

Freedom

AN ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

Vol. 10, No. 2

January 22nd, 1949

Threepence

The Israeli Crisis

Which Horse is Bevin Backing?

ERNEST BEVIN has faced many storms as Foreign Secretary; but seldom has any act of his met with such widespread disapproval as his recent strong line on Israel. Astonishment is the keynote of these protests—but this very astonishment only helps to make the basis of international relations clearer.

Freedom has stated a clear position on the Palestine issue. We regard the situation as quite insoluble along the present nationalist lines, reject the setting up of a Jewish State as inimical to the Jews, and refuse to adopt a partisan line involving the closing of one's eyes to sufferings in which innocent people are involved through nationalist rivalries. It is outrageous that the British should add to the sufferings of Jewish refugee immigrants; and it is outrageous that Arab families should be rendered homeless by the partitioning of disputed territories.

All this does not blind us, however, to the fact that the issues in Palestine are not limited to Zionist or Arab League ambitions. The Near East is also a field for imperialist struggle and intrigue. And this is the aspect which Bevin's liberal critics choose to ignore. The *Observer* hints at a "suspicion that he (Bevin) does not want a settlement until Israel has been given a knock . . .", while the *Economist* asks, "What is Bevin up to?" and finds the latest British moves "incomprehensible". Yet the *Observer* finds no difficulty in seeing that Russian Middle Eastern policy "has only one interest: the continuance of conflict".

British Imperialist interests demand that Britain should control the oil of the Middle East and its pipelines, and the strategic communications of British naval power. This control is not yet decisively retained in British hands, and one may be confident that no "solution" of the Palestine issue will be acceptable to the Foreign Office which does not secure a favourable decision on this question. Need one add that American policy is determined by a like concern for American interests, Russian policy by the expanding interests of Russian imperialism?

Bevin and his "Left" Critics

Bevin's foreign policy has been attacked by the lefties before; by Crossmanites because it is not "socialist", by fellow travellers because it doesn't suit the Kremlin. But Bevin doesn't care. He knows that when a so-called socialist government administers the British Empire its policy must further the interests of British Imperialism, and since the labour party socialists are thoroughgoing patriots they eventually come to Bevin's imperialist heel.

Of course, it is impossible to know yet what are the factual bases for Bevin's recent toughness with Israel, but past experience makes one fairly confident of the general motives which underlie it. The liberal press, and now the conservative and labour press as well, are anxious to make out that foreign policy is founded on "justice",

"what is right", "genuine desire for peace" and what have you; but when Bevin turns on his critics at Labour Party Congresses he justifies his behaviour in Greece, in Spain, in Palestine, to the defensive needs of the British Empire. And for the patriot lefties that is more important than the rights and sufferings of small nations and their constituent individuals.

Solutions?

What it also shows, however, is that the right course, the need to safeguard justice and peace, and all the other catch phrases

of political journalism are quite out of place in the world of international relations. It is simply idle to imagine that either Bevin or his indignant critics can do the right thing in the existing circumstances of power politics. Administrators may have a genuine personal concern for these ideals; but their business is to administer the machine over which they nominally exercise control. While that machine is Imperialism—British, American or Russian—justice and freedom and human rights are of mere academic importance.

And while the Jews and the Arabs repose their faith and main control of their destinies in the hands of a political state which is itself swayed by the interests of the great powers, there is just no hope of social justice for them either.

AUTHORITY AND BERTRAND RUSSELL

THERE is something very sad in the decline of the intellectual powers of great thinkers in their old age. It is not only sad but dangerous because the ill-considered remarks of tired old men may receive wide publicity and attention on the strength of a life-time's well-deserved reputation. Our own movement can provide examples—the support given by Kropotkin to the first World War and that given by Rudolph Rocker to the second. The same sort of thing can be seen the petulant pronouncements of H. G. Wells during the last few years of his life and in some of the recent silly sayings of Bernard Shaw.

Nature, Red in Tooth and Claw

It has seemed lately that we must attribute to this tragic weakening of the spirit some remarks by Bertrand Russell—the radio talk last year in which he gave his support to the idea "if you wish for peace, prepare for war", and his speech a few months ago to an audience of young people where, from the press reports, he appeared to be advocating an American-dominated crusade against Russia. Happily, Bertrand Russell's B.B.C. Reith Lectures on "Authority and the Individual" which are now being broadcast on Sunday evenings, are on a far higher level than this, though we certainly cannot, despite his past sympathies, agree with last week's *Socialist Leader* which described him as "about the nearest approach to an anarchist in British public life". For the general thesis of Lord Russell's lectures, notwithstanding his reasonable and humanistic approach, is opposed to the anarchist attitude. (When the series is ended it might well form the subject of a critical study in *Freedom*.)

Two interesting letters in the *Listener* following the first lecture, make this clear. H. J. Massingham commented:

"In his talk on 'Social Cohesion and Human Nature' Lord Russell relied for much of his argument upon the 'instinct' of primitive pugnacity. Where did he get this concept from? Clearly from the Darwin-Huxley theory of human evolution in the seventies of last century, crystallised in respect of this instinct by Huxley's well-worn phrase about 'the ape and the tiger'. What evidence did Lord Russell give for the existence of this instinct? None at all. What was in the 'seventies an assumption based largely on the predatory conditions of Victorian commerce and unsupported by any extensive know-

ledge of how primitive communities actually lived, Lord Russell treated as though it were an accepted and natural commonplace like the common know-

DANGER! —LUNATICS AT WORK

THE United States' Navy needs far more money than the £1,075 million assigned to it in President Truman's Budget for building rocket ships, robot aircraft, and a submarine fleet to dominate the next war at sea, said the Navy Secretary, John Sullivan, in his annual report to-day.

Naval planning now is based on the theory that the great sea battles of World War Three may be fought in the skies and in the depths of the ocean, said Mr. Sullivan. The next conflict will find the pattern of naval warfare radically altered as a result of developments in submarines, aircraft, and guided missiles.

The Navy is building a fleet of pilotless aircraft to be launched from aircraft and ships. In addition, three experimental submarines are being built as submarine killers. B.U.P.

The small bow and arrow is no longer a war weapon. This decision was reached by the U.S. Military Government at Frankfurt arising out of a question on the manufacture of war goods. But anybody who wants to make a really big bow and arrow still has to get permission from General Clay.

Reynold's News, 9/1/49.

EVER since the defeat of the attempt to abolish capital punishment, the reactionary press has been rubbing its hands. The triumph of penal reaction has been exploited most gleefully by the *Sunday Dispatch* which has spent a considerable amount of energy and column space on gunning at the Criminal Justice Bill for abolishing (but not completely, it must be remembered) corporal punishment. It is therefore all the more significant to find that this same paper and the press generally were very strongly against the execution of Miss Margaret Allen. For after the execution the *Sunday Dispatch* made a sober attack upon the McNaughten rules, describing these 106-year-old arbiters of insanity, and therefore, in some capital cases, of life and death, as "archaic".

If Men, Why Not Women?

Much of this opposition was based on the idea that it is wrong to hang a woman,

"A revolution must from its conception be an act of justice towards the ill-treated and the oppressed, and not a promise to perform this act of reparation later on. If not, it is sure to fail."

—KROPOTKIN.

Uneasy Consciences

and much play was made of the fact that Miss Allen's execution was the first to be carried out on a woman murderer for 13 years. Now on reasonable grounds, this position seems merely sentimental and quite indefensible, for if one is going to hang men why not hang women too, especially in these days when women are entering more and more into public, non-domestic life? Just the same, the impulse to shun the execution of women is a sound and wholesome one. Despite increasing sex equality opinion is still mainly made by men, and most men still think of women in an individual way—that is to say as a human being, with human feelings and faults. We have no hesitation in saying that that is the right way to think of someone—man or woman—who stands in the dock, in the cells, or over the drop. What is wanted is an extension of the repugnance automatically felt to the execution of a woman murderer, an extension to cover men, too.

For the time is long overdue when the question of the death penalty should be lifted out of the sphere of what is practical and expedient, and considered instead in the light of what is just and what is right. Doing a fellow creature to death in the cold-blooded judicial way is repugnant to everything that is best in human nature, and one simply cannot get away from that fact. One newspaper stated that the administration do not like executing a woman because they fear that a woman will break down and require to be dragged resisting and screaming to an ugly and unseemly death. Such behaviour throws into relief the intrinsic dreadfulness of execution, and to a rational mind that dreadfulness is not mitigated by a certain resignation, by composure on the part of the victim.

Ignoring Progress

The present case serves to emphasize certain other aspects of capital punishment, notably the question of legal responsibility. Miss Allen could not be held to be insane by the official yardstick—the McNaughten rules, formulated 106 years ago, before anything like scientific psychiatry existed, and when lunatics were still treated like criminals and kept in order by corporal punishment. We have seen that the press has not taken an exactly progressive view of the recent proposals to adjust the criminal code and the treatment of those who infringe the law; but almost all the press felt that Miss Allen was in some degree abnormal, and that it was wrong to treat her as being fully responsible for her actions. The *Manchester Guardian* well and soberly stated the position in an editorial plea to the Home Secretary for mercy:

"Margaret Allen may not be insane by the usual tests but she is certainly not normal. She is the youngest of a family of twenty; she had no decent home life. She became eccentric living alone and affecting the habits of a man. She was not a criminal type but one of those unfortunate misfits of our civilisation. All the evidence points to her having committed the brutal murder of an old woman in a fit of mental unbalance; the method was so crude, the motive so irrational. Her behaviour afterwards was certainly odd. On the actual circumstances of the case, quite apart from the wider question of principle, the Home Secretary might well have used his prerogative of mercy and, we may hope, will still use it."

The Home Secretary, however, did not see fit so to exercise his prerogative.

Attitude of the Public

In rejecting the abolition of capital punishment, the government hid behind "the present state of public opinion". It may be that public opinion was represented by that Irishwoman who said to Mrs. Van der Elst on the morning of Miss Allen's execution, "She's only getting what she deserves," thought it is significant that such a remark was not made by a man. But the state of public opinion is not relevant to the issue, for public opinion is influenced by articulate men and women who think and feel. It is a human duty for all who feel for their fellows and for human dignity and sympathy to express horror and disgust at the judicial crime of judicial execution. Everybody is a potential leader of public opinion on these matters and to keep silent and wait to see what the other fellow thinks is to stain one's hands with the hangman's stigma.

(Continued on page 3)

Escape is No Escape

ANARCHISTS are not to-day, on the whole, simple-lifers. A small minority, it is true, seek their own personal salvation in retiring to rural districts and living in primitive isolation. But the majority of anarchists are conscious of their social responsibilities, inasmuch as they recognise themselves as part of society and are therefore personally interested in the welfare of society as a whole.

What affects one part of society can affect each one of us in our private lives. That is why it is dangerous to turn our backs on the world and leave it to others to protect our interests. They won't. People do not protect the interests of others, they only protect their own interests, and this I believe to be true even when action is taken which is on the face of it philanthropic or altruistic.

For instance, on looking at such activities as nursing, the sentimental will say, "Look at those wonderful nurses, sacrificing themselves for the sick and helpless," but the nurses themselves will be the first to deny that they are sacrificing themselves at all. They enjoy the work and stick at it in spite of all the disadvantages precisely because they enjoy it, and not at all for any altruistic motive. Those who do not enjoy it can leave it. And many probationers who find the discipline unbearable and the life as a whole distasteful do leave it—which they would not do if they entered it with the aim of sacrificing themselves. For, obviously, if you want to sacrifice yourself, the more horrible the conditions, the more you are sacrificing yourself and the happier you will be.

No, the secret is summed-up by the saying: "One man's meat is another man's poison." I would not particularly enjoy being a nurse, for instance, but thousands do, and the fact that they are prepared to put up with unnecessarily stringent regulations and restrictions on their freedom in exchange for the satisfaction they find in their work simply proves that material

advantages are not the most powerful incentives to work. Which anarchists have always known. And it also indicates that if the regulations and conditions governing work were not unnecessarily strict to the extent of frightening off the less determined newcomers, there would be more volunteers for the kind of work which is regarded as "hard" or "dirty" by those who feel no inclination to do it.

It is not the hardness or dirtiness of work which fundamentally governs a worker's approach to it, but the degree of satisfaction and responsibility that goes with it. And because power is very satisfying for a lot of people and responsibility often leads to power in our present form of society, there is never any shortage of people prepared to take responsibility for others. Which is very dangerous for those others, for by allowing that, they become *powerless* and those who take responsibility become *powerful*. And as you inflate somebody else with power, you deflate yourself into a condition of helplessness.

That is why anarchists are not, on the whole, simple-lifers. By turning your back on your enemy, you offer him the opportunity of slipping his knife between your shoulder-blades. There is nothing the power-seeker likes better than to be left alone to gain his own ends without opposition, and the more people who say, "I know nothing about politics, I'll leave it to those who do," the better the politician likes it. Those, too, who turn away from the social struggle because they know too much about politics,

are also playing into the hands of the politician. It is a very natural thing to turn your back on that which you find disgusting—but don't forget that knife, and don't forget that by cutting yourself off from politicians you do not make them any less disgusting, but like the ostrich with his head in the sand, you just don't see them.

Of course, when election time comes along we shall all be urged to become politically conscious. But it will not really be a paradox—for the politician does not want us to become so politically conscious that we rumble his little game completely; he just wants us to vote. From the politician's point of view it does not even really matter who we vote for—of course, it might mean the difference between a job and no job with him, but he is mainly interested in the political racket as a whole continuing to function, and if we ceased voting it would obviously collapse.

PRESS GANGS?

Newspaper censorship behind the iron curtain is further exacerbating the Tito-Cominform quarrel. The Yugoslavs recently complained that their newspapers *Borba* and *Politika* had been banned in Prague, while such "imperialist" papers as the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* were blatantly on display. A compromise was eventually arranged whereby the Yugoslav Embassy in Prague received twenty uncensored copies of *Borba* every day, while all other copies were subject to censorship. An example of the newspaper's failings was given recently in a Budapest broadcast, which stated that on November 29th it had perpetrated "a piece of low cynicism" by changing without any explanation its slogan "Death to Fascism, Freedom to the People" to "Proletarians of the World, Unite" and then printing underneath a slanderous article on the USSR and the Communist parties of the world.

Economist, 8/1/49.

So, perhaps here we should draw the distinction between *political* activity and *social* activity. By all means reject politics, for it depends upon power on the one hand and irresponsibility on the other, but apathy or ivory-tower isolationism is not the answer. The results of apathy in the world to-day are only too obvious. The rise of totalitarianisms, the 20th century wars, the almost universal servility to national States, the drifting and the despair—these are the results of action by the politicals and inaction by the unpoliticals. The answer must come in a re-awakening of a sense of social responsibility on the part of all those who see social evils.

We do not ask for self-sacrifice; it is the capitalist State which continually asks for that. What we do ask is that each individual should realise that he has a responsibility towards the society around him because he is part of it and it affects him in every way, and that it is to his advantage to be conscious of the political forces which assail him and of the social forces which can aid him. If he is destroyed because of his own apathy, who can he blame but himself?

It is all too tragically easy to leave it to others and to find pretexts for doing so. Not all anarchists are paragons of virtue; we all have to get along as best we can in a hostile world and each week that passes may see us with our principles a little more bruised, but it is dishonest to point to the failings of others and use them as an excuse to do nothing ourselves. It rests with each one of us to face up to our own responsibility for our own actions and to blame nobody else but ourselves if our inactivity leads to our own destruction.

PHILIP SANSOM.

KROPOTKIN on ELISEE RECLUS

ON Tuesday, July 4th (1905), the telegraph wires brought us the news of Elisee Reclus' death which had taken place on that morning in a Belgian village not far from Ostend.

With Elisee Reclus the revolutionary movement of the whole world loses one of its finest figures, one of its most ardent and whole-hearted defenders. And science loses in him one of those who have best felt and expressed the bond which binds man to the whole Earth, as well as to that corner of the globe where he struggles, suffers and rejoices.

Elisee Reclus was born on March 15th, 1830, in the Gironde, at Saint-Foy-la-Grande. His father was a Protestant pastor—a quite remarkable man, one of that vigorous race which had upheld many struggles to maintain its right of believing otherwise than was ordained by the Church; a man who lived his entire life loving the peasant, the tiller of the soil.

The mother of Reclus was also a wonderful woman. She spent her whole

(During the last thirty years of his life Kropotkin wrote a number of brilliant studies of libertarian thinkers and fighters, which appeared in various anarchist periodicals. Among the men whom he described were Bakunin, Elisee Reclus and William Morris, and we pro-

life in teaching in a school of her own foundation. The family was numerous; there were twelve children, of whom Elisee was the eldest and Elisee the second. They were very poor, and it is from these times that Elisee gained and kept all his life a respect for bread, which was in his youth so often his only food, and one to which he returned so willingly. A piece of bread and an apple, or some grapes, was all he required to live and work.

He received his first University education at the Protestant faculty of Montauban. His father wished him to become a pastor. But he early rid himself of religious prejudices, and with his brother Elie soon left for Berlin, where the great geographer Karl Ritter was

pose at intervals to reproduce some of these interesting comments. The present study of Elisee Reclus, the great French geographer and anarchist, is abbreviated from an article which appeared in *Les Temps Nouveaux* at the time of his death.)

then attracting a youth anxious to learn his great and beautiful generalisations about the life of the earth and its inhabitants. The two brothers made a great part of the journey on foot, accompanied by a dog, for whom in the evening the soup was reserved, while they contented themselves with dry bread.

I do not know where Elisee was during the Revolution of 1848, but the facts are that after the Coup d'Etat of 1851, the two brothers were forced to leave France. Elisee then spent six years travelling. He lived in Ireland, where he espoused with all his ardour the cause of the Irish people, starved by the English, who had robbed them of their land and killed their rural industries. After this he went to the United States, and then to Columbia and Guiana. From this journey he brought back a hatred of slavery and a love for the black races outraged by the whites.

In 1857 he returned to France. Europe was awaking to that great movement which produced the uprisings of Garibaldi, the liberation of a part of Italy, and the abolition of serfdom in Russia. The United States were already commencing then the campaign which was to abolish for ever the abomination of slavery.

Natural sciences were entering at the same time that period of awakening which transformed during the years 1856-62 the entire aspect of modern knowledge. Elisee Reclus answered to this double current, humanitarian and scientific. He contrived to interest the French in the great slavery abolition struggle which then began in America. He threw himself into the anti-imperial movement which was outlining itself in France in the sixties, and he took part in the conspiracies of the same time against the Empire.

But a new movement was already beginning—the rousing of the French poorer classes, which was to stir the working men of the two hemispheres, and Elisee participated in the birth of this movement. From 1865 on he already belonged to the International Working Men's Association; he identified himself with this movement from the time of the first meetings by which it was formed in 1854; and long before the Alliance of Bakunin was founded Elisee Reclus belonged to the

Out of the Mouths...

THE following little story was written by Gillian Bell, aged 13 years 11 months, of South Shields, Co. Durham, and it won her first prize in a Christmas competition in the *Sunday Observer* for "Proverb" essays.

It might afford us an excuse for a little homily on the shortcomings of state education (assuming Gillian goes to a state school) in which the only conception of the anarchist is the destructive foreign bomb-thrower. But that would be rather pompous; it's an amusing bit of fun, and does, after all, point a moral on organisation!

"THE PLOT THAT FAILED."

"THE plan is no good," thought the anarchist Shielwitz. "To-night I will make a small change. No one need know."

"We will be caught," Eidelschartz ruminated. "I will make an alteration." "That bomb will not explode," growled Bombski the inventor. "I will put mine there."

Schienarawitz, the chief, said to his second-in-command, Andrekenzt, "The

plot is fool-proof. Nothing can happen."

"There are many in it, though," Andrekenzt demurred.

"Nonsense, my friend. Everything will be all right. Have some more whisky."

That night, the conspirators arrived at the place by diverse routes. Several walked; Bombski came by Underground; Schienarawitz came hidden in a beer barrel on a cart which was driven by a friend of his. Last to arrive was Shielwitz, who was disguised as a parson. Andrekenzt placed the bomb carefully in position and lit the fuse.

"Twenty minutes," he announced. "We will now go away and return in a quarter of an hour's time."

Everyone departed but three who lurked in doorways. Bombski extinguished the fuse and put his own bomb there. Shielwitz came and shifted its position.

"No no," said Eidelschartz. "If we are going to blow up the bridge we must put it in the middle."

He did so, but he dropped it into the water, just in time for all the others to see.

"You fool," snarled Schienarawitz. "You have spoiled it all! Now nothing has been accomplished."

"My bomb!" sighed Bombski.

MORAL:

Too many cooks spoil the broth.

secret association also founded by Bakunin in Italy in 1864, and known as the International Fraternity.

Towards the end of the Empire Elisee was in Paris, and had his monumental work, *The Earth*, published in 1867-8; the first volume of this work, *The Continents*, placed him immediately in the foremost rank of geographers of our time.

When the war of 1870-71 broke out and Paris was besieged, Elisee Reclus inscribed himself in the National Guard, and joined the company of aeronauts, directed by his friend, the photographer, Nadar. But events moved quickly in those days. The revolutionary Socialist energy accumulated in France, and especially in Paris, during the last few years of the Empire could not spend itself in pure loss without the bursting of the cloud, and without leaving at least a landmark for the future. The revolution of March 18th broke out in Paris; the Commune was proclaimed.

Here Elisee, who had always proclaimed himself one of the people, gave the true example of how a revolutionist ought to act in a popular revolution. While the Blanquist leaders and the Jacobinists accepted posts in the Government of the insurgent city, and even the Federalist Internationalists accepted their nominations to the Council of the Commune, Elisee shouldered his rifle and remained in the ranks of one of the battalions of the revolted *federes*. He was taken prisoner on the plain of Châtillon and drank the full measure of physical suffering and insults to which the triumphant bourgeoisie subjected its prisoners.

But all the scientific men of England then awoke. Darwin, Wallace, W. Carpenter, and many others of other nations signed a petition demanding the liberation of the great geographer, who had been condemned to transportation in November, 1871. In January, 1872, this sentence was commuted into banishment, and Elisee was able to join his brother Elie at Zurich.

The first thing he wrote in Switzerland was *The Story of a Mountain*, a companion volume to his *Story of a Brook*, perhaps the most beautiful of his writings, wherein he thanked the mountains of Switzerland for the service they had rendered him in allowing him to regain a sort of mental equilibrium after all he had lived through and suffered during the civil war. For in this Elisee Reclus and Goethe are at one. As for the one, so for the other, all Nature lives—the mountain, the stream, the forest are all brothers and sisters to man.

(To be concluded.)

THE ANARCHIST BOOKSHELF

ALTHOUGH you can be an anarchist without ever reading a word, you can make your anarchism more socially effective by learning how other anarchists approach the problem of transforming the complex modern world into a free society. Some of the best books on anarchist theory and practice are out of print and others remain to be written, but we believe that the wealth of material in the Freedom Press pamphlets is not being adequately used. So we are offering our readers parcels of pamphlets at 5/-, which give a very comprehensive introduction to anarchist ideas. Details are given below. Why keep your opinions to yourself? Why not get five sets for £1, post free, and introduce your friends to anarchism?

★

A bargain bundle of pamphlets

★

1. **THEORY AND PRACTISE:**
Anarchy or Chaos.
2. **LAND:**
New Life to the Land.
3. **HEALTH:**
Ill-Health, Poverty and the State.
4. **TRANSPORT:**
Railways and Society.
5. **HOUSING:**
Homes orhovels.
6. **EDUCATION:**
The Education of Free Men.
7. **LITERATURE:**
Poetry and Anarchism.

★

5/- post free

Alex Comfort:
BARBARISM AND SEXUAL FREEDOM
Boards 3/6. Paper 2/6

Alexander Berkman:
A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM 1/-
George Woodcock:
ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6
NEW LIFE TO THE LAND 6d.
RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY 3d.
HOMES OR HOVELS? ...6d.
ANARCHISM AND MORALITY 2d.
WHAT IS ANARCHISM? 1d.
THE BASIS OF COMMUNAL LIVING 1/-

Rudolf Rocker:
NATIONALISM & CULTURE 21/-
Herbert Read:
POETRY AND ANARCHISM Cloth 5/-
Paper 2/6

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM
Boards 2/6, Paper 1/-
THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN 1/-
John Hewetson:
ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI 6d.
ILL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE STATE Cloth 2/6, Paper 1/-
MUTUAL AID & SOCIAL EVOLUTION 1/-

Peter Kropotkin:
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE 1/-
THE WAGE SYSTEM 3d.
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 3d.
SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS
(Chosen by Herbert Read) Cloth 8/6

FREEDOM PRESS

27, Red Lion Street,
London, W.C.1.

C. Berneri:
KROPOTKIN—HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS 2d.
Errico Malatesta:
ANARCHY 3d.
VOTE WHAT FOR? 1d.
M. L. Berneri:
WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA 1/-
F. A. Ridley:
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE MODERN AGE 2d.
Gaston Leval:
COLLECTIVES IN SPAIN 1d.
Charles Duff:
A HANDBOOK ON HANGING 2/-
John Olday:
THE MARCH TO DEATH 1/6
THE LIFE WE LIVE, THE DEATH WE DIE 2/6
A. Ciliga:
THE KRONSTADT REVOLT 2d.
Icarus:
THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT 6d.
"Equity":
THE STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORY 3d.
McCartney:
THE FRENCH COOKS SYNDICATE 3d.
William Godwin:
SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL JUSTICE 3d.
ON LAW 1d.
P. J. Proudhon:
GENERAL IDEA OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE 19th CENTURY Cloth 5/-

THE MANAGEMENT STRIKE

MORE than a year ago was born, on the occasion of a strike of the tramwaymen of Marseilles, the idea of an action of demand on the part of the wage-earners, whose character would not in any way inconvenience the users, and whose conduct would permit the workers on strike to attempt the management of the services in the public interest.

It was, under a practical form and without leaving the ground of the day-to-day struggle, that is to say, with the participation of the greatest number in contact with the population, an attempt to resolve the multiple contradictions which result from bad capitalist management and from the bureaucracy of the organs of the State.

It was a matter for the workers of

the public services (transport, railways, postal services, hospitals) of entering into the struggle against the private enterprises, of forcing them to recognise the sound basis of the working class claims, without the workers of other categories being affected by it—even more, it was a question of proving to these workers that the strikers are capable of managing the services better and more economically.

In fact, the movements among the workers of the Paris underground railways, for example, had caused a considerable disturbance to the life and activities of millions of wage-earners, and the responsibility for that disturbance had been thrown, thanks to governmental propaganda, on to the strikers. Other subsequent strikes (among the railway workers and the miners) had gravely affected the daily life of the workers themselves, ending in ranging one part of the working class against a struggling union, for the greater benefit of the employers and the State.

To ally reformist action, aimed at obtaining increases of wages and improvements of conditions of work, to revolutionary action, leading the proletariat to extra-capitalist and extra-statist solutions, was the pre-occupation of the militant syndicalists who were anxious to escape the false dilemma of private management versus State capitalism.

Indeed, the management strike could not be envisaged in industries like metallurgy or building. But it was perfectly possible in other sectors. The postmen of Toulon applied it according to a particular method: they distributed all letters except those emanating from the tax offices.

Arising from discussion relative to cost of the Paris Underground and on the method to be employed in lowering the permanent deficit, an intensive study of the finances of this transport

entries and exits were carefully checked, but no administrative mechanism functioned. Ridden by red-tape and forms, meddlesome and slow, the hospital system became once again for a few days, under the conduct of the active personnel alone, a real public service, simple and efficacious.

We cannot indeed affirm that the working-class struggles which appear all tend to assume this new, progressive, adult, aspect of the managerial strike. But what is sure is that the idea is abroad and that in a year it has passed from theory to reality, because it corresponds intimately with the needs of a new epoch in which the success of capitalism is every day put in doubt.

The management by the workers of factories, of workshops and of laboratories, becomes a present-day question. It has the merit of being simple and understandable, of being put in concrete terms and of asking for strictly realisable solutions by the wage-earners themselves.

Tired of contemplating the great ideological and political squabbles in diplomatic assemblies, the proletariat shows it is desirous of attacking the very roots of exploitation, of proving its capacity and of creating through its daily struggles its own organisations, socialist and libertarian.

S. PARANE.

LETTER FROM FRANCE

network concluded in favour of a service completely without payment: the price paid by the travellers only served to balance the costs occasioned by the checking of these same travellers by a useless personnel.

In the height of the miners' strike, the managerial formula appeared again, in the Northern coalfield as in that of the Loire. It did not however end in a practical attempt.

Only a fortnight ago the hospital employees of Paris, belonging to syndicates of diverse allegiances, but animated principally by former autonomous workers, to-day connected with the centrist Force Ouvrière, conducted a wholly managerial strike.

Care was taken of the sick people,

IN THEIR MASTER'S FOOTSTEPS

ONLY a few months after the decree of the Council of the Soviet Academy of Sciences depriving a number of Russian geneticists of their duties, Bulgaria has likewise purged its scientists. A special report to the *N. York Herald Tribune* (11/1/49) states that:—

"The adoption of Michurin biology was recently decreed for Bulgarian scientists by the Communist party in Sofia, according to official Bulgarian statements.

The Communist party demanded that Dr. Doncho Kostov, director of the Bulgarian Central Research Institute and a leading agronomist in his country, 'transform Bulgaria's agrobiological science on the basis of Michurin's teaching—on the basis of world Darwinism'.

Bulgaria will not, for the time being, 'eliminate' Dr. Kostov and other scientists 'who have devotedly followed Weismann's teaching,' according to Titko Chernokolov, candidate for membership in the central committee of the Bulgarian Communist party. Dr. Kostov and his colleagues will be allowed to hold their posts 'simply because we have no other available scientists to replace them,' Mr. Chernokolov said, but they will be obliged 'without exception' to change their views and repudiate the anti-Marxist biological teachings of Mendel, Weismann and Morgan 'which have been fully exposed and broken in the Soviet Union'.

'At the same time,' Mr. Chernokolov said, 'we will organise the means to raise new cadres of Michurinists.'

Bulgarian officials said Dr. Kostov steadily refused to recognise his errors even though his 'reactionary attitude has been sharply criticized by Lysenko himself'.

Dr. Kostov, who did research work in Russia before the war, reportedly submitted an official document to the Bulgarian Ministry of Agriculture recently which rejected Lysenko's criticisms. Bulgaria must 'help' Dr. Kostov, Mr. Chernokolov said, 'to learn fully the depth of his mistakes'.

And to think there are normally intelligent people who can accept this kind of talk and maintain that they believe in progress and freedom!

THROUGH THE PRESS

THOSE POOR RICH!

Only 250 people are left in this country with net incomes of £5,000 a year after the tax authorities have finished with them; Sir Stafford Cripps says so. And what a harvest Sir Stafford reaps from these few.

To get £5,000 a year after taxation a man needs a gross income of £50,000. A single man with a wholly earned income of £50,000 pays this year £44,938 income tax and surtax. Nine-tenths for the Chancellor, just over £5,000 for himself.

A man with £100,000 income gets around £6,100 after taxation—it varies a little according to the size of his family and whether his money is earned or from investments. The £500,000 a year man is left with £16,100 after taxation.

Richest man in the country is Sir John Ellerman. His father left the greatest fortune ever recorded in Britain: £18,000,000 after paying death duties. The fortune has increased since then: a recent estimate was £37,000,000.

This amount of capital would yield a million a year gross. But after the Chancellor has taken 19s. 6d. out of nearly every pound, it will leave about £30,000.

Evening Standard, 28/12/48.

Fancy being left with only £5,000 a year whilst those lucky workers only pay a few shillings a week from their £300 a year incomes.

AMERICAN POLICE METHODS IN EUROPE

General Lucius D. Clay's Justice Review Board said to-day that several Americans suspected of black-market activities in Germany were arrested without warrants by United States Army agents and two were "probably" beaten.

The board referred the testimony relating to the alleged beatings to the Army provost marshal.

The board recommended "adequate supervision and inspection" by the Army to insure compliance with regulations governing arrests and search.

It also found that the "isolated location" of a CID office about five miles from Bad Nauheim "presented great opportunity for abuse and accusations of abuse."

Mr. Robinson had charged that several of the PX employees were beaten in this office while being questioned. The board recommended that the CID stop using this and other isolated offices for detention and questioning of witnesses.

The board also recommended that the Army act immediately to insure compliance with directives "which prohibit the use of fear, force, intimidation, threats or promises in interrogating witnesses."

New York Herald Tribune, 23/12/48.

MAKING BETTER CITIZENS

A probation officer yesterday said this of one of two young women charged with housebreaking and receiving:

"I have an idea she committed these offences to get back to the security of Holloway. There is quite a good streak in her that could be developed."

Having spent the best part of seven years in prison or under supervision, she had "completely lost her nerve."

She was Sylvia Bill (23), native of Nottingham, who, with Jean Hodge (22), native of Manchester, was sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

News Chronicle, 11/1/49.

INTERNATIONAL COMMENTARY

DEFENDER OF AFRICA'S MINORITIES

THE Rev. Michael Scott, who has been described as a man who "has laboured to repay something of humanity's debt to those men and women who have been trampled or brushed aside in the world's thoughtless, selfish rush for power and material gain", is again in this country, this time to plead the cause of the Herero tribe who, decimated and deprived of their lands by the Germans in 1904, "have been cheated and tricked by the South African Government ever since."

Michael Scott is not popular among S. African Nationalists and was arrested four times for trespassing on "prohibited sites" reserved for coloured people. Efforts have also been made to take away his passport, and now the S. African Minister of Economic Affairs has threatened to "take action" against him. But undaunted, Mr. Scott continues to speak for the persecuted minorities of the African continent.

UNEMPLOYED DEMONSTRATIONS IN BARI...

WHEN Secretary Di-Donato informed a thousand or so unemployed workers at Bari in Southern Italy that the police had banned any demonstration or protest meeting, and advised the workers to accept instead that their case should be stated by

ONE OF FRANCO'S VICTIMS

THE beautiful millionairess Duchess of Valencia, jailed for a year by a Madrid military court for offences against the Franco régime, wears a New Look dress and nylons in her flower-filled cell in Las Ventas prison for women.

With her dark hair hanging loose over her shoulders she reads a lot and smokes a lot. She is allowed food, books and newspapers from outside.

Her cell is large, airy and central-heated. It is clean, with a tiled floor, a small bed, table, two chairs and basin with running water. The window overlooks a court.

The duchess is exempted from menial service. Other prisoners must help in running the prison.

She is treated with respect by her fellow prisoners, who never fraternise with her.

At mealtimes, the duchess queues with other women, most of whom are serving terms for small offences and are from humble stock. She marches with them to the dining room, where she eats little. She has most of her food in her cell.

The duchess receives few visitors. According to regulations, only her family, close friends, her lawyer, and the administrator for her estate may see her in the visitors' room.

She has been jailed before at Las Ventas for her Monarchist sympathies.

Sunday Express, 2/1/49. A pretty contrast with the "justice" meted out to anti-Franco militants from the working class.

a commission which would leave for Rome that evening—the unemployed refused to accept this old trick and adopted a threatening attitude which met with the usual brutal opposition by the police, who also succeeded in clearing the Labour Exchange of demonstrators, and arrested fifteen men. Twenty demonstrators and policemen were injured. At Andria, near Bari, the *Corriere della Sera* reports that landowners who refused to absorb some of the unemployed on their lands were besieged in their homes and a commandant of the police who had come to their assistance was made prisoner by the demonstrators. A police column sent from Minervino did not succeed in dislodging them and only when tear gas was used did they meet with success. From Bari two columns of armoured cars were dispatched to "restore order".

... AND A DAMP SQUIB IN LONDON

THE *Manchester Guardian* reports Mr. Fenner Brockway, international chairman of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, whose headquarters are in Paris, as saying that Scotland Yard had prohibited the procession which the congress had planned for last Sunday. The procession would have been composed of representatives of Asian and African communities in London to present a protest to the Netherlands Embassy against Dutch policy in Indonesia.

The police were understood to be acting under the Home Office order prohibiting political processions in the Metropolitan area.

How convenient for the police to make the possibility of a violent clash if Fascists demonstrate, an excuse for permanently banning all public processions and demonstrations!

SEVEN LIVES SNATCHED FROM BRITISH COLONIAL JUSTICE

OVER two years ago, a Basutoland chieftain and six other men were sentenced by the High Court of Basutoland to be hanged for the ritual murder in December, 1945, of a 60-year-old man. The men appealed and the sentences were quashed last week by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sitting in London. The appeal judges stated, in allowing the appeal, that they would announce their reasons at a later date.

In commenting on this "narrowly averted miscarriage of justice" the *News Chronicle* (15/1/49) draws attention to the fact that 40 more people still await execution for similar crimes, and asks "How many of them also are innocent?" since not all of the condemned men have the resources to appeal to the Privy Council.

The *Manchester Guardian* reports that Mr. Gordon Walker, Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, who has recently heard the views of many individuals and organisations on this subject has "promised to consider seriously a proposal to send a commission of inquiry to Basutoland to examine the problem and said

he would look at any prima-facie evidence of the maltreatment of accused persons and witnesses."

PROPAGANDA PILLS. One a Day. By Order!

A ROME report states that Italy's Communist party will push distribution of party propaganda and has decreed that each of the 2,200,000 party members must read at least one Communist publication daily.

Unofficial sources said that the reason for the decree was a reported drop in the circulation of *L'Unita*, the Communist daily, and other Communist papers during recent months.

L'Unita carried a party announcement recently which said that the executive committee at a meeting last week appointed a five-man board to "organise and direct action to strongly increase the diffusion of the Communist press" in Italy.

The decree will not be taken too seriously, if we know anything about the membership of the Italian C.P. The fact that some time ago the Italian C.P. was talking of closing its ranks by carrying out a purge which would reduce the party membership to 250,000, gives one an idea of the task now facing the Party bosses. Besides which, a newspaper in Italy costs 15 lire (a worker in the South earns 600 lire a day) and is a luxury, especially for the unemployed, who must represent a large proportion of the C.P.'s membership.

But in any case, the whole idea of reading a paper by order from above is too sickening for words, and it is to be hoped that even Communists will not stand for it.

LIBERTARIAN.

Bertrand Russell

(Continued from page 1)

ment, but in that case he must serve its purpose and not his own."

And he concludes:

"If life is to be saved from boredom relieved only by disaster, means must be found of restoring individual initiative, not only in things that are trivial, but in the things that really matter. I do not mean that we should destroy those parts of modern organisation upon which the very existence of large populations depends, but I do mean that the organisation should be much more flexible, more relieved by local autonomy, and less oppressive to the human spirit through its impersonal vastness, than it has become through its unbearably rapid growth and centralisation, with which our ways of thought and feeling have been unable to keep pace."

In this talk, Russell, singles out three of the most telling condemnations of our society: it discourages spontaneity and destroys initiative, its centralism kills the richness of local and regional life, it can only relieve the boredom of its "peace" with relentless war, because only war gives meaning to its social structure—in Randolph Bourne's famous words, "War is the Health of the State." But does not Russell realise that these characteristics which reach their extreme pitch in the totalitarian state are inherent in any form of governmental society?

C.W.

From our stock...

Christ Stopped at Eboli	Carlo Levi	9/6
The Sky is Red	Giuseppe Berto	10/6
The Ordinary German		
	Harold Picton	7/6
Art and the Child	M. Richardson	18/-
Jews Without Money		
	Michael Gold	10/6

★

From our Second-hand shelves

Kropotkin's:		
Memoirs of a Revolutionist		10/-
Mutual Aid (Heinemann's ed.)		6/-
Letters of Sacco and Vanzetti		
(paper-bound)		7/6
Ehrmann's The Untried Case		
(Sacco and Vanzetti)		7/6
Bertrand Russell's Roads to Freedom,		
Socialism, Anarchism, Syndicalism		3/6
William Blake's The World is Mine		10/-
Lewis Mumford's:		
The Condition of Man		17/6
Technics and Civilization		15/-

★

SEND US YOUR BOOK TOKENS

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

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

27 RED LION STREET LONDON - W.C.1.

OUR READERS ANSWER BACK & WRITE ON—

• Genetics

DEAR COMRADE,

While John Hewetson may be correct in stating that the gem cells which bear the structure of inheritance are uninfluenced by the environment of the individual parent, he cannot draw the unjustified conclusion that future generations will be genetically untrammelled by the unsatisfactory environment of previous generations.

This would be true only if heredity were the only factor in evolution. Individuals are not cut to a pattern, mental and physical differences abound among the individuals of each generation and it is upon these differences that Natural Selection operates.

It is obvious that in each generation some individuals will be more suited to their environment than others, they will prosper, live longer and give their offspring better opportunities of survival. At the other end of the scale, those who are less well adapted will decline, die sooner and leave offspring with poorer opportunities. As this goes on generation after generation, the balance of the species will be changed entirely and we must realize that this is exactly what is happening to the human race.

Capitalism has created an environment in which hypocrisy and the ability to exploit one's fellow men are important factors ensuring survival in the struggle for existence. Whatever we may think of the hypocrite, the sycophant, and the "go-getter", we cannot deny that these are the types which succeed in the present system. Intellectual honesty, the expression of unpopular opinions and the desire to show mankind a fuller and better life are factors which ensure life-long poverty and obscurity to the individual possessing them.

The longer this kind of selection goes on the less fitted will our species be for the creation of a rational society. If capitalism lasts long enough the balance of types will be so changed that the end will be, not Anarchy, but chaos.

Science is on the side of those who use it and it warns us that the system of privileges cannot be destroyed too soon.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR L. EDMONDSON.

• Education

DEAR COMRADES,

I was interested to read a letter signed "Open Mind", which dealt with the question of freedom for children, and the writer's experiments with animals. From the very briefly stated facts which your correspondent gave, however, it is not possible to form any very definite conclusions, although these facts are undoubtedly valuable. I suggest that she must considerably amplify her matter if it is to help towards a fuller understanding of such problems.

But what on earth is one to make of

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
JAN. 23 Jack Gibson
"Structure of the Labour Party"
JAN. 30 Herbert Read
"Existentialism, Marxism and Anarchism"
FEB. 6 Margery Mitchell
"D. H. Lawrence"

FEB. 13 F. A. Ridley
"Conflict of European Ideologies"
(Postponed from JAN. 16)

HAMPSTEAD

Informal meetings for discussion, so far without Chairman or any predetermined subject, are held every TUESDAY, at 7.30 p.m., at:

5, Villas-on-the-Heath,
Vale of Health,
Hampstead, N.W.3.

All comrades are welcome.

MERSEYSIDE LIBERTARIAN GROUPS

PUBLIC MEETINGS
in COOPER'S HALL, Shaw Street,
Liverpool
on Sundays at 7.30 p.m.
JAN. 30 David Pude, Harold Sculthorpe
"The Russian Enigma"

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

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

SEX EDUCATION SOCIETY LECTURES

Monday, Feb. 7th 8 p.m.
A. S. Neill:
"Sex and Self-Regulation"
Admission 2/-
CONWAY HALL,
Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Anthony Weaver's extraordinary statement on the matter?

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

Mr. Weaver delivers this dictum without any explanation—leaving us to guess whether he has indeed evolved a novel scientific theory as to the non-animal nature of mankind, or whether he merely accepts the Catholic doctrine of the Special Creation.

Mr. Weaver's second condemnation is even more shattering. The correspondent deplored the fact that many of her ex-pupils had joined Forces during the war, and to that Mr. Weaver counters:—

"If her pupils rushed madly into uniform in the second year, her Mind must have been too Open. She had failed in her main function as an educator, and her work might have been better done by the State."

This remark assumes that a school-teacher has such tremendous power over the minds of children, that the whole family background and environment, the whole conditioning of the child by Society, the whole war-glorifying tradition in literature, films and press—can be simply nullified by the will of the school-teacher, and every kid turned out a 100% conchie. This idea of the potential omnipotence of the schoolteacher is, I submit, really very stupid. It seems a considerable impertinence to dub an open-minded schoolmistress a failure because many of her ex-pupils joined the Forces.

I myself am a pacifist, but I question whether the production of pacifists is the main function of an educator, as Mr. Weaver so dogmatically avers. The Jehovah's Witnesses and suchlike bodies are very efficient in training children to be pacifists, but such powerful influence on the minds of the young can hardly be called "education". Some institutions may strive to produce militarists, some to produce pacifists; please let us have no cant confusing this with education.

Fraternally,

J.S.

THERE has been a good deal of material published recently in *Freedom* on the subject of the nature of the classless society. I am hoping that the following comments will help to clear away some of the metaphysical cobwebs which seems to persist in discussions on this point.

To me the facts seem straightforward and irrefutable.

An anarchist society is a classless society. Anarchists are (or should be) concerned with the possibility and desirability of achieving such a society as speedily as possible. Whatever they may do as individuals; whatever ideas they may have on countless other matters, the classless society and its achievement should be the fundamental and dominant interest.

We must then be clear on this one important point. It is impossible to have a classless society without the enthusiastic co-operation of the majority of people throughout the industrialised parts of the world. Any idea to the contrary is, of course, fantastic. When the majority of people want a classless society they will get it. There is no force on earth can stop them.

If this be conceded, that there can be no classless society until the majority want it, it follows that the majority must understand it, must know something about the classless society before there can be any interest in its achievement. Here I must state emphatically that that something must be concrete. It is futile mouthing abstractions such as "freedom", "liberty", "justice". To the majority of people these words have become the commonplaces of reformers and the platitudes of politicians. It needs little knowledge of semantics to appreciate the fact that abstractions can mean all things to all men.

The classless society must be shown to be a practical proposition, a valid alternative to the present capitalist system, before any interest on a large enough scale will be shown in its achievement. There will be a good deal more interest when more people at least know that such an alternative is a subject of discussion.

It should never be forgotten that the majority of people are engaged in mass production work. That this has a dulling effect on the intellectual faculties is now well-known. But the

• Socialists

DEAR COMRADES,

I would like to reply very briefly to your comments, attached to the letter of mine that you published in a recent edition of *Freedom*. I intended replying before this but have been too lazy.

First, part of your comment is entirely irrelevant. I did not refer to the differences inside the anarchist movement. I recognise that such exists, but so also does it exist in other organisations. The organisation to which I belong is probably the only political organisation of the working class in which not only do differences exist, but are also recognised, and thoroughly thrashed out in a democratic manner. The movement in question is the I.L.P., of course.

Secondly, you quote extracts from a Labour Party pamphlet, published recently, and make it appear conclusive proof that the Labour Party stands for Socialism. This, of course, is an old trick.

What does matter, however, is that the policy of the Labour Party, and of its government, as laid down by its constitution, and by successive annual conferences is almost entirely opposed to Socialism and all that it stands for. It is quite true that Labour spokesmen have often referred to themselves as Socialist, and several Labour publications have referred to Socialism, but these are constantly contradicting one another. I am reminded of a Labour Alderman on Birmingham City Council (who now has a better job on a nationalised board), addressing a public discussion group in this city, not long ago, who, after stoutly asserting that he was a "Socialist", always had been, and always will be, and then proceeded to bewail the fact that Birmingham Town Hall was a thorough disgrace because when the King and Queen visited the city, in order to reach the Lord Mayor, they had to walk through the portion of the building where the clerks worked!!! This may seem to you nothing to do with the

subject, but it does illustrate that with Labour Party people there is a vast difference between precept and practise.

It is quite possible, as you suggest, that the I.L.P. might go the same way, if, and when, it comes to power, but I hope that by then, we, in the party, in common with those in other organisations who think like us, will have done the job of working class education so well, that the mass of the working class think, talk, work, and act for themselves, and refuse to be led blindly along by leaders.

Yours fraternally,

DOUGLAS A. KEPPEL.

• "Standards of Humanity"

DEAR FRIENDS,

On the second page of the 24th Dec. issue of *Freedom*, a reprint of Dr. Alex Comfort's talk in a B.B.C. series appeared with an invitation to the reader to discuss the ethics and philosophy that Dr. Comfort humanely lives. On the same page as the above article, George Woodcock began his "Literary Notes" with:—

"The illogicality of men of science outside the realm of their own subjects is notorious."

I find the relationship between the conclusions of one and the challenging opening of another—rather significant, and although I shan't use this as a basis for argument against Dr. Comfort's rejection of group discipline, it does seem again another occasion where the views of one 'man of science' remain logical merely because they coincide with the views of George Woodcock. I find in Dr. Comfort's humanity and pacifism a truly noble standard, but his philosophy contributes nothing in raising the intellectual and ethical level of all workers to that of his own. The privileged class that *Freedom* consistently attacks, and whose position is maintained by force, has nothing to fear from anarchy or pacifism. Should

the teachings of either group begin to influence the workers in a practical way as to refuse to submit to authority or participate in war, they (the teachings) can be instantly suppressed. Anarchy might survive as an ember of glowing idealism but would never be sufficiently strong to combat the strength and ruthlessness of capitalist authority. Pacifists will be dispersed by any bully who knows that there would be no retaliation. If Dr. Comfort is humane, he must love mankind. Logically, he must destroy its enemies. How then can he, and you, remain outside a movement whose decisions, made by its members, are binding to all members of the movement? The overthrow of capitalism can only be achieved when all members of the working class are organised; welded together by unity of aim, unity of action and unity of discipline. I see in Anarchy the eventual state of society but its achievement is to be gained from the guidance of Marx and Lenin. At this stage in the structure of capitalist society I visualise that whenever an anarchist group is faced by crises, splits will occur. If majority rule is opposed, who then can be followed? One group becomes two lesser ones, those two may become four and finally the individual is back from where he began—pursuing his own ineffectual struggle for the emancipation of the workers. Should he be an intellectual he has no contact with the workers, no association with proletarian problems and once again subject to the temptations that bourgeois culture and refinement displays. The intellectual becomes the opportunist and betrays the worker who someday will need his guidance and support.

Yours fraternally

BERNARD LEE.

SPECIAL APPEAL

THE long list of contributions to our Special Appeal Fund is explained by the fact that many readers have recently renewed their subscriptions to *FREEDOM* and have taken the opportunity to add a little extra for the Appeal Fund. We thank all those comrades and friends for their solidarity and confidence in the future of the paper.

BUT there are still many subscribers who have not renewed their subscriptions though we have sent them the usual reminder. At the end of this month a second reminder will be sent out and because of the need to practice every economy possible we shall have to remove from our lists all those who do not respond. In the past, as many readers know, we have waited for as long as a year for a subscription to be renewed—and generally our patience has been rewarded, but now we just cannot afford the cost of production and postage, so may we ask those readers who intend to renew their subscription but have not done so yet, to send us their remittance before the end of this month. It will save extra work and expense in sending out a second reminder.

And please don't forget the Special Appeal Fund and the papers ever-present need for more regular readers.

January 1st—13th:

London: J.P.B. 5/-; London: H.L.B. 6d.; London: I.A. 2/6; London: B.H.Y. 5/-; London: E.B. 2/-; London: P.H.S.* 10/-; Bolton: R.S. 1/6; Birmingham: F.D. 1/6; "Man" Gp. Los Angeles: per J.S. £4; London: D.O. 3/6; Aberdeen: D.R. 10/-; Bradford: A.B.H. 5/-; Llanelli: E.G.R. 2/-; Hoddesdon: A.L. 2/6; London: H.W.F. 5/-; Cheltenham: R.C.C. 2/6; Glasgow: T.D. 7/6; London: L.F. 10/-; London: A.S.D. 1/6; Edinburgh: W.M.C. 2/6; Huddersfield: J.R.C. 1/6; Nottingham: K.N. 1/6; London: W.E.C. 2/6; Glasgow: M. di T. 1/-; Dublin: S.R.K. £1/10/0; London: B.H.Y. 4/-; London: J.B. 3/-; Bristol Group: per P.W. 10/-; Northwood: E.H. 11/6; Cambridge: P.A.R. 6/6; London: R.D.* 5/-; Bournemouth: L.H. 1/-; Stockton-on-Tees: R.H.M. 1/6; Anlaby: D.R.* 2/6; Stirling: R.A.B.* 10/-; Bristol: S.G.C. 5/6; Glasgow: A.M.C.D. 3/-; San Francisco Gp.: per O.M. £5; Sidmouth: J.S.* 2/6; London: L.G.W. 5/-; Colchester: W.G.P. 1/6; London: W.C. 7/6; London: A.B.F. £1; Chelmsford: J.B. 11/6; London: P.F.* 5/6; Gosport: F.G.* 5/-; Horwich: W.H.B. 5/-; London Colney: E.H. 10/-.

£23 13 6

PARCEL OF BOOKS

A.O., Bargoed.

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 a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers.

FREEDOM PRESS

27 Red Lion Street

London, W.C.1 England

Tel.: Chancery 8364.

* "M.M.G." After "Money must go!"
by Philoren.