effect on the reader. It belongs to the realm of mystical thought; even to a branch of mystical exegesis—this I do not wish to deny, since the fact heightens, rather than decreases its value. As such, it urges active, living interpretation. It is impossible to interpret it in terms of external moral imperatives.

This, I feel, is what poetry should strive to be. A kind of language which bursts the framework of ordinary speech—and opens up the ways to *communion* of personalities.

The fulfilled personality contains the vital synthesis of *individual* and *collective*, without submerging the one in the other. This is a synthesis alien to rationalism, and one that forms the only true basis for a *community* of human beings. This established, there is no need to rely on the findings of psychology, or any other branch of rational science, in deciding "the right thing to do".

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COMMUNIST NATIONALISM

THE Tito-Cominform dispute has among other things, cast some doubts about the validity of the Communist thesis on the problem of nationalism. This is of some significance since Marshal Stalin himself is, and was, considered the leading Bolshevik authority on the national question and as such was appointed Commissar for the Oppressed Nationalities after the October Revolution.

According to the Stalinist school of thought, nationalism is a manifestation of bourgeois capitalism, whose leaders have a vested interest in fanning national antagonisms in order to keep apart the peoples of various countries. National conflicts and State disputes are therefore insoluble within

the framework of the present non-Socialist society and can only be solved when, as in Russia, the Communist-led proletariat, supported by the workers of the whole world, has seized the State machinery and expropriated the means of production. It is, according to Soviet propaganda, one of the greatest achievements of the U.S.S.R. in the late war that, thanks to the victories of the Red Army, all the Eastern European countries, including Yugoslavia, obtained governments dominated by Communists who were thus able to put into practice the ideas formulated by the Generalissimo in the past forty years.

The defiance of an almost entire Communist Party for over eight months and the resulting struggle for supremacy in the Trieste C.P. and over Macedonia, have tried severely the soundness of Stalin's above-mentioned theory all the more as every participant, Tito included, claims to be a devoted follower of Stalin and Lenin.

In Trieste itself the C.P. was split into two, with its members of Italian origin in favour of the Cominform and with the Yugoslavs, in full possession of the party funds, supporting Tito. When the local Stalinist paper ran out of cash, its supporters broke into the villa of a pro-Tito leader and in his absence tried to find the money. When they could not discover it, they helped themselves to a meal and various articles of jewelry. To save the rest of her belongings the wife of the pro-Tito Communist had to send for the Allied-sponsored police whom both sides alike had denounced as Fascist since 1945.

The solution of the Macedonian problem by Tito and Dimitrov has often been praised in the past three years by fellow-travellers in the West who always pointed out that this notorious apple of discord has disappeared once the internationally-minded Communists had replaced the old corrupt régimes. It took the Cominform dispute to reveal to the world that the struggle for Macedonia between Sophia and Belgrade has lost none of its intensity in the era of "people's democracies".

Both sides accused each other of "bourgeois nationalism" and "hidden

imperialist designs" and to the Bulgarian charge that Tito behaved like Goering, the Yugoslav C.P. replied by making public a few facts concerning the poor anti-Hitler record of the Bulgarian C.P.

To-day, Albania's denunciation of her commercial treaty with Yugoslavia, Trieste, Macedonia and Tito's relations with the other Cominform countries give us yet another proof that the destruction of capitalism and the setting up of governments claiming to be Socialist or Communist do not guarantee friendly relations between these States and do not necessarily give an opportunity to the peoples concerned to live in peace.

I.A.

DEPRESSION OVER BELGIUM

Unemployment Soaring

THE false prosperity brought to Belgium by its colonial possessions on the Congo, where Uranium deposits have proved a wonderful dollar-earner, seems to be passing. That's the trouble with capitalist prosperity—it never seems to last.

The following cutting from the *News Chronicle* (11/12/48) gives the figures for the rising unemployment there:

Fifteen out of every 100 men and women insured by the State are unemployed in Belgium.

The total is 269,522—the highest ever known.

The reason is that the home market has reached saturation point, and foreign countries, short of Belgian currency, are unable to buy.

The textile industry is being undersold by foreign competitors, particularly in Scandinavia, and the textile, building and engineering industries are hit hardest by unemployment.

AMERICAN JOURNALS

THE latest issue of *Resistance* has reached us and readers' attention is especially drawn to a long statement, by the *Resistance* group, on Anarchism which should be the basis for much useful discussion in the groups and among individual anarchists everywhere. Also a review of the latest book on the Sacco-Vanzetti case, *The Legacy of Sacco and Vanzetti*, which was briefly referred to in an earlier issue of *Freedom* (11/12/48).

A new number of *Politics*, the ever-interesting quarterly magazine published by Dwight MacDonald, has also reached us.

LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA

THE year 1948 has been a fairly uneventful one here "Down Under" as far as the working class has been concerned.

The Queensland Rail Strike was the biggest event, and about that it is very difficult to give an exact story as the strike lacked the industrial character one would expect—i.e., what began as an industrial dispute over the failure of the Queensland Government to pay rates already being paid in other states, developed into a political dog-fight between the Labour Government and the Communist Party. The end in view of the State was the crushing of C.P. influence in the leading unions.

After a long and hard struggle, the strike ended by all the matters involved being submitted to an arbitration court. Many leading Communists were heavily fined—others had had their heads cracked by police batons in the style of the "good old days".

A similar strike in Victoria was very successful against the Victoria Government because it involved or would have involved the closing down of all power plants—hence the quick decision. I lived 30 odd years in Queensland, where the Labour Party have held office for 30 years out of 33 in the name of the working class and in the interest of vested wealth.

In May, a brewery strike in Sydney brought 256 maintenance men out. Wine and spirits were available but no beer. There was a noticeable decrease in crime and accidents!

However, I must warn you not to regard strikes in Australia as a sign of revolutionary activity. The Trade Union powers as a whole are indeed most reactionary, tied body and soul to the system we know.

Most of Australia is having endless gas shortages, power failures and the transport system is chaotic. It is unable to handle goods needed in various parts of the country owing to chronic shortages of coal as the miners are always involved in an endless industrial struggle. We have a Coal Board composed of bureaucrats who seem to be always harassing the miners. Unless things improve it may be that industry in Sydney and Melbourne, involving 500,000 workers will be reduced to a 4-day week. In other words a near-dole condition.

All our power plants are 10 years behind the times and are unable to supply public needs. Tasmania alone has by water power been able to meet all demands.

Most rationing ended in June, thus

abolishing many irksome Government controls. There are good supplies of almost all clothing and food, but the cost of living is high and affects the homes of most workers. Living accommodation is very scarce in all parts of Australia, aggravated by the many D.P.'s and immigrants from Britain arriving here weekly. Many Britishers go straight back home when they see the conditions in housing. Slum life in Sydney is woeful. Overcrowding, dirt, filth and disease go hand in hand.

But what appears to satisfy most people is the fact that work is plentiful. The Government has reduced taxation all round, but prices are rising higher every week. Wages, too, are rising, but due to the decline in the value of money, life for the lower-paid workers is harder than ever.

The workers best-off in Australia are the lead-miners on Broken Hill. They have a local federation that does not recognise the laws of the land. Neither does the law recognise them, all agreements being made direct with the owners. The C.P.-dominated Miners Federation tried to induce these workers into the legal pen, but the answer was "No". The basic wage there is £16 16s. 6d. per week due to the Lead Bonus, and in some cases miners earn up to £50 a week. Dear lead means high wages in Broken Hill.

Our group holds meetings every Sunday on the Sydney Domain. We have a permit, i.e., police authority (1) to sell *Freedom*, and it, with other literature, is on sale at the Sydney Branch I.W.W. meetings on the domain. Earlier in the year, I met old Flemming in Melbourne. He still speaks on the river bank.

There are good crops of wheat this year, but dry conditions in some areas will restrict meat and butter production. Prices are still rising and there is no relief from the vicious spiral.

Yours fraternally,

Sydney. DON LAING.

THROUGH THE PRESS

ARMY METHODS

Maxwell Collins—who was technically in the Army for six years but never served a day—was kept in a cell for 2½ days without blankets and with only a towel to wear, the Conscientious Objectors Appeal Tribunal was told in Edinburgh.

Collins, a twenty-seven-year-old osteopath and former stage manager from Glasgow, heard his lawyer, Mr. Gordon Stott, say that at Dregburn Barracks, Edinburgh, last month, Collins's civilian clothes were taken off.

"Then he had to go 1½ miles from the guardroom with only a towel wrapped round his middle—past the ATS quarters, arousing considerable public interest," said Mr. Stott.

Collins was called up in 1942. He neither joined nor registered as an objector.

Three weeks ago he was sentenced to three months' prison for desertion.

Sunday Pictorial, 12/12/48.

CRIMINAL TEACHERS!

Speaking of the importance of Christian family life and the responsibilities of parents, Cardinal Griffin, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, at Newcastle last night, said parents should not allow the State to relieve them of their responsibilities, because, if they did, the State would finally relieve them of their children.

The Lord Chancellor had said that he blamed the parents for the increase in juvenile delinquency, but, said Cardinal Griffin, they must go further for an explanation. They must blame the false principles which the parents of to-day received from their educators. They were told, without any proof whatever that the human race was descended from monkeys, and now they see no reason for not acting as such. They were told that mankind was always progressing and that eventually they would arrive at complete happiness in this world.

The Manchester Guardian, 6/12/48.

WHY QUAKERS OPPOSE CONSCRIPTION

Four reasons why it believes military conscription to be wrong are given in a letter which the Society of Friends has sent to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence. The reasons are that conscription treats men as tools to be used by the State unproductively, is demoralising, tends to spread the habit of mind which relies on military strength, and hinders progress towards international understanding; and "above all, is contrary to our convictions, as followers of Christ, that men should not be trained to kill their fellowmen, even in the defence of the innocent."

The Manchester Guardian, 6/12/48.

WHEN A POLICEMAN REFUSES TO INFORM

Because he failed to report a friend's intention to flee abroad, a Czech policeman has been sentenced to three years' hard labour, according to a newspaper.

News Chronicle, 11/12/48.

VOTE—WHAT FOR?

I have another contender for the title of Parliament's Most Silent M.P. He is Mr. Alfred Balfour, Socialist M.P. for Stirling.

Balfour, 63, used to be a railway foreman. Elected in 1945, he has yet to make his maiden speech. In his first session he made three interjections, asked a question. In his second session he asked a question. Last session he was completely silent.

Sample interjection: Is it right for members to rise and want to be heard when, for a long period of the debate, they were in oblivion?

Evening Standard, 2/12/48.

How Much Freedom for Children?

FOR many years now I have read your paper and have always enjoyed the interesting and intelligent articles I find in it, but lately I have seen some articles, letters, opinions, etc., on education that have worried me. I am referring to those advocating complete freedom for children in their sex life (teach them about contraceptives and leave it at that); the desirability of letting a child eat what it fancies; the debauching of young boys by men because it does no harm provided there is no feeling of "shame" or "wrong", etc.

First, I would like to say that for years my husband and I ran a co-ed school for high-school students. We kept order and "discipline" by appeals to reason and commonsense and never used any punishments. Our students who came to us branded as "difficult", "lazy", "undisciplined", "unco-operative", "backward", proved in almost every case, easy and pleasant to work with and many became our friends. The second year of the war, owing to regulations, propaganda and the heart-breaking sight of our students going mad and rushing into uniform, we closed the school and started farming so as to watch animal nature in the raw and test our theories. Dairy cattle and hens live a life somewhat comparable to that of human beings, that is it is not completely natural, and as far as we know, animals are not perplexed with complexes or shy or ashamed of sex. But we cannot allow the young males and females to lead a completely uncontrolled sex life. To illustrate: If we let our young bulls and heifers run freely together there are two results. First, the bulls at an early age are impotent and only sometime after long rest regain virility. Second, the heifers, being too young, are stunted.

Then how can we allow boys and girls the liberty we must curtail in animals? (Contraceptives? Yes, but they are not fool-proof and what about the boys?) Now, about eating what they fancy.

Most children and many adults fill themselves up with "soft drinks", ice-cream, candy (this is in Canada!), etc., and wonder why they lack energy. Animals, if given free access to grain will kill themselves. And now as regards homosexuality. In a small religious school in B.C. (now closed), the headmaster debauched one small boy after another until caught. Result: one child had to go a mental home to recover from this persecution. You will perhaps say this was a result of "shame", but what happens in nature? Breeding cockerels when kept together, segregated from hens, often persecute the smaller ones so badly that they stay on perches or in shelters and are too afraid to eat and gradually lose weight and become ill, if not protected from the stronger birds. Of course, you will say,

have found them impotent or stunted even though wild animals lead a "completely uncontrolled sex life". But to watch the poor exploited beasts on a farm and to find that given free access to grain they eat themselves to death is surely an argument for "complete freedom" since in the raw they do not do this.

But no. You cannot argue from animals to man, even less from farm animals to children.

The question of principle is: what kind of discipline? We may uphold a coercive one, a persuasive one or be guilty of neglect. We may:

- compel children to eat: punish them if they do not
- provide the best food possible and persuade them to eat it
- provide the best food possible and leave them to eat it or not "as they fancy"
- make inadequate provision: leave them to cook and serve their own meals, or just fill themselves with candy.

The maxim that nothing is well digested that is not taken with a good appetite, whether applied to food, sex or academic learning, suggests (b) or (c). "Open Mind" is presumably a follower of (b). The articles in this journal have probably advocated (c).

But not (d). I would suggest that (d) is no education: that the alternative to bad lessons, for instance, is not no lessons, as some of Neill's disciples seem to think, but good lessons.

And this raises the most urgent question of attitude to war. If her pupils rushed madly into uniform in the second year, her Mind must have been a little bit too Open. She had failed in her main function as an educator, and her work might have been better done by the State—a criticism which applies equally to many other progressive schools.

A Reader's Opinion on Education

We cannot reason with animals. True, but neither can one reason with some small children, and what is the power of reason against the power of sex? In animals, the fittest survive, but in human beings the physically stronger is not always the most desirable specimen. Surely, a delicate intelligent child should be protected from a bully, a powerful brute devoid of intelligence?

Now, I am afraid I have taken too much space. I invite discussion. I am hoping and observing.

"OPEN MIND."

Comment by Anthony Weaver
THE contradictions in the letter from "Open Mind" seem to me to obscure the important questions of principle that she raises.

For example, if she had watched bulls and heifers "in the raw" she would not

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GO-SLOW IN WHITEHALL

WE are sorry if this heading is a little misleading. We do not mean that the bureaucrats of the government offices are staging a go-slow strike, or going ca' canny, in their work. We only wish they were. Unfortunately, they appear to be only too darned active in their own unproductive way!

No, we are referring this time to the back-room girls of Whitehall—the cleaners who get to work long before the civil servants, who on arriving at their desks, are greeted by warm and spotless offices. The char-ladies, whose existence has for so long been just taken for granted, are smarting under the insult—as described in our last issue—of having been offered an increase of 4d. per hour after asking for 34d.

While their union—the Civil Service Union—is considering the matter, the cleaners are taking action themselves. Not very strong action, it is true, but nevertheless, sufficient to show that they are no longer the willing workers they have been for poor rates of pay.

In the past, when any cleaner has been absent from work for illness or any other reason, her work has been done by the others, who have done the extra work as well as their own. But not now. If any woman is absent now, her work is left undone, and some office staffs have been arriving to find their fire-places unattended and unlighted, their desks dusty and their waste paper baskets unemptied. Which is very sad for them.

Meanwhile, the cleaners are waiting for Sir Stafford Cripps to receive a deputation, requested by their union, through which they would put their case. The Treasury hid behind the government's White Paper on wages for a long time, refusing any increase whatsoever. Cripps, of course, was the "brains" behind that White Paper, and this is to our knowledge the first time he has been asked to face a deputation of workers demanding a raise and prepared to thrash out with him its pros and cons. He is to be asked whether he or any other Minister can get his home cleaned for 1/84d. per hour and he will be shown the starvation

budgets of some of the charladies.

It should be remembered that most women cleaners are either widows or wives of very poorly paid workers. Their work may be unskilled, but it would come hard to the office staffs and Ministers to do it themselves. And it is work which is necessary in any establishment, although whether those establishments themselves are necessary is another matter. The community could get on without Government departments, but Government departments cannot get on without cleaners—at least not very efficiently!

Also to be remembered is the fact that the usual rate for cleaners in private houses is about 2/6 per hour—already 6d. more than the Whitehall workers are asking. So our advice to them is to quit their tight-fisted Treasury bosses and go where the money is better and conditions likely to be easier. We do not, naturally, approve unconditionally of domestic service being done in private houses. So much snobbery, laziness and bourgeois "keeping-up-appearances" depends upon it. But from the point of view of the cleaners, their immediate interest lies in taking advantage of the shortage of labour in this field and cashing-in where there is the opportunity.

As a conclusion, we reprint from *Time* (20/12/48) a verse composed as a Christmas card by one of the chars concerned:

*A happy Christmas and New Year
I wish for you, Sir Stafford Dear,
From one whose Christmas couldn't be
leaner,
An insulted Government woman cleaner.*

Objections to (Some) Anarchists

DEAR COMRADES,
In this age of the professional revolutionist and the timid rebel it is often difficult to realise that once upon a time, and it's not such a long, long time ago, there were revolutionaries whose objective was—whisper—A Revolution!

To-day, when revolutionaries can bring themselves to utter that odious word—Revolution—it is only to decry it. From the security of their Bohemian surroundings, they deplore the violence of the people of Barcelona in the historic days of July, 1936. If anyone should have the temerity to advocate workers' control of industry or the abolition of Church and State, some savant will inevitably enquire of him, "Do the masses realise the full implications of Reich's investigation of the orgone?" The reply must be in the negative, and then satisfied that such ignorance obviates a revolution, our

learned friend will retire to his meditations.

Yet, even if we can imagine a situation in which every proletarian in the land had made an intensive study of certain improving works by Jung, Freud, and Reich, the way is not yet clear for a re-organisation of society.

This can only be possible, according to another band of high-minded reformers, when the yeomen of Old England are all Old Boys of Progressive Schools and wear Old School Red Ties to prove it.

There is yet another group who can prove conclusively that the carnivorous tendencies of the human race must be eradicated before we apply the torch of freedom to the old institutions.

And finally, in this list of schools of thought we have the people who say, "it is all in the mind." They say that you can be free despite Church and State, Priest and Hangman, if you will only wallow deep enough in Greenwich Village mysticism. They claim that if you will only return to Mother Earth, and plough and sow, and reap and mow, and be a Rural Taoist, all will be well. Yet the adherents of this quaint philosophy are reputed to use telephones and radio and other devices of the complex life in a manner hardly consistent with "The Way" of the great Lao Tzu himself. They seem to have a thoroughly non-Taoist tendency to live in the rustic environs of Chelsea and Hampstead.

It would be difficult indeed to fully assess the value of the work of the many altruistic and lofty-minded students of philosophy, psychology and the effects of a somewhat attenuated meat ration. Undoubtedly, their work will be seen in its true perspective when the millions of wage-slaves have the leisure to study it and are able to compare it with the realities of life in a free society.

But the seekers after ultimate truth assure us from the depths of their profound minds that the millions of exploited

people must be fully conversant with the niceties of Freudian psychology and a thousand and one obtrusive sciences before they are fit to run their own affairs as free beings. That only when the machinist in the factory is capable of a learned discussion on libido and the orgone may he seize and operate that factory.

Here we have a vicious circle. Leisure is a pre-requisite of study. Leisure will only exist for the workers when the present system has been destroyed—yet the present system must not be destroyed till the worker has studied the invaluable works of fifty score approved philosophers.

The choice, then, is one of Revolution, or a philosophy cannot be attained. It is a choice between the method of Direct Action and the woolly ideas of the people who would put a halt to the march to Anarchy till every man, woman and child from Vladivostok to Galway Bay had been psycho-analysed and sent to a Progressive School.

It is a choice between the Anarchist idea of individual initiative and a slavish subservience to the futile ravings of impotent and discredited faddists.

It is a choice which may be made. It must be made carefully, the alternatives are Anarchy, or the chaos of a world torn by rival philosophical groups. At least one school of thought will be unruffled in the latter event—the type of philosopher who will rectify it all—in the mind.

SEAN GANNON.

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WE thank all those comrades and sympathisers who made it possible to end the year with a good list of contributions both in number and amount.

We are providing our readers with the best we can so far as FREEDOM is concerned, but we cannot hope to give you in four pages the material and the variety we gave when the paper had eight pages. Are there enough comrades and sympathisers among our readers who think the paper important enough to warrant sacrifices on their part? The "sacrifices" we ask of them during this year are that they send regular monthly contributions to the fund and that they devote a regular number of hours every month to selling FREEDOM at meetings, etc., or in obtaining new subscribers to the paper. There is a potentially large public for FREEDOM if only we can reach it. And it is a task which cannot be done by one or two people, but requires a special effort from all who express their solidarity with the work being done by FREEDOM.

By an oversight, the last issue of *Freedom* was numbered 27. It should, of course, have been 26.

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WELL DONE, THOU FAITHFUL SERVANT!

IT is a far cry from the Will Lawther of the Durham pits (1926) to the Sir William Lawther, Chairman of the T.U.C., president of the National Union of Mineworkers, who so gratefully accepts a Knighthood from His Majesty in 1948.

Years of looking after "Number One", of clambering over the backs of less ambitious men, of collaboration and compromise, and finally of betrayal.

Yes, the unions may be proud of you, Sir William Lawther—and of you, Mr. Arthur Deakin, Companion of Honour, (Ye Gods—what a title!)—for you are their brightest stars. And when you bend your knee before your king, you will be doing physically what you have been doing for years metaphorically. You have made the grade. You have got to the top.

But the miners are still at the bottom.

MONEY AND MORAL VALUES—2 Distinction Without Difference

(Continued from last issue)

In the organisation of production, there are those who directly produce and those who do necessary work for production and distribution, e.g., technicians, organisers and employees. All these must pay the total cost of the goods produced. The total costs include the price of raw materials, equipment, land, houses, transport and all office charges, such as stationery. But these men have received only their wages and salaries. How can the whole products be bought up by them, especially as they work only in one branch of production, say handloom, and with their wages, they have to buy also other necessities produced by other branches, where others get paid in the same way and whose payments must also be recovered by the other branches with all expenses on materials, equipment, houses, lands, and transport as well as technicians, organisers and employees and producers? Dr. Kumarappa and other economist theorists suppose it is being done and therefore can be done. If that were being done, there would be no over-production and reduced consumption in any part of the world. Because it cannot be done, i.e., consumption and employment, crisis.

Wages and Profits of Handiwork

Dr. Kumarappa's hand production must also recover all the costs just as factories have to recover all the costs, whether factories produce plenty in a short time and handlooms produce small quantities in a long period or not. Having put money into the production, the total money has to be recovered both by handloom and factory production. So fundamentally, there is not much difference between the economics of hand work and machine work. For both, goods are money, whether the buyers are few or many. Economically, both are money economics. Dr. Kumarappa attributing moral consciousness to handloom production does not change facts.

Words Without Things

Now to get out of the difficulty, Dr. Kumarappa argues that "money economy based on centralised industries had encroached on the primary requirements of the people, made them starve and brought about ill-health. The present food scarcity is in no small measure due to such encroachment". Now words can be jumbled up anyway without relation to things. But Kumarappa's money can be no more moral than the factory owner's money. Both will have to make the buyers pay all the expenses, whether the buyers are few or many and every production unit will have to make the buyers pay all its expenses.

Gandhian economics can no more be magic than factory economics—both will sell less than they produce in the normal course of things or must sell at higher prices in order to make both ends meet. Otherwise they cannot recover the costs. These relations are not changed by hand or machine or more or less production. The problem remains the same for both. And it cannot be resolved within the limits of the problem. Unless the limits, i.e., the conditions, are broken,

the problem will remain unsolved. Unless you can get the help of God to make the impossible work in arithmetic. Dr. Kumarappa may call God to his help. But God may not agree to help him. It is curious how a man who had American education in economics could talk as he does. I suppose, in India arithmetic can be set at naught with Gandhiji's help.

Part Must Pay the Whole

The only way the total costs can be recovered after producing by hand or machine is by selling a part—a great part of the products—to persons who have not earned by contributing useful work in the production of the goods. They must belong to those who do not form part of production of the goods. They alone can contribute towards filling the deficit. They must be outsiders in the case of industry (factory industry), there must be foreign buyers or those who earn by parasitism at home. It is also true that those who buy Khaddar are not those who produce it, but those who earn by other means, for Khaddar is too dear for its producers, owing to the long time it takes to produce it. So it will be with every other handwork.

Don't Eat but Produce

Dr. Kumarappa thinks centralised factory production is responsible for penury. But the fact is the money and payment system which makes prices far higher than the real costs whether production is carried on by hand or machine, puts goods out of the reach of producers who work for wages. If there were no mills producing cloth, most people would go naked, for the Kaddar cloth is too dear for the wage-earner, even for Khaddar wage-earners. The mills exploit this situation and make money. The cheaper the goods, the more people can afford to buy them. That can only be done by machinery, although the poor who buy have to pay far higher prices than it cost to produce by machinery. Thus the poor are exploited by machinery, but still they have been able to buy something which handwork could not supply. Even in U.S.A. where workers earn far more, durable goods cannot be bought by workers, for their prices are beyond their reach. Hence much business is done there with spurious goods. For example, linen shirt fronts and collars are expensive. And they cost much for keeping laundered. So many firms supply substitutes which are far cheaper and which could be

bought at any time. For example, paper shirt fronts and collars which look like linen. These do not require to be laundered and can be thrown away when they become dirty. Wage and salary earners cannot afford to buy durable goods anywhere. Hence a whole industry supplies these people only and makes huge profits out of them. So long as there is demand, real or artificial, people will try to buy and therefore there will be firms which will make such goods as they can buy. Mr. Kumarappa would rather that people went naked in the cold than buy mill cloth. That is called economics, Gandhian and moral. Mr. Kumarappa can afford to buy Khaddar or is supplied free but others not.

Choice Between Immoralities

So long as money, prices and wages obtain, those who want to get money will manufacture anything that will sell, and the people have a choice only between buying spurious, harmful or useless good and not buying at all. Some things, good things, they cannot buy at all. So long as the wage system—which means lease of existence from hour to hour—continues they cannot afford to buy what they want, for their wages limit their choice and prevents them from buying even the most necessary things. Does Kumarappa try to abolish the wage system? No, his economics like capitalist and factory and state economy requires the wage-system, although the system will prevent even the little quantity of goods produced from being sold. In the wage system, it is not the quantity of goods which is decisive, but the ability to recover all the money put into production from the sale of a part of the goods produced. Producers cannot purchase all the goods and they can only be employed when non-producers buy them. Of course, those who engage others to produce are alone considered producers, the actual producers being considered "workers". Mr. Kumarappa's Gandhian hand work economy does not also intend to abolish "workers", i.e., those who are hired for wages by others, be it a "society". Only hunger can drive people to be "workers" for they will not benefit by this "technical arrangement" in production. They cannot be interested in production, because the benefits are all in favour of non-producers. Mr. Kumarappa should start abolishing this "technical arrangement" in production—abolishing the wage, payment, price and selling system, before, he can make production and consumption normal. We quite agree that others continue or want to start immoral production but that does not make Gandhian method of production less immoral. For it is based on the same system though with hand-work in place of mill work. It is also a wage system. The wage will stop production because it cannot sell all the goods, whether the goods are produced by hand or by machine. It cannot be worked even by irresponsible Bolsheviks and socialists because they pay for the goods, have to sell them and recover the expenses—and pay themselves.

M. P. T. ACHARYA.

From the *Kaiser-i-Hind*, 24 & 30/11/48.

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Harold Sculthorpe
"Why Vote?"

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Indoor Meetings,
CENTRAL HALLS, Bath Street,
every Sunday at 7 p.m.,
Frank Leeth, Willy Carlyle, John Gaffney,
Eddie Shaw.

NORTH EAST LONDON

The next meeting of the NELAG will be held at Wanstead House (two minutes from Wanstead Tube Station) at 7.30 p.m.
JAN 18th 7.30 p.m.
Joint Discussion Meeting with I.L.P.
Comrades interested cordially invited.

CHORLEY

PUBLIC LECTURES
The Situation in Germany To-day,
A. Hargreaves (Recently returned from Germany). Sunday, Jan. 9th at 7.15 p.m.
Oddfellows Rooms, 9, Cunliffe Street,
Chorley, Lancs.

SEX EDUCATION SOCIETY LECTURES

Monday, Jan. 10th 8 p.m.
Dr. Norman Haire;
"The Abortion Law"
Monday, Feb. 7th 8 p.m.
A. S. Neill;
"Sex and Self-Regulation"
Admission 2/-
CONWAY HALL,
Red Lion Square, W.C.1.