

Freedom

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Threepence

BOMBERS AND DOLLARS

The Everlasting Crisis

THE Royal Commission on the Press seems to have painted a rosy picture of a free, independent, courageous body of commentators on events, quite free from political or private pressures; and it is no doubt true that the British newspapers are very far from being a "kept press" in the totalitarian sense that we know from the Fascist and Nazi press, or from the official Communist papers. All this does not mean, however, that the newspapers are not a very powerful weapon in the hands of the ruling class for the purpose of moulding the ruled.

ANXIETY NEWS.

When commenting on the news therefore it is well to bear in mind factors which are not directly implicit in the contents of newspapers. The British public, for example, has been continuously fed for years with news of a crisis type. Before the war we were continually reminded of the danger of war; during the war years of the paramount claims of the war effort, the danger of

defeat, the necessity to bend every effort towards victory. Since 1945—those long four years that have been more like wartime than peace—the struggle for exports, the need for austerity, the threats from Russia, have all been poured out by the press on the moderately stolid heads of the public. It is apparent that such continuous "anxiety news" serves many governmental ends. It deflects attention from personal grievances, and brands those who insist on their discussion—strikers, reformers—as unpatriotic, selfish, sectional; it prepares minds to accept hardship, limitation of opportunity, inability to control one's own life, the idea of future wars.

Aware of this anxiety function of crisis news, we are unwilling to add to the volume of fearfulness which is such a useful frame of mind in the mass of people from the point of view of their rulers. Unfortunately, the warnings we have to sound are free from "heaven round the corner" compensations with which the capitalist press tempers its dire prophecies. We are unable to say that poverty and war can be averted if only the British worker will draw in his belt still further, will work harder as in the days after Dunkirk. Repetitive experience makes us recognize a carrot when we see one.

CASSANDRA'S VOICE

At the same time, the mantle of Cassandra is always an uneasy garment for its wearer, for no one likes to have his gaze directed at an unbelievably dreary future, or to hear repeated again and again the same warnings, the same remedial advice, with the not always unspoken "I told you so" in the background.

Just the same, the combination of new crisis editorials about the dollar gap with the roar of planes over London and other cities is too pointed to leave undiscussed.

It has often been pointed out that deepening economic crises which have been recurring with increasing frequency in capitalist economies since the end of the last century have steadily driven towards a permanent war economy. Economic crisis before 1914 (with its social expression in the development of syndicalism) was met first by rearmament (especially naval rearmament in the building of "Dreadnoughts") and then by war itself. It fell to Sir Edward Grey as Foreign Secretary to declare war on Germany in 1914, and he remarked: "The lights are going out all over Europe. They will not be relighted in our time." The

era of permanent war preparation had dawned, for rearmament was the means of meeting the great depression of 1930, and it was followed once again by war. Since 1945, though war production has slackened, it has never been restored to anything like the former peacetime level.

DILEMMA OF CAPITALISM

The problem is a dilemma implicit in capitalist production. The purchasing power of an industrial community is provided by its wages. But these wages are themselves an item in production costs, and both the raw material costs, and profits must be added to them before the selling price can be arrived at. It follows that the volume of wages—the purchasing power of the community—can never absorb the total value of the goods produced, and this fact makes it vitally necessary to sell goods outside the home market, that is to say, to export products abroad. This axiom of capitalism was expressed by such phrases as "Germany must export or bust", or the more delicate ones about Britain's complete dependence on export trade. Unfortunately, what is true for Germany or Britain is also true for every other industrial country, and therefore for almost every country of the globe. It is this struggle for exports that creates the competition for markets that has for long been recognised as the preliminary stages of military war.

Rearmament and war itself provide a temporary solution to slumps; but at the same time they aggravate the basic problems which emerge sharper than ever at the weary close of hostilities. These facts have been reiterated so many times in our generation that they can hardly be questioned, their lesson unlearned; and, indeed, almost everyone is more or less obscurely aware of the basic economic sequence of slump, rearmament, war, slump.

American fears of slump—the dreadfully ironical word "over-production" is once more on editor's mouths; Cripps and the dollar gap; the roar of war planes above and the rattle of tanks in the streets of our cities. All these epitomize the lot and the history of twentieth century men and women, and make Cassandra's voice hard to dismiss as mere raving.

GRASP OF THE HISTORICAL PROCESS.

That the process of our history should be clearly understood is tremendously important however. In the capitalist press, rearmament is represented as the "solution" to unemployment, war as the final means of "solving" international rivalry, new rearmament as the "guarantee" of peace; the steps in the inevitable progression are thus represented not as logical and fateful consequences, not as cause and effect, but as problem and solution. The vicious circle will never be broken while such argumentation continues to be acceptable.

Breaking the circle is not possible while retaining capitalist economic methods with their basic expansionist dilemma, and once this fact is firmly grasped palliative solutions are seen

(Continued on page 4)

THE SITUATION ON THE RAILWAYS THE WORKERS FACE THE STATE

IT has often been demonstrated in the course of working-class struggle, that the prognostications of politicians and the boasts of the union bureaucrats do not always accord with the facts as events unfold themselves. In the matter of the railway crisis we are very forcibly reminded of the fact that the predictions of the so-called leaders are based on the merest guess-work.

For years, at conference after conference of the N.U.R., there was automatically passed the resolution calling for the nationalisation of all forms of transport. The sponsors were primarily the full-time officials and the political stooges of the Labour Party. The arguments:—Nationalisation would bring about substantial economies to the good of the community. State control would mean that the wages and conditions of the railway workers would be secure; and it was confidently whispered that an adequate pension would surely come with a nationalised industry.

Mr. Benstead, late secretary of the N.U.R., was a frequent performer in the annual rehearsal for the State railway phantasm held at the N.U.R. conferences. Mr. Allen, late secretary of the A.S.L.E. & F., came in later with a show at the conferences of that union.

Then nationalisation came; the union officials were rewarded with positions on the Railway Commission and the Railway Executive, and many railway workers, still obsessed with capitalistic ideas of success, believed this must be the beginning of a new attitude to the worker. Brochures and propaganda booklets had been published by the unions to boost the qualities of these men and show their unswerving loyalty to the workers in the struggle for better wages and conditions.

But actually the leadership of the railway unions had run true to style—it had badly misled the railway workers, especially during the war years. Railwaymen were granted the

least wage increases to cope with the mounting cost-of-living. When the end of the war came, railwaymen, were, having regard to the increased cost-of-living, below the pre-war rates of wages. The leaders had served the State and not the workers, and for their loyalty to the State and, their capacity to frustrate any demands of the workers, they were appointed to the £5,000 a year jobs on the railway boards.

Now, another great illusion is being exposed. The nationalised industry is proving a more ruthless opponent of decent wages and conditions than the private railway companies, and precisely because the industry is controlled by the State. The full powers of the State can now be directed against the workers; the State power is vastly more powerful than the

As Anarchists Saw It Fifty Years Ago

WE see in the organisation of the posts and telegraphs, in the State railways, and the like—which are represented as illustrations of a society without capitalists—nothing but a new, perhaps improved, but still undesirable form of the Wage System. . . . We maintain that the State organisation, having been the force to which the minorities resorted for establishing and organising their power over the masses, cannot be the force which will serve to destroy these privileges.

KROPOTKIN

(Modern Science & Anarchism)

THE "MAD DUTCHMAN" and the BULGARIAN DICTATOR

DIMITROV has died in the odour of "Communist" sanctity even if a slightly fishy odour pervades his disagreements with Stalinist policy. But in the last years of his life he has achieved all his ambitions, the power and the glory were his. The journalists of even the unthinking capitalist press accorded him every possible credit for his "courageous defiance" of Goering at the "Reichstag Trials" (which contrasted so forcibly with the feeble recantations of the Opposition Communists in the later Moscow Trials) and on their coverage of the Trials Dimitrov rose to his position of power.

And the first human sacrifice still rankled in his breast! He could never forgive Van Der Lubbe! The Communist defendants at the "Reichstag Trial" exonerated themselves of the hideous, unthinkable crime of destroying a Nazi Parliament!—The blame they pinned on Van Der Lubbe, who, beaten and tortured, drugged and dying as he was never recanted his part in it. He belonged to a revolutionary sect without the propaganda facilities of Dimitrov and Co., and his good name was fair game for the Stalinists who never ceased to blacken and besmirk his reputation lest the dead Van Der Lubbe mock the courage of the living Dimitrov.

Even the journalists suffered from the qualms about the first sacrifice of Dimitrov, for they too hurl abuse at the man long since murdered by the Hitlerites.

The staid Observer in its obituary of

Dimitrov must needs sneer at the "half-witted Dutchman", while Reynolds News, so much nearer the Moscovites, calls this "mad Dutch vagabond" a Nazi "stooge". The sane men of the Kremlin, who compromised the lives of others from their comfortable exile (attained often by the heroism of escape admittedly) were not Nazi stooges—at least till the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939. But Van der Lubbe struck at the citadel of Nazism—no names were too harsh to call this "vagabond"! As Van Der Lubbe was doomed to die anyway, maybe Dimitrov felt himself justified in securing his own release at Van Der Lubbe's expense. And so Van Der Lubbe was not a major sacrifice in the Communist leader's rise to power.

Many more sacrifices followed. Even Petkov, the Socialist leader who had defended Dimitrov, was hanged; many more fell who had been his friends or defenders. First and always to be victims of the Bulgarian dictatorship were the Anarchists, whose unending struggle for freedom could only be met by the vilest suppression from the dictatorship. Once more Dimitrov repeated his "courageous defiance" of the time of the Reichstag Trials; faced with a rebellious movement he not only murdered but slandered, as he had with the individual revolutionary. The Observer says that "the virtues which had made him a hero became the vices of a despot." Perhaps it is hard for others to appreciate the differences between his "vices" and his "virtues".

INTERNATIONALIST.

"Get thee glass eyes;
And, like a scurvy politician
seem
To see the things thou dost
not."
—William SHAKESPEARE
(King Lear, 1608)

private employers; and it is no longer a question of profits *versus* wages, but the administration of the industry is interlocked with the general policies of the State machine. Because the conduct of economic policies in a world of chaos and want is being carried on in the same old capitalistic way of cut-throat competition, the State demands that wages costs shall not be increased. Relatively, to the continued increase in the cost-of-living, this means that the "wages of all workers must come down". In the year 1925, a Tory Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, made the historic statement that "the wages of all workers must come down". The statement was clear, there was not the ambiguity about it as there has been about the wage-freeze statements of the Labour politicians. It resulted in such a revolutionary upsurge among the workers that millions were ready and anxious to fight against the Government in defence of wages, as was shown in the 1926 General Strike.

The N.U.R. was the union principally concerned in founding the Labour Party. It fostered the myth that putting politicians in power could bring betterment to the workers. To-day, it proudly boasts of its numerous members in public office as Labour representatives; of its Labour M.P.'s. But the logic of events, the great contradiction of the worker divorced from the wealth he creates, and the intolerable burden of a gigantic State apparatus wasting the wealth produced by the worker in interminable political struggles, has forced the biggest railway union against the Labour Government as the State.

The decision to "Work to Rule" was an attempt to avoid the legal consequences of an officially supported strike. It had overwhelming support from the railwaymen, but there were many weaknesses which only the workers could eradicate. If entered into with proper understanding, the determination could have been still further heightened, and the lessons to be learned would have enriched the railwaymen, and others, in sound ideas of the principles of workers' control of industry.

Clearly, the first requisite is for the rank and file members of the N.U.R. to strive for the solidarity of the rank and file of other unions involved. Whilst there are rules which if strictly observed can slow-down the job, this alone is not sufficient to bring the maximum pressure on the Railway Executive. Every grade must play an adequate part; the brunt of the fight must not be allowed to fall on the lowly-paid goods workers. Engineers have a special responsibility to ensure the success of the struggle. Should the A.S.L.E. & F. leadership continue its uncooperative attitude it can only result in acute disunity and encouragement in scabbing activities. It is for the rank and file of the N.U.R. to call for the solidarity of members of the A.S.L.E. & F., and the Signalmen's Union—which is a union springing from past dissatisfaction with the hitherto reactionary leadership of the N.U.R. The small I.W.W. Rail Industrial Union, is already propagating the practical principles of a "work to rule" strike. The great need will be for committees inclusive of all grades to be set up at the depots, sheds, stations, yards, etc., to co-ordinate activities and give reports. As experience is gained, the fight can be improved and intensified. Rank and file committees must insist that no settlement is made, unless first endorsed by mass meetings of all workers affected. Too often have we realised in the past, the extreme danger of the power being in the hands of some officials or group of officials to make a defeatist settlement.

Solidarity among all Grades!

Rank and File Committees!

For Workers' Control of Industry!

"ENGINEERMAN".

Early American Libertarians

FROM the references to the recent campaign against "un-American activities", it seems likely that Rocker's new book has been re-framed from its original conception in order to show that radical thought in America springs more from the Declaration of Independence and the ideas behind it, than from "foreign" influences, and that this is the reason for excluding any discussion of "foreign-born" anarchists like, for instance, Emma Goldman, even though so much of her work was done in the United States. Rocker states on page 162 that:

"It is not the purpose of this study to provide a critical survey of the ideas and methods of the individualistic anarchists or to press the strong or weak points of their propaganda. The purpose of this book is rather to present an objective view of their doctrines and especially to show that Anarchism in America is not a foreign importation but a product of the social conditions of this country and its historical traditions. Anarchism existed in America at a time when no indication of an Anarchist movement was to be discovered in Europe. Its basic economic and political ideas were already worked out by Josiah Warren before Proudhon conceived his great historical task. It must be regarded therefore as a part of American history, the recording of which would be defective and incomplete if one should overlook this side of intellectual life in America."

The Pioneers

One might criticise this approach on the grounds that anarchism as an attitude to life knows no frontiers and appears to be natural to humanity in all times and climates, or on the grounds that after all, the only anarchism indigenous to North America would be that of the Red Indians, and that the majority of Americans are the descendants of immigrants from the continent long after the foundations of the United States were laid by colonists of predominantly English origin. Nevertheless, there is a specifically American tradition and those doctrines known as individualist anarchism are best understood when seen in their historical setting. Voltaireine de Cleyre in her old pamphlet *Anarchism and American Traditions* began:

"American traditions, begotten of religious rebellion, small self-sustaining communities, isolated conditions, and hard pioneer life, grew during the colonization period of 170 years from the settling of Jamestown to the outburst of the Revolution. This was in fact the great constitution-making epoch, the period of charters guaranteeing more or less of liberty, the general tendency of which is well described by Wm. Penn in speaking of the charter for Pennsylvania: 'I want to put it out of my power, or that of my successors, to do mischief.'"

It is against this independent pioneering background and the later period of intense intellectual activity—the age of the Encyclopaedists, Godwin and the French and American revolutionists, that Rocker's history begins. The first part of his book deals with those he describes as "American Liberals"—Tom Paine, Jefferson, Emerson, Thoreau, W. L. Garrison and Wendell Phillips and Abraham Lincoln. The second part is entitled "American Radicals" and tells the story of Josiah Warren, Stephen Pearl Andrews, Lysander Spooner, William B. Greene, Benjamin R. Tucker and "Tucker's col-

Rudolf Rocker, the author of *Nationalism and Culture*, was born at Mainz 76 years ago. In the nineties he lived in Paris and then came to the East End of London where, though not a Jew, he edited the *Yiddish Workers' Friend* from 1898 till 1914. He was interned during the first World War and afterwards returned to Germany where he was active in the Anarchist movement until the Nazis drove him out in 1934. He now lives in America where the Rocker Publications Committee was set up to finance the publication of his works which the commercial publishers have largely ignored. The latest of these is *Pioneers of American Freedom, Origin of Liberal and Radical Thought in America** which was first announced several years ago under the title *Pioneers of Libertarian Thought in America*, and has already appeared in Spanish.

laborators and other exponents of philosophical anarchism in America". He concludes with chapters on "The Influence of American individualist anarchism in Europe", "Anarchism and the American Tradition", and "America in Reverse". This final chapter is an indictment of the terrible persecution which both liberal and revolutionary ideas have suffered in America, from the religious witch-hunts, the alien and sedition laws, the awful treatment of the opponents of slavery, the Klu Klux Klan, the Comstock regime, the Criminal Anarchy laws, down to the present heresy hunt. (According to a report in *The World* last year, Rocker himself was threatened with deportation.)

Many of the thinkers whose ideas and activities Rocker describes, represent currents of opinion which do not find a ready equivalent in this country. The abolitionists had to fight a harder and more desperate struggle than, for instance, William Wilberforce, the form of individual anti-statism which does not find capitalist industry incompatible with personal freedom, died in Britain with *laissez-faire* liberalism, with certain exceptions like Aubergeron Herbert—or on a lower plane, Sir Ernest Benn. Rocker reminds us that the pioneer in 19th century America was the counterpart of the social revolutionary in Europe. The pre-occupation with economic mechanisms that one finds in, for instance, Josiah Warren and William Greene—the American Proudhons, is a reflection of their greater opportunities, in a new country for making practical experiments in Mutual Banking, Labour Notes and the other attempts to arrange distribution in a manner equitable to both producer and consumer. Rocker's presentation of his liberals and radicals is always sympathetic and rich in bibliographical and biographical information, and he has made an extremely interesting choice of quotations to represent their views. I cannot resist this, which comes from Wendell Phillips:

"Hung Fung was a Chinese philosopher, well nigh a hundred years old. The Emperor once said to him: 'Hung, ninety years of study and observation must have made you wise. Tell me, what is the great danger of government?' 'Well,' quoth Hung, 'it's the rat in the statue.' 'The rat in the statue!' repeated the Emperor, 'What do you mean?' 'Why,' retorted Hung, 'you know we build statues to the memory of our ancestors. They are made of wood, and are hollow and painted. Now, if a rat gets into one, you can't smoke it out—it's the image of your father. You can't plunge it into the water—that would wash off the paint. So the rat is safe because the image is sacred.'"

Some Limitations

The classification of the subjects into *Liberals* and *Radicals* may be convenient but it seems a little arbitrary that while the "Gentlemen Anarchists" appear as radicals, the uncompromising if solitary revolutionary Henry David Thoreau should be described as a liberal. Again, it seems a great pity that the self-imposed limits of Rocker's study should have concentrated so rigidly upon indi-

vidualist anarchism. A small example, but one we are bound to notice, of the way in which this exclusive concern gives a one-sided history is in the chapter on influences outside America when he tells how Henry Seymour, strongly influenced by Tucker, founded the English paper *The Anarchist* in 1885 and how—

"... through his acquaintance with Peter Kropotkin, Saverio Merlino, Mrs. Wilson, Sergius Kravchinsky (Stepniack) etc., *The Anarchist* for a time (1866-7) took another direction but later assumed its original character again,"

but he does not explain that this other direction was because these people, dis-

satisfied with the individualist anarchism of *The Anarchist* had begun *Freedom* as a more revolutionary journal. This is an insignificant point but it illustrates a certain incompleteness in his main theme.

On the other hand, Rocker's view that revolutionary anarchism does not find a place in "native" American traditions is shared by Paul Ghio, whose curious *L'Anarchisme aux Etats-Unis* (Paris 1903), to which Rocker does not refer, is the only other long work on the subject. Ghio says:

"The United States have known the two forms of anarchism; but while it is to be noticed that, if the extreme indi-

vidualism has been a spontaneous product of race and background, insurrectionary communism assumes on the other hand all the characteristics of an imported article."

Here then is a dilemma: having proved to American nationalists that individualist anarchism is free from any foreign taint, we find that the revolutionary variety is definitely European in origin. The American anarchists might well answer, "So what?" It is certainly paradoxical that Rocker the refugee of 1934 should have to draw the line between those American traditions which date from the Declaration of 1776, and those which date from the Chicago Martyrs of 1887; that Rocker whose own internationalist outlook emerges from every page, should have to prove that the individualists were "one hundred per cent. American"; that Rocker the anarcho-syndicalist should have to exclude revolutionary anarchism from his book.

What is an Un-American?

It is also a pity that, in discussing the "un-American" purge, which is primarily directed against pro-Soviet elements, he does not attempt to explain the less obvious reasons for "un-American" loyalties and for the violence of the antipathy towards them. Margaret Mead in *The American Character* says:

"Experience in America had broken, more surely than ever before in history, the tie between blood and ideals, between land of birth and land of political dreaming. Most radicals, in literature, in art, in politics, were Americans who depended upon a European inspiration. As such they have been fought in America with a fury which cannot be explained by mere references to bourgeois mentality. Pre-cariously balanced against a sort of political background which has never been developed before and for which there are inadequate sanctions, the American is specially frightened of these artifact nostalgias for the Left Bank or the Soviet Union, and is especially cruel in his persecution of them."

Rocker with his long and intimate connection with the Jews, and his careful study of the Soviet Union could have contributed greatly both to the exposure of the American "Red Scare" and the anti-Semitism which is closely associated with it, and to the breaking down of the woolly Stalinist illusions which prevent many of those who are not satisfied with American institutions from effectively transforming them. Or, on the other hand, he could have given us a complete picture of libertarian thought in America without seeking to prove that it was never "un-American". The absorbing way in which he introduces us to the lives and aims of the pioneers that he does deal with in this book, is an indication of how fine and valuable such a work would be.

C.W.

The Marquis de Sade

DONATIEN Alphonse François, the Marquis de Sade, who was born of a noble Provençal family in 1740, has been the most maligned of the great revolutionary philosophers; people have been all too ready to metamorphose de Sade into the strange and terrible characters which people his novels—into Minski, Norceuil, and Saint Fond—therefore his voice has been gagged by the condemnations of rose-perfumed literary critics and the yappings of propagators of slavery. But since the beginning of this century there has been a certain movement in his favour. This was started by a German doctor, Eugene Duehren, and the great French poet, Guillaume Apollinaire, who published a selection of de Sade's work with a very serious and good introduction. This movement was continued by another Frenchman, Maurice Heine, who died in 1940. This man cleared up much of the fog obscuring de Sade's work and character. Contrary to popular opinion, Sade was a most humane and great man, and after the French Revolution when he was in a position of some authority as President of the Section des Piques, he consistently refused to sentence people to the guillotine as he was a strong opponent of the death sentence. He even refused to sentence to death a woman who in earlier life had caused him to be imprisoned.

His revolutionary ideas cost de Sade much; he spent 28 years 3 months of his life in the great prisons of France and ended his life, through the machinations of Napoleon and others, in the lunatic asylum of Charenton where he died in December, 1814.

Although Sade believed in a form of government he also believed that there should only be few and mild laws. "There follows I feel—the necessity of creating mild laws and above all of abolishing for ever the atrocity of the death penalty!" He believed that in the universe he planned, man being free would not become wild but would indeed need only these few mild laws and would become happier than ever before.

In de Sade's novel *Les Infortunes de la Vertu*, a female brigand, a wild anti-social creature, called La Dubois, has a philosophy which she outlines to the unfortunate heroine of the book, Justine, and in her speech are certain memorable ideas—La Dubois is filled with a terrible bitterness against the rich, that is why she has become a brigand—"Nature has caused us to be born equal, Sophie, if it pleases fate to upset this first plan of general laws, it is our duty to correct these caprices, and to repair the most strong usurptions by our cleverness", and she defends any actions that the poor care to take to help themselves—"the hardness of the rich excuses the roguery of the poor", and again—"I love to hear these rich, these judges, these magistrates, I love to see them preach virtue to us; it is very difficult to understand theft when one has three times more than is necessary to live, difficult to understand murder when one is surrounded only by adulators or dutiful slaves".

De Sade has indeed something to say and once the bat-wings of evil have finally been ripped from his shoulders who can tell how great a man will be revealed? R. EDWARDS.

MARXISM AND THE TITO - COMINFORM STRUGGLE

IT has been the proud boast of Communists that Marx and Engels had discovered certain contradictions in the capitalist society which made its collapse inevitable. "Over-production", unemployment, falling wages, the struggle of the great powers for markets overseas and the resulting wars were, according to them, bound to lead to the breakdown of the old system and its replacement by Socialist States whose new ruling class, the proletariat, would guarantee peace and plenty, prevent the re-appearance of national antagonisms and herald a new era of international solidarity. On the strength of these discoveries, Marx and Engels claimed to be the exponents of "scientific" Socialism and spoke with condensation of those "Utopian" thinkers like Proudhon who advocated a free society because he thought it ethically desirable rather than because he considered it economically unavoidable.

A hundred years after Marx's materialist conception of history, that is to say his doctrine that economic forces are predominant in the direction of human affairs, had been expounded in the *Communist Manifesto*, it received a great shock through a conflict in which the protagonists are those very States which have advanced the furthest on the road to authoritarian Socialism. It is not surprising therefore that the Tito-Cominform dispute has among many questions also raised the following: "What is the Marxist interpretation of the dispute and how valid is it?"

Among the various charges against Tito there is one which always occurs. Instead of building Socialism the present rulers of Yugoslavia have detached themselves from the "peace-loving bloc" by reintroducing private capitalism in the towns, supporting the richer peasants against the poorer in the countryside, and by trading with the West instead of with the East. On closer examination, these charges made both in 1948 and today seem baseless when made against a country in which even lemonade kiosks are State-owned and in which the number of collective farms run by party bureaucrats is higher than in any other Russian satellite State. Unlike Poland, Yugoslavia did not at the time of the Cominform resolution have a trade agreement with either the U.S.A. or Britain; moreover most of its raw materials were exported to the Soviet Union at less than world prices in return for armaments for Tito's army.

Since the economic factors, in direct contradiction to the Marxist theory, have played a purely secondary rôle in bringing out the dispute, one must look elsewhere for the forces which caused it. One of the chief characteristics of the Stalinist form of government is that its rulers require absolute obedience from all their subordinates. Party purges, concentration camps, never-ending propaganda and the control of production and distribution become the most powerful weapons to enforce this obedience, consolidate the dictatorship

and perpetuate the régime. To this end all means are admissible; a Trotsky can be chased round half the world and murdered, a Bakunin becomes "son of a bitch" at his trial, millions of peasants can be uprooted and moved to another continent in order to introduce "Socialism" in the countryside and a little-known Tito could be sent by the Comintern in 1937 to purge the Yugoslav C.P. of "all alien, vacillating elements".

When that same man 11 years later, basing his stand on the geographical position of his country and on the wartime record of the Yugoslav C.P. as compared to that of the other European C.P.'s, tries to prevent the U.S.S.R. from gaining complete control of a State machinery which he thinks is due to him alone, then the Stalinist world changes its views. The Cominform journal which 18 months ago boasted that Tito's Yugoslavia was making such progress that it was beginning to surpass Britain in certain fields, now blames the Marshal for turning the same country "into a chamber of horrors". Although the entire Communist élite in Eastern Europe has taken part in the quarrel the only thing both sides can agree is that their opponents have fatally deviated from Marxism-Leninism and are using "Nazi" methods. Or to quote some of their more colourful, "scientific" statements, the Cominform has sunk into the deepest mud" while the present rulers of Yugoslavia are "thievish as cats and timid as hares". I.A.

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Unrealised Wealth

THE first impression one receives of Canada is that the vastness of the country and the variety of conditions and cultures makes it extremely difficult to write about in any generalised way. It is the third largest country in the world, with a population about a quarter that of the British Isles, and one is immediately conscious on traversing it of vast potentialities unrealised. It is impossible, until one has actually travelled through them, to realise the resources of the great forests of Northern Ontario and British Columbia, the reserves of minerals still untouched in the Rockies, and the potentialities of the agricultural areas, which are still cultivated by the most wasteful forms of extensive culture. But of this at least one becomes quickly convinced, that all the talk by politicians about the world not being able to produce enough food is so much eyewash when such vast areas are in a state of chronic under-development. Hundreds of square

miles of territory are cleared yearly by the loggers, and then just allowed to relapse into brush instead of being permanently cleared for agricultural work. A particular example of poor development is Vancouver Island, where I am now living. This island has an area larger than that of England, with a temperate climate, soft winters, and fertile soil. Yet it does not produce the farm and garden produce to feed its less than 200,000 inhabitants, and imports cabbages from Texas, tomatoes from Mexico,

LETTER FROM CANADA

carrots from Ontario, and so on.

Across the continent, social conditions vary immensely. In French Canada and the Maritime provinces wages are low, the standard of living poor. It is not infrequent in these places for men to receive wages of 25 cents an hour or less. In British Columbia, on the other hand, ordinary labouring work is often paid at the rate of a dollar an hour, with prices of food on an average about the same as those in Britain, so that the standard of living is relatively high. This difference is very largely due to the relatively higher degree of independence in the Western provinces. As yet, the recession which is creeping across North America has not hit them and, while prices are already falling in the increasing atmosphere of competition for a shrinking market, labour is still scarce, while many of the men in country districts combine outside work with a small farm of their own.

In Eastern Canada, which has for long been under the domination of a reactionary alliance of the Church, the landlords and the capitalists, a wave of rebellion has at last begun to stir, and this has been symbolised in the great strike of the workers of the little industrial town of Asbestos. Indeed, the militancy shown here, with its pitched battles against the police, has been so great that the Catholic Church, fearful of losing its hold, has changed horses in mid-stream, switched from open reaction to "liberal Catholicism", and declared its support for the strikers against the government. So far, unfortunately, the workers seem to have been taken in by this manoeuvre, and the very mixed motives behind this upsurge of militancy is illustrated by the incident in which two reporters of a Montreal newspaper were beaten up by strikers, not because they were suspected of unfairness, but because they spoke English in "a French country".

The other important industrial conflict in Canada has been the dispute in Canadian ports between the

Canadian Seamen's Union and the Seamen's International Union. Here, again, motives and issues are very involved. Hostile observers brand the C.S.U. strike as a Communist manoeuvre. It is indeed true that the Communists have a great deal of say in the C.S.U., and would like to use it as a weapon for exercising control over the shipping industry in order to further their own political ends. But it must also be recognised that, unfortunately, the Communists in Canada still act as a focus for a considerable body of real working-class militants, and it is certain that the majority of the C.S.U. strikers are mainly concerned to avoid the domination of their industry by the extremely reformist S.I.U., affiliated to the right-wing American A.F. of L., and supported by the shipowners as the next best thing to a real scab union.

Politically, Canada is conservative, with a tendency in isolated districts to break into odd forms of radicalism (for example, the continued cult of Social Credit in the West), but, except in the East, there is comparatively little of the blatant reactionism of the United States. Red baiting, however, is certainly on its way, and discriminatory legislation forms a plank of the election platform of at least one political party.

However, I shall take the opportunity to discuss Canadian political parties and their aims in a later note on the elections which are due to take place this month, and in preparation for which public works are being pressed forward furiously in most provinces, in the hope that this energetic rolling of the pork barrels will influence the voters.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

WASHINGTON MATHEMATICS

ADMINISTRATION plans for implementation of the North Atlantic Security Pact call for the granting to West Europe of £282,500,000 in armament. Of this sum, £169,500,000 is to go for new weapons, some of them to be produced in Europe with American dollar aid. But about £113,000,000 is to be taken from Army surplus.

The catch in this mathematical outline is the value placed on war surplus military equipment. Though it is neither used nor damaged, it has been marked down to 10 per cent. of the original value. Hence, if Congress votes to send £13,000,000 in Army surplus, it will actually be spending for this purpose closer to £1,130,000,000.

Worldover Press.

TOLSTOY'S SCHOOL AT YASNAYA POLYANA

TOLSTOY started his school in an upper room of his house in 1859. On the morning of opening he met on his doorstep about twenty peasant children dressed in the customary white linen. He led them upstairs where they found blackboard and tables, and Tolstoy set about teaching the alphabet.

In a short time numbers grew to 40—boys and girls aged from 7 to about 13, and 4 adult students—and remained fairly constant at this level. There were three classes and three teachers in addition to Tolstoy. Presently, a school-house was built on the estate. Some children who could not be persuaded to go home at the end of the day slept in the woods or a nearby hut. On Sunday afternoons, the school museum was open to the public, and at this time the staff held their meetings to discuss the progress of individual children and the plans for the coming week.

Tolstoy was known simply by his Christian name. There were no compulsory lessons, nor punishments nor rewards for the children, nor compulsory methods for the teachers: the best methods were held to be those that the teacher liked best. If the teaching was good, pupils came of their own accord, and found it as necessary to do so as to breathe the air.

The chief practical activities were agriculture and gym. The timetable, from 8—12 in the mornings, consisted of Reading, Penmanship, Arithmetic, History, Music and Drawing; and in the afternoons, from 3—6, of Physics, Singing and

Writing. (Note: no foreign languages or biology.) Tolstoy held that History should begin with the present and work backwards, and that Geography should begin with the locality and work outwards—but both subjects he thought were largely incomprehensible until the university stage.

EDUCATION

Tolstoy inspired his pupils to write plays and indeed the success of a play by a boy named Fedka and his two friends filled him with enthusiasm. They had worked through the night to finish it. Tolstoy printed it in his monthly educational journal; and it led him to expound his belief that the need to serve and enjoy art is inherent in every human being. Creative writing, Tolstoy held, was a natural and indispensable activity. Grammar was learned in the process of writing: it was useless to teach it as a separate piece of knowledge. His reading manual, known as the *ABC Book* was used in his own school, and in 1900 100,000 copies of it were printed.

During the second year's work at the school, Tolstoy felt an acute need to enlarge his knowledge of educational theory and practice. Characteristically, therefore, he dropped everything else to achieve this: he left the school in charge of one of the teachers, and set out on a tour of Europe, the second and last that he was to make. He visited schools and observed lessons

FILMS THE TRAGEDY OF CRIME

"THEY LIVE BY NIGHT" and "THE WINDOW". London: The Academy Cinema, Oxford Street.

Both these films are American, and are part of the cheap, experimental films in the Dore Schary production programme for RKO Radio Pictures. They neither have any "star appeal", nor any lavish spectacle effects. Perhaps for this very reason they have been accorded no publicity, and would have been generally released without preliminary West End showing (and hence without review) but for the present showing at the Academy Cinema.

"They Live by Night" is adapted from a novel by Edward Anderson called "Thieves Like Us", the adaptation being made by the director, Nicholas Ray. It is the story of a young jail-breaker's love for a girl who is herself the daughter of a criminal brought up in the fringes of the criminal world. Throughout one is made to feel the continuous pressure exerted by the fear of capture, with fresh crime as the only means of life, and with loyalty to two bank robbers who were the companions and agents of his escape, as a remorseless pressure shutting out the possibility of the normal life which they both crave. The police themselves recognise the inability of the young criminal to help himself; he can, says one of them, only live by crime. The desperation induced by ever-present fear of capture drives him ever towards greater and greater violence, and the future holds nothing but hopelessness for him. Perhaps, adds the policeman, it is our fault that it is so, but that's the way it is.

Without rhetoric or propaganda, the film lifts the criminal from the shadowiness of an abstract conception, a melodramatic figure of the sensational press, and places him as a human being with human needs and strivings in a society which is neither moral nor understanding nor humane. The treatment is throughout of the utmost sensitivity, without rant or emotionalism. The love of the boy and girl, with their desperate hopes of a new life, and their fears and ambitions for their unborn child, is most beautifully worked out both in the direction and the sensitive performances of Farley Granger (Bowie) and Cathy O'Donnell (Keechie). The latter is notable for the complete absence of that unreal glamour that defaces almost every American and from which the best French films are quite free.

Perhaps the most exceptional feature in this film, however, is the angle from which the story is seen. There is no attempt to mitigate the criminality of the hero; we are told that he killed a man when he was sixteen, but there is no sentimental suggestion of special justification. Nor does he take part in the Bank robberies of his fellow jail-breakers with particular qualms—seven years in a federal jail have scarcely encouraged such feelings. Yet throughout his story is treated with natural sympathy, and with no moralising. When he is finally ambushed by police, surrounded and shot down like a hunted animal, the spectator is in the presence of tragedy. And this immorality is something quite exceptional in American (or English) films. Something like it occurred in the French picture "Le Diable Au Corps" (with Gerhard Philippe and Micheline Presle) describing the love of a boy and a girl whose husband was at the front. The absence of moral condemnation

is a prerequisite for representing characters as fully human and is characteristic of great art in drama. Its appearance (disappearance perhaps one should say) in an American film is a matter of immense significance.

"The Window" is a beautifully made short film about a child who witnesses a murder, but whose story is treated as mere romancing both by his parents and the police. Made by an ex-cameraman, the photography is extraordinarily telling, and the tension at times almost unbearable. In the presence of "They Live by Night", one cannot but notice, however, that the criminals are only lay figures, no sense of their situation being conveyed to the audience. Nonetheless, it is an exceptional little picture.

J.H.

ANTI-SYNDICALISM IN POLAND

Among the adopted resolutions—every one, of course, carried unanimously—one called on the trade unions "to educate the workers and salary earners in the spirit of work discipline so that full use can be made of the working day. The trade unions shall in the future help more than they have done up to the present the economic organs of the state in spreading the system of piecework wages and bonuses, which is more just, and which induces the workers to raise productivity and improve the quality of their products."

The Communist leader condemned as the sin of syndicalism "every attempt of the trade unions to achieve a leading position in management", and another tendency which he defined as "co-operating industry". He described such lamentable tendencies as "anti-Socialist".

Another resolution called upon the trade unions to eradicate as reformism and syndicalism "every theory promoting ideas of trade union 'independence', workers' 'self-government' and the taking over by the trade unions of the management of enterprises."

—Report of Polish Trade Union Congress, *Tribune*, 24/6/49.

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THROUGH THE PRESS

WE TOLD YOU SO

No more dreadful experience could be imagined than to read conscientiously the 1,100 pages of this heavy book, with its 450 documents of international affairs. The documents are all well known; their cumulative effect is the more crushing. What is displayed here is the absence of all thought, the repetition of empty phrases, the endless vanity of those in public places; the actors mouth their lines across the stage, and leave little impression that the lives and happiness of millions depended on their platitudes. This anthology announces the decay of a civilisation. Indeed, when the rulers of the world behave with such uniform folly and stupidity, it is amazing that the ordinary people of the world remain as sensible as they do.

—Review of "Documentary Background of World War 2, 1931-1941" in *Times Literary Supplement*, 24/6/49.

EISTEDDFOD ANARCHY

Something like a miracle has happened in this delightful little village of Llangollen this week.

It has become one of the most colourful, exciting cultural festivals in Europe. I know of nothing else quite like it.

It is a gathering of the people, a real union of the nations for which the Iron Curtain and the Cold War do not exist. It almost makes one wish that people could live without diplomacy to regulate their relations.

Reynolds News, 19/6/49.

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S DISCOVERY

Lord Russell proposes, for example, that "foremen and managers should be elected by those over whom they are to have authority." He does not give the smallest hint that he is blandly announcing the solution to a problem which has engaged social theorists for one hundred years or more, and making a recommendation which would to-day be opposed by every one who is not a revolutionary syndicalist.

Times Literary Supplement, 26/6/49.

ARMY CAMPAIGN AGAINST SQUATTERS

Latest champions of the squatters are the 500 building workers on Carpenters Park L.C.C. Estate, who sent a 50-strong deputation to the Harrow Council.

Later they visited Kestrel Grove and repaired the roof of a hut occupied by Mrs. Hurdman, which had been damaged by the Army's demolition squad.

The soldiers returned yesterday and made another hole in the roof despite protests. An offer reached Mrs. Jessie Ryan in Holloway Jail of a room for herself and her child, but not for her husband.

"I have not waited all this time for my husband to come home from the Services to submit to the break-up of my family now," was her reply.

Her husband, Tom Ryan, said: "When I visited my wife a War Office legal representative had taken her a paper to sign which meant that she would be released if she accepted this offer."

"I am very proud of her."

Yesterday, I found that all the huts, except those occupied by the squatters, and which they have defended against the demolition squads, had been destroyed and were now piles of rubble.

A large house almost opposite requisitioned by the War Office, was still empty after many weeks.

Reynolds News, 19/6/49.

M.I.5. TO THE RESCUE!

LABOUR M.P.'s. SNOOP AT THE DOCKS

WE have already made clear our attitude towards the Canadian shipping strike. We regard it mainly as a dispute between two reformist unions, and the interests of the seamen and dockers who have suffered through the strike and the employers' violence (seamen have been killed in street fighting in some Canadian ports) would be better served in striving towards a revolutionary industrial unionism.

Nevertheless, our solidarity is with the strikers when the threat of action by M.I.5 is raised. As always, scapegoats have to be found, and although Communist influence behind the dispute is obvious, we find the spectacle of three Labour M.P.'s investigating and passing on their findings to the political police disgusting.

Mr. Attlee has made a speech at Manchester just about as full of the usual false clichés as it could be, and those of us who remember photographs showing him giving the clenched fist salute know how sincere is his ranting again the Police State in Russia—while

M.I.5 snoops into the dock strike here! Accusing 'agitators' is the classic attitude of politicians faced with rebellion. It is the insulting attitude of those who believe workers incapable of thinking for themselves, and set up to be leaders—"for their own good" of course.

If Communist influence in the docks is strong, so much the worse for the dockers—when they rumble the C.P.'s game they will know how to deal with it. Communist tactics cannot be dealt with by equally hypocritical Labour leaders in the service of capitalism, who are concerned only that their own power may not be weakened.

The dockers and seamen are faced, as they have always been, with only one real solution to their economic and political troubles. It is to organise themselves on syndicalist lines for the establishment of direct workers' control of their industries—and to keep that control out of the hands of leaders, union or political.

ALLY THE WORD TO THE DEED!

COMRADE BROOKS' statement that no "amount of revolution" can bring about an Anarchist society at the present time is somewhat puzzling. How does one measure "amounts" of revolution? If he implies, as I think he does, that should a revolution break out at the present time the workers would just set up another ruling class, I agree with him—at least with regard to the English-speaking countries. But because this is so it does not mean that we should refrain from participating in the workers' struggles and sit back in our arm-chairs gently chiding them for their authoritarian tendencies, which would be the result if his conception of the "ideyni Anarchist" (the Anarchist of ideas) was carried to its logical conclusion. Also, to say that Anarchy cannot be achieved except by going through a transitional period of "socialism and communism" so that the workers might discover their evils, seems to come perilously near to the Trotskyist notion of advocating complete rationalisation in order to "clarify" the contradictions of capitalism. A notion that could easily lead to the creation of political Jesuits rather than genuine Anarchists.

His contention that we should seek to

LETTERS

spread "anarchist thoughts" rather than "revolutionary thoughts" seems to me to be a distinction without a difference. If I advocate the abolition of all forms of coercive institutions and that all means of production and distribution of the necessities of life be under the control of everyone, not the property of any individual then I am advocating ideas which, were they put into practice, would revolutionise the whole social system. Thus, when one advocates Anarchist ideas one advocates revolutionary ideas. To think that it is possible to separate the two creates a false and confusing dichotomy.

Lastly, it is as well to remember that, as Max Nettlau's article in the same issue of *Freedom* points out, "the State, the capitalists, fight us as we fight them" therefore, as the power of the State increases, so we shall be increasingly forced into conflict with it—thus having either to compromise our ideas and transform them into nebulous metaphysics or commit revolutionary acts by resisting, disobeying and undermining the State by all means that do not involve a betrayal of our principles. No social system has ever been changed by the mere dissemination of ideas. Only when the word is allied to the deed do we see social changes of any fundamental character. There is no need for us to become so hypnotised by the apparent might of the modern State that we regress into word-spinning and attempt to accustom ourselves to the Leninist conception of "Socialism then Communism" (if we are lucky).

Yours fraternally,
S. E. PARKER.

HEART CRY FROM WALES

THERE are many readers of *Freedom* who are indifferent to your appeals for money to carry on your good and vital work. I, who am indebted to you for providing me with genuine knowledge—knowledge that has stirred my slumbering mind—confess that I have not given my best attention to this question of funds. There are many of us scattered about in this Isle who would feel lost and dejected if *Freedom* were barred to us.

The spreading of anarchist philosophy in the "Lower Order" is a difficult and grinding task. The workers are so steeped in the bog of political metaphysics that the task of enlightenment demands a high standard of knowledge, a qualification in which I am so miserably lacking.

However stubborn the workers are, I cannot be a party to the theory of "Adjustment" as advocated by some anarchists. Adjustment is a respectable word to cover human failings, especially the cancerous growth of fear. Again, there is a lot of criticism of "old Anarchists". One intellectual of the modern school maintains that Bakunin has no message for the present time. The last century produced anarchists made of admirable qualities, men of energy and action. In the present era we have "country-house" anarchism. There is so much to write about, and most of it has been written before. When one picks up his pen, he should be prepared to write for hours on the events and tasks of life. If we lived for ever we could "forever discuss the function of the orgasm". That great book by Reich should be absorbed by all anarchists. Though he maintains he is not an anarchist there is very little difference between "work democracy" and anarchism.

To see life rushing by, to see its regimentation and exploitation, to follow the deadly tendencies of a sick and murderous civilisation, does give one a feeling of impotence. As I gaze upon the Welsh

FREEDOM

mountains every morning before selling my labour power for the day, my peasant nature is torn to shreds by the conflict between my ideals and the degrading serfdom of human beings; between what I know is noble, just, beautiful, true and the actual perversions of human existence.

Judging by the strength of the forces of reaction, we must endure the suffering and anguish; but better be sensitive and human and be tormented because of our passionate love of all that is good and true, than be an automaton, to know no deep feelings and to experience nothing greater than the sensations deriving from superficial things. Indeed, it is the reign of social insanity and perhaps biological suicide. Is there any hope for man to acquire that social pattern whereby he will develop his intellectual and moral potentialities? The subjection of man is the tragedy of the ages. It is still the period of man's infancy. Being a recent visitor to this Earth, the blood of savagery flows strong in his veins and he has laboured hard to establish the cult of Irrationalism. Llanelly. L.W.

JIM CROW DOING WELL IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE government of South Africa has killed a measure which would have granted £872,500 to provide meals for native African school children. The grant would have meant an allowance of only twopence a day for each child, but officials declared this too much, indicating that the sum must be reduced and eventually discontinued. In Durban, both Africans and Indians were barred from an exhibit of Jacob Epstein's statue of Adam. In a statement to the public, the sculptor explained that he no longer owns the statue, but considered it "scandalous that my work should be used for racial discrimination." —*Worldover Press*.

WAR PLANES & the DOLLAR GAP

(Continued from page 1)

merely to keep the vicious circle going, and the mind is prepared for more radical measures. Those who have seen the process as a whole will not shrink from revolutionary solutions, will begin to see that the re-modelling of our whole social pattern is necessary both for the defeat of war and poverty, and for the final remedying of all those injustices and unsatisfactory elements in our civilisation for which less radical reformers put forward a diversity of remedies. The illnesses of our society, whether the major ones of war and poverty, or the less pressing ones of crime and social frustration, all spring from the basic pattern, economic and social, of that society; and they will be solved by radical changes in that pattern.

TOWARDS A REVOLUTIONARY ORIENTATION.

If we stress again and again, and as some will think, to the point of nausea, the insolubility of major problems within the capitalist framework, it is because we know that revolutionary changes will only come when they have been accepted in people's minds. Then, when the time and the opportunity for action arrives, the old order will not once again be propped up, and with it the old problems and miseries; instead, a start will be made towards creating the conditions for a happier and more fulfilling life for every man, woman and child. Cassandra's voice will not have been vainly raised.

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The Vote and Responsibility

SINCE local elections have been in process over most of the country it might be useful to consider, again, the anarchist attitude to voting. Politically, it has been considered an important part of social-democracy to have the vote and to use it regularly in secret. Whether left or right, all official, political parties reverence the vote and view any criticism of the hypocritical system as so much treason or uneducated apathy!

It is a fact that man's freedom has been judged on this question of the right to vote: the cause—as they call it—of the secret ballot. Given this concession the workers are supposed to consider themselves highly fortunate and to react favourably to the political party they elect. It is not so easy to dismiss the whole thing as sheer opportunism and to ask the workers to remain at home when elections are on, or even to take the more positive action of forming "education groups", to point out all the futility of authoritarian government, whether local or national.

The real issue seems to be whether the vote could be useful to us in a collective, anarchist community, where those voted into a sort of "guiding" position—not in authority—would be responsible to the community and not to themselves; or whether we have to take the idiot's choice of voting in the brighter politician over the more stupid, or the more astute over the less efficient. This may be cynical,

but because a politician says he is a representative of the working class it is no wise policy to accept that statement as accurate or genuine. The individual concerned may be a decent enough fellow, and met on strictly non-political terms one might find much the same human material beneath his plausible exterior. But politicians have authority, and when in power, much more authority than can be safely carried by human beings. Present-day voting is not responsibility, is not a truthful reflection of workers' interests and is not in any sense a preparation for workers' control of human happiness.

There is quite a body of opinion whose future aim is to bring in the compulsory vote; to compel, if possible, all possible voters to register their vote for some candidate. Failure to vote would be penalised by fines or even imprisonment, and most certainly social disgrace. Never forget the totalitarian States and their careful watching of the voter: and that, when they were in absolute power, with no party-opposition.

It is obvious, therefore, that if politicians want our votes so badly the withholding of those votes must surely put their system into chaos; must in fact speed the process of working-class enlightenment. This raises a problem for anarchist and for all libertarians: what practical action can we take to meet the irresponsibility of voting? The writer could not intimate action, which should be the result of discussion of all elements in the working-class movement. Libertarians should, however, take a lead in this development. They should discuss whether the cancellation of the ballot paper is a rational method of opposition, or again whether they should propagate on the streets at the election places the farcical position of voting in the same puppets, dancing by right or left political strings.

Suppose we outline this situation more concretely. Take the policy of Nationalisation advocated by the Labour Party, or the policy of Individual Enterprise as advocated by both Liberal and Tory Parties; can we say, honestly, that these mean liberation and happiness to the workers

who will vote either way, as they are rwayed by rhetoric and "sales patter" and false suggestions of a beneficent Utopia. On the face of it, a sensible worker would vote for the Labour candidate and a realistic business executive for the opposite Tory spokesman. This would amount to the policy of the lesser evil, from both points of view. It would not, however, satisfy the intelligent libertarian, unless in a desire to put a very reactionary candidate out of action he might throw in his vote, for this purpose alone. This would have to be a very special incident, since the principle of voting in careerist politicians is generally repulsive to all libertarians.

The first task, therefore, in discussing the vote with the ordinary individual is to show him, or her, that voting is more a measure of irresponsibility than the politician would dare to admit. The idea of merely voting in the required candidate, and then sitting back until the next election, is an old story of presuming the average intelligence of the people to be low. Perhaps the decline in future voting may be proof that the few who think seriously about this matter are growing into many, until that time when the multitude take a hand in the management of their own destiny.

J. H. MOORHOUSE.

GREEK REGIME HARD ON WAR OBJECTORS

INFLUENTIAL members of the British House of Lords and House of Commons have addressed to the Queen of Greece an appeal for clemency toward members of the Jehovah's Witnesses sect, whose religion prohibits them from performing military service. On February 11 and March 2 respectively, two objectors, John Tsoukakis and George Orphanidis, were executed for this offence. Four others have been sentenced to life imprisonment and six others to death, though the latter have been granted a temporary stay of execution.

—*Worldover Press*.

THE WATCH

Some disjointed observations on His Majesty's Constabulary and certain other vaguely related subjects.

THEY spend most of their time directing traffic or shining torches in dark doorways, but their real job is the protection of the persons and property of our better-fed fellow citizens. Being very well-fed themselves, they can appreciate the trials of such other gastronomes as the members of the Stock Exchange and kindred institutions. In a world of desperate underfed rogues (who won't eat anyway, my dear) they all draw together for safety, stock-brokers, politicians and policemen, and present a united front to the hordes of underfeds. Whenever the underfeds get particularly annoyed and try to forcibly alter the system, it falls to a policeman to catch the bullets of the mob in his manly bosom that the brokers may live and prosper. Greater love hath no man . . .

By now you will realise the truly vile character of the underfeds, but within the ranks of this class there are even worse sub-classes. [We use the official terminology.] They are generally referred to as Agitators, and once

consisted of Socialists, Communists and Anarchists. The Socialists are now "known by the best people" and we frankly don't know where the Communists stand (probably somewhere between the Pan Slav Union and the P.P.U.) Only the Anarchists have been consistently subversive so we will speak principally of them from now on. But, first, we will return to the Police for you must hear of the Special Branch. This Branch was formed of the cream of the Force (or whatever floats on the top) and specialises in political cases. They deal with Communists, Fascists, Zionists, Irish, Indian and African Nationalists at different times, and Anarchists all the time. They make a study of these movements and are

fully acquainted with the theoretical foundations of each one. Consequently, they realise that the only real danger to their position comes from the Anarchists. This movement, founded on the doctrines of one Bakunin and developed by such people as Kropotkin, Malatesta, and millions of anonymous revolutionaries, aims at the complete destruction of the Church, the State and with them the Police Force and the whole Prison system.

Small at present, numerically speaking, they are a growing menace. But the solution is simple—More Pay for the Police! Housing Priority for the Police! Does a voice whisper, *More Power for the Police?* Yes, that too, but don't shout it just yet. Remember how their Graces the Bishops of the House of Lords call for More Hanging. The subsequent talk of hanging their Graces was a result of this indiscretion. Above all, let us be discreet while to ourselves we say with Chuter Ede, "On to the Police State!" SEAN GANNON.

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

OPEN AIR meetings will be held in Hyde Park on alternate Sundays, coinciding with the publication fortnight of *FREEDOM*. From 3 p.m. to 6. Speakers, support for the platform and literature sellers will be equally welcome.

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.

JULY 10th Pat McMillan
"The I.W.W. and Industrial Unionism in U.S.A."

JULY 17th Albert Meltzer
Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain

JULY 24th
Questions and Answers
(LAST LECTURE OF SEASON)

HAMPSTEAD

Weekly discussion meetings are held every Wednesday at:
5, Villas-on-the-Heath,
Vale of Health, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Evenings at 7.30 All welcome

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

On and after April 24th:
Outdoor Meetings
MAXWELL STREET,
every Sunday at 7 p.m.,
Frank Leech, John Gaffney, Eddie Shaw.

INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE BUREAU, U.A.G.

c/o 27, Red Lion St., London, W.C.1.
A circular has been received from the C.R.I.A. (International Committee for Anarchist Relations) in Paris. Comments are invited from all groups in order to formulate a response and the proposals to be taken by our delegation to the coming Conference.

Copies available for groups and individual militants. Apply as above.