

Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

Vol. 10, No. 21

October 15th, 1949

Threepence

NO WAR - MONGERING!

**In Opposing One Set of Scoundrels,
We Must Not Support Another!**

ANARCHISM has always been an internationalist conception and sees men and women as inhabitants of the world rather than of "nations". People who need each other, and have nothing to gain from mutual strife, whose nature is to extend mutual assistance towards each other. Such a conception can find no common ground with nationalistic and patriotic sentiments, for these belong to separatist trends making for mutual hostility. One of the functions of an anarchist paper is to promote internationalist feeling, and an interest in international affairs together with an understanding of the real issues and their bearing on the lives of individuals who comprise the "nations". During the past twenty years or so, it has become especially necessary to hold firmly to our conceptions of internationalist solidarity and the fundamental identity of interests of all people. For during those years our sympathy and interest have been increasingly engaged by the spectacle of active reaction at work in political repressions

of a kind that completely reversed the liberal advances of the preceding century. And such sympathies can only too readily be enlisted in the service of purely nationalistic struggles—as in the recent war. It is not possible—or desirable—to remain unmoved by the struggle against fascism. If one knows anything about Communist régimes, one cannot re-

main indifferent to the fate of the inhabitants of countries which fall under the power of a Communist government. Those of us who remember the succumbing of the Spanish workers' struggle to the fascist victory, who saw Austria and Czechoslovakia engulfed by the Nazis, cannot but feel very keenly the situation of the coun-

tries of Eastern Europe which have fallen under the essentially similar power of Russian reaction.

ANTI-RUSSIAN NATIONALISM

We have always viewed the Tito affair as basically a struggle of nationalist aspirations to break free from imperialist bondage imposed by Russia. And although the so-called Cominform has been the apparent prosecutor, it has been clear that "Titoism" is simply a Russian term for colonial revolt—just as "trotskyism" within the U.S.S.R. before the war was a covering term for internal resistance of all shades—and has its counterpart in all the other Russian colonies in Eastern Europe. Now, we have little enough sympathy with nationalist aspirations; but it is impossible to remain unconcerned and unmoved by events which represent a possible weakening of the central power of Russian imperialism. We feel no more concern at the personal fate of Rajk and other Communist high-ups who are purged than we did for the defendants in the Belsen trial; but we are very much interested in these trials and purges as symptoms of unrest and administrative difficulties.

(Continued on page 4)

JARROW

IN the days between the wars, before export drives and inflation prices grew into the British way of life, one word became symbolic of the living death of mass unemployment. That word, that name, was Jarrow.

This Tyneside town of 32,000 was erected to house shipbuilding workers, and shipbuilding, with some chemical industry, is the main occupation of the town's workers. But in the 1930's, nobody wanted ships, and Jarrow became a dead town where rusty cranes towered over derelict docks and idle men watched rickety children playing in the shabby streets.

Sometimes the men became active—and marched to London. Ellen Wilkinson, or some other firebrand, would march at their head—for the last two miles of the way. But there was nothing for them in London, which had its own dole-queues, and they would go back to their dead town. Some men were active there, though, all the time. The Labour Exchange clerks and the means-test men.

Then came the war, and ships were wanted. Men of war had to be built, and liners converted to carry armies and weapons instead of comfortable passengers on summer cruises. And Jarrow flourished. All the time the U-boats and the Dorniers were sinking and damaging British ships, the yards at Jarrow were hives of industry, building and repairing, replacing and refitting, keeping afloat the ships on which our island home depends. So we won the war, thanks in part to the Jarrow workers, and they immediately set to work making up the losses in our merchant fleet, and converting troopships back to liners for summer cruises.

So for ten years, Jarrow has known prosperity. But last week a thousand men lost their jobs. All the losses of shipping have been made good; all the conversions completed. In ship-building, like everything else, the sellers' market is rapidly contracting, and competition is sharpening up. Already on the Mersey, 3,000 shipyard workers are unemployed, and last

June a report submitted to the Board of Trade by the Northern Industrial Group spoke of the possibility of there being 30,000 unemployed on Tyneside before very long. Our island home sweet home again.

"Full Employment"

The Government has a policy of full employment, which it has found extremely easy to maintain since there would have been full employment during these post-war years whether it had had a policy or not. The Government has a scheme for taking light industries to the one-time distressed areas so that they should not depend too much on one industry. But these industries employ mostly female labour and when the 1,000 Jarrow workers signed on last week there were 500 jobs for them—and many of those away from Jarrow.

But the report that the Government is considering using more widely the powers it already has for the direction of labour opens up different possibilities. What would be better than to direct workers as they fall out of work to the dollar export trades? Nothing would look more like the implementation of a full employment policy than for the Government to be able to shift workers from one end of the country to the other if there are jobs to go to—and unemployed men are not fussy.

Direction to dollar export trades? Nobody will be directed to build the houses we need so badly, or to step up food production, but thousands might be sent to assist in the production of chromium plated cars, nylons, radio sets and other necessities for—export.

So the farce goes on, and more and more are workers becoming mere pawns to be dealt with as the State decides. The Tories have not troubled very much to hide their desire for a pool of unemployed—"Fear is the best incentive to work." Is it not the case that the so-called Socialists, though for different reasons, are also very pleased to see happen what happened last week at Jarrow? P.S.

POWER POLITICS

Ideals and Realities

IN the period between the capitulation of Nazi Germany with the resulting expulsion of millions of people from its Eastern parts and the dropping over a Japanese town of the first atomic bomb built by the "arsenal of democracy", a general election took place in this country. It provided the politicians with another opportunity to make a number of what were then called "important speeches" (most of which seem rather silly when read to-day) and the war-weary voters were led to believe that relations with the "Socialist sixth of the world" would be better if a Labour Government was elected because the "Left trusts the Left". And small was the number of those who in 1945 claimed that similarity of ideologies plays very little importance in the relations between States and their rulers who are primarily interested in maintaining themselves in power for as long and as securely as possible. Then, in support of their claim they pointed to Comrade Stalin's political somersaults and to the outbreak of the Second World War only a year after Mr. Chamberlain brought back from Munich "peace with honour". To-day the Tito affair which takes place in the middle of the U.S.S.R.—U.S.A. struggle for world supremacy offers them another proof.

When the Cominform excommunicated Tito and called on the Yugoslav Communists to overthrow him it made a mistake similar to the one Trotsky made 20 years earlier. Both called for "democracy" within the C.P. and expressed their opposition to the growing bureaucracy (in the one case Stalin's, in the other Tito's). But just as the Soviet people remembering that Trotsky before his quarrel with Stalin had crushed the rebellion of the Kronstadt sailors and proposed the creation of workers'

armies run on military lines in order to raise production, did not follow him in his struggle against the "Moustached" so the peoples of Yugoslavia who have had the Red Army in their midst have shown no eagerness to shed their blood to exchange the widely detested Tito for some new Soviet nominee who will only perpetuate the present-day oppression and misery.

Even so, the entry of the Red Army into Yugoslavia would have destroyed the latest "Fascist reptile" had it not been for Moscow's fear that such a move would precipitate an armed conflict with the U.S.A. allied to the man who three years ago was busy shooting down American planes. The makers of U.S. foreign policy are well aware that one of Russia's strongest cards is the international communist movement which still has the support of millions of people all over the world. The difficulty in organising strong non-Communist trade unions among the manual workers in France and Italy as well as the victories of the Communist-led armies in the Far East have only confirmed the above view. To these masses anti-Soviet propaganda coming from the mouth of a Catholic bishop, a bourgeois politician or of a reformist trade union boss means little. To a Communist whose exploits the B.B.C. and Radio Moscow boosted during the war they might listen just as to the leaders of the Russian satellite governments in Eastern Europe an American-backed Tito is an example of how a corrupt Communist dictatorship similar to their own can exist provided it finds some sufficiently strong backer and is an invitation to them to do the same thing at Sofia, Warsaw or Budapest.

So we find the U.S.A. government on the one hand prosecuting the

secretary-general of the U.S.A. C.P., and on the other propping up his Yugoslav equivalent by giving him diplomatic support and loans in spite of Tito's lack of sympathy for such things as Christianity, capitalism and the Four Freedoms which all good Americans are supposed to cherish so much! I.A.

ANARCHISTS IN KOREA

THE recent United Nations Commission on Korea, the former Japanese territory divided after the war between Soviet and American occupation, now faces serious danger of "a most barbarous civil war".

Since last winter when Soviet forces withdrew from the area north of the thirty-eighth parallel and American forces from the southern half of the country, Korea has had a "People's Democracy" in the north and a "Republican Government" in the south.

The Commission placed a share of blame for the present unrest on both sides. "The world-wide antagonism between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States continues to be one of the basic factors underlying the present difficulties," is said.

The Commission found that there was

general belief among the people that Russia and the United States "are responsible for the present plight of the country and have left it in the lurch."

"There is much military posturing on both sides of the thirty-eighth parallel. This holds serious danger of provoking open military conflict. Military conflict in Korea would mean the most barbarous civil war."

This is the background of the letter below which has reached us from the Korean anarchists:

LEAH FELDMAN PROSECUTED

WITH one summons already out against her on a charge of "Obstruction by causing a crowd to gather" (a crowd the police themselves caused!) our comrade Leah Feldman was arrested at Hyde Park and carried off in a waiting police-van last Sunday. She had been selling Freedom at her usual pitch and it was the third consecutive week that the police had interfered with her liberty to sell the paper. Appearing in court the next day, she strenuously contested the police evidence, but was nevertheless sentenced to one month's imprisonment or £2 fine (fourteen days to pay).

A fund is being raised to pay this fine and the other which she will undoubtedly face on the outstanding summons due to be heard next week. All contributions will help to prevent such good comrades from suffering financially for their militancy.

WE greet the anarchist movements of the entire world.

First of all we thank you for the struggle you have been making, for peace and freedom.

The F.G.K.A. is the only organisation of revolutionary anarchists in Korea. The organisation was started in secret, under the cruel and bestial oppression of the Japanese police, with the aim of systematically reviving the revolutionary movement of the 2nd November, 1928, in the ancient town of Pengyang, whose traditions go back 4,300 years. The struggle of the anarchists has been carried on passionately and uninterruptedly, even though many of our comrades have been killed or imprisoned under the imperialist persecution.

Although the Japanese have gone since the 15th August, 1945, there has been no relief for our country which has been

divided into two parts, half for the Americans and half for the Russians. And, supported by the foreign armies of occupation, the reactionary forces have become more and more powerful, the Reds in the north and the Whites in the south.

Meanwhile, in spite of all difficulties, we are struggling with confidence in the ultimate victory of our fight for a new revolution based on freedom, equity and humanity.

We hope you will put us in touch with anarchist organisations and individuals with whom we can correspond, since during the long years of occupation and Japanese imperialism we have lost touch with our friends in the outside world because of the severe espionage and censorship system.

We hope to set up a bookshop and library for which we need those anarchist books which are indispensable to the study and propagation of anarchist ideas. They cannot be found in this country since all such books were confiscated by the police and the military of the imperialists.

For this purpose, we earnestly ask you to send us, from each country, books pamphlets and papers, and we will recompense you in whatever way is possible. We hope that we may continue to struggle together for our common aim.

GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF KOREAN ANARCHISTS (F.G.K.A.)

Seoul, Korea.
27/7/49.

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Readers who would like to correspond in English or Esperanto with the Korean comrades or to send them books to help end the isolation from which they have suffered for so many years, should communicate with Freedom Press.

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SOCIETY Vs. the INDIVIDUAL

MARJORIE MITCHELL raises again this question of defining "freedom". It is extraordinary how difficult this seems when examined *vis à vis* the Marxist position. Indeed, for years I have been harassed by the problem myself and, until I faced the issue squarely as a problem rather than as an exercise in the use of words, was very distressed by the notion that freedom is an illusion which could exist only in the wind and not in the real world of human relations.

I suspect that, while aware that the prating of certain pious ostriches on this subject contains a fundamental fallacy, we feel that, once we let go of our obsolete freedom myths, we shall fall into the arms of the Communist Party where our cherished notions are regarded as so much bourgeois prejudice. I find misery caused by this dilemma so common that my experience may interest many near-anarchists (particularly those who, like myself, have been close to the C.P. in the past) who entertain similar doubts.

MOST people want freedom. Some actively fight for it; some, overtly or covertly, deny it to their fellows. Nearly all would advocate it for themselves. Marxists know this but point out that in practice the demand of the bourgeoisie for freedom is really a demand for bourgeois freedom at the expense of the proletariat who are everywhere in chains. This analysis is, of course, true since "freedom of speech", etc., which the workers enjoy under capitalism is permitted only until or so far as it does not threaten the existence of class society. Marxists go on to say that freedom for the workers means, in reality, freedom for the proletariat as an economic entity at the expense of the bourgeoisie. This, too, so far as it goes, is so manifestly true as to preclude any attempt to postulate freedom. Freedom, separated from a definition in terms of classes, is—the Marxists conclude—an illusion.

But it does not go far enough and, from this point forward, there must be divergence. For here, contained in the method of stating the problem, lies a basic difference between the Communist Party and the Anarchist programmes. On the one hand, the former visualise the next step as the era of "transition", of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in which freedom is equated to power (power of the proletariat over its former rulers by means of a state organ); while, on the other hand, the latter demand the immediate abolition of classes altogether. In the second case, therefore, to define freedom in terms of classes makes nonsense, for classes will no longer exist. Let us then boldly state the issue in terms of a general definition and see where it leads.

Freedom is the right and opportunity to do absolutely what you wish irrespective of the consequences; it is the absence of constraint of any kind whatever, from whatever source. Attempts to mitigate the impact of this definition with such mealy-mouthed phrases as "Freedom, but not licence", "Subject to the laws of Nature", "Compatible with the greatest good for the greatest number", etc., are gross self-deception aimed at worship of the word (freedom) for its own sake instead of understanding of the concept.

Complete freedom is impossible (i.e., incompatible with the controlling forces of nature under primitive conditions and, having dealt with these forces, with any sort of social living). Freedom must be constrained so as to ensure that the freedom of one does not interfere with that

Is There REALLY a Conflict?

This article is a reader's contribution to the ideas stirred up by Margery Mitchell's "Freedom from Nature" (Freedom 19/9/49). Although it is longer than we can usually allow space for, we publish it in the hope that it may help others to resolve the problems arising from the apparent conflict between society and the individual.

of the rest. In any language this implies a limitation to freedom.

Thus stated, the problem is no longer one of definition but is concerned with examining in what way and to what extent complete freedom is incompatible with social combination.

But is not this merely another way of saying what the Marxist stated earlier? Have I not passed over into the Communist Party camp? Is not this "limitation to freedom" the very essence of Stalin's criticisms of "leftists and pacifists"? I think that we can come to grips with the distinction best by the following three applications.

Firstly, neither the Anarchists (nor anyone else) can deny that, in behaving in a way which takes into account his neighbours' wishes, a man loses some part of his freedom. But that is not to say that he must be compelled to live within a particular set of relations and behave according to prescribed rules and regulations. He may prefer to abandon his relationship with one individual or type of individual and live with another type in accordance with another behaviour pattern. The Communist Party would not allow this; indeed, do not recognise that such a thing could happen, or that there is any behaviour pattern possible other than the "standard" one, departure from which involves one of the gruesome sins to which "leftists", "rightists" and so forth are prone.

The second fundamental cleavage is as follows. Proceeding from the same point that freedom is limited by man's adaptation to social requirements, the Communist Party says to you: "Look, you admit also that the thing which limits the individual's personal freedom is his social relations. Then why do you object when you see just such limitations to personal freedom in the U.S.S.R. applied in the interests of the collective? You criticise these limitations, yet you yourselves admit them to be the necessary corollary of social combination." It looks at first sight as though I have stepped onto dangerous ground. But examine his remarks and you will find that our C.P. has played a not very subtle confidence trick. Wherever you point out limitations to freedom in the U.S.S.R., the answer is that it is necessary in the interests of the collective. He has ingeniously used your admission that social living implies restrictions to personal freedom and used it to secure agreement that social living implies doing away with all personal freedom (except petty matters which do not constitute a political danger). On top of this confidence trick is piled another.

It is with some justice alleged that the very "reason" for limiting personal freedom in the U.S.S.R., namely, that it makes possible a greater degree of "social freedom", is betrayed. For the very next act of the Soviet government is to curtail social freedom also—freedom to have available the type of education of your choice, freedom to travel abroad, the right to strike, etc.

Behold, then, the colossal all-star attraction of the beloved leaders of the "first workers' state" performing genuine sleight-of-hand. What was there for you to see a moment ago is there no longer. Your attention was caught at the crucial moment, the conjurer's patter distracted you and you did not see it vanish. In this way, up the sleeves went co-education, the most original theatre in the world, sexual enlightenment, promising developments in the realm of film. Painting, literature, music are at this moment being held aloft by the conjurers for us to see quite clearly. "Look! The new Soviet

art, based on socialist realism! We will stand shoulder to shoulder in rejecting formalistic rubbish so beloved of the fascist masters of bourgeois culture and their lackeys." Having seen the trick before, we know that these things, too, will be spirited away from under our noses.

Needless to say, this preposterous side-show has nothing whatever to do with necessary restrictions to freedom. Presented in this way, the fraud is obvious.

Thirdly, still proceeding from the position that social living implies limitations to freedom, it is clear that this limitation is nothing less than coercion of the individual. Thus the question is not whether this coercion is necessary or desirable but how it is to be applied. All the authoritarian parties, etc., demand that a minority (government) be given the power to coerce. Anarchists say that there is no need for this, indeed that there is deadly harm in it, and that people can live together and "coerce" one another by sheer weight of social conscience, and that they will do this quite naturally without behaving like pigs—given certain conditions, mental and physical. These conditions are as follow: On the mental side the minimising of subjective conflicts (self-hate, etc.); on the physical side the minimising of objective conflicts (cut-throat economics, etc.) The immediate goal for mankind therefore reveals itself as the negative process of abolishing conflict—mental and physical—with its superstructure of special coercive implements (the State, etc.) and the simultaneous positive process of building up creativeness—mental and physical—with its general co-operative institutions (syndicates, etc.) The existence of these institutions limits freedom in a way analogous to their predecessor, the state, but at a different level; namely, at the level of conscious popular participation. They limit it because that is the price man has to pay for developing into a social animal. And it is sheer sentimentality (and, what is so ludicrous, sentimentality over a mere word) to worry about this fact. These new social forces can liberate us from scratching at the soil in miserable poverty, and raise the whole of society—the institutions it contains and the individuals that

go to make them up. And a generous-hearted land with much to spare both in love and in material comforts will still enjoy the individual who cannot find it in his heart to give up the scratching which may contain some personal idiosyncrasies dear to him.

If freedom is, as the Marxists maintain, an illusion for society as a whole and is only applicable to a class, experience of the U.S.S.R. has shown that freedom for a class can also be an illusion; that it is possible in fact for all the contradictions of capitalism to be carried over lock, stock and barrel to the dictatorship of the proletariat; that these do not necessarily emerge there in a different form; that there is still the choice of two roads in the "transition" epoch—towards communism and towards dictatorship—and that conditions are still present for one of these roads to be firmly closed in our faces.

On this rock Soviet Communism founders. At the moment, however, it shows no signs of going down with all hands. On the contrary, the latter are clinging to the wreckage with all the tenacity of drowning men!

So much for the negative side, the critique of the Soviet position. What, now, of the positive side?

Thus far, we have considered social requirements as separate from and antagonistic to individual development. How far is this true? To what extent, that is to say, can social combination actually contribute to individual freedom? The simple answer is: To the extent that man is naturally a social animal. But this inevitably begs a number of important questions, such as: "What is 'natural' man?" "What sort of society?"

Even now, under capitalism, man is impelled to co-operate, to seek collective solutions to his problems. That he sometimes co-operates in order to seek aggrandisement or to boss his fellows does not alter the fact that, at other times, he co-operates to achieve specific ends for his mutual benefit. Trade unions, political parties, Orders of Buffalo's and the like, while corrupted because corruption is in the very air we breathe, are often cases of voluntary combinations aimed at the extension of personal freedom through the

medium of social action. We all know that, though ostensibly to restrain unwarranted interference on the part of, for example, an exploiting class, they themselves nevertheless change into repressive institutions. But the purpose of such institutions was in the first place the removal of repression; the fact that the wrong way was chosen does not affect the validity of the contention that the desire—and the active desire!—was there in the human will to join together as a social movement. Indeed, I would say that it is almost a law of our epoch that those organisations which we now see as repressive and reactionary are but the latter-day degenerate manifestations of what were once fine progressive and libertarian movements. Truly, the road to hell is paved with good intentions!

Further, the fact that in a favourable environment men can behave like brothers (as in the Spanish Collectives, the Peckham experiment, above all in Homer Lane's *Little Commonwealth*) is unequivocal proof that a social instinct exists in *homo sapiens*, a social instinct more-over not dormant or atrophied but ready in an instant to respond to the call of circumstance. Again, that the full flowering of this instinct can be manifested only when these same men are allowed to develop unfettered does not diminish, and perhaps reinforces, the evidence for sociality in mankind.

To sum up this point: nowhere have we objective evidence that man is capable of being perfected as a social creature (in the sense that the ant or the bee appear to be), but on all hands we see him striving to perfect himself as a social individual. And we observe him, at the present date, in a defective environment, the environment of capitalism, which is basically corrupt but which has yet attained of necessity some degree of social cohesion. How much more a social person would he be in relationships relying on co-operation for their fulfilment! It seems to me that man is in some sense an expression of his environment and in another sense instinctively ahead of his environment in that his capacity for sociality is always greater than the degree of objective sociality so far attained. Consequently, the individual man enters present-day society with one component already potentially corrupt but with another component striving for the extension of sociality in his environment. This second component is revealed in the will to change his environment, to adapt it to his social requirements which are at the same time in part his individual requirements as well.

(Continued on page 4)

EDUCATIONAL NOTES

TWO CONFERENCES

1. EDUCATION FROM THE BOTTOM UP.

In contrast to the dictum 'education from the neck up', Neill once wrote a book called *Hearts not Heads in the School*. Now comes from the New Education Fellowship Conference held at Cirencester in August (a full report will appear in the October *New Era*) of proposals for Education from the bottom up.

One of the Working Parties of the Conference studied the proposition that 'State systems of schooling are incompatible with education for peace'. The conclusions of this working party were remarkable considering the diversity of members—which included Comrade Borghi and others from Italy and from England, Scotland and Australia.

It was recognised that States provide education for their own purposes, not primarily out of any love for humanity, and that their aims are almost bound to be at variance with those of people trying to cultivate co-operative members of a world at peace. Through education the State aims to fulfil its requirements for (a) clerks to run the ever-expanding system of administration, and (b) members of the armed forces who are used for police purposes in a defeated country like Germany or Japan, or as strike breakers at home. (c) Through the schools the State is able to carry out propaganda—for example, a half-holiday on the marriage of a princess.

Despite many national differences the usual pattern is the hierarchical one of a Ministry (with its Inspectors)—Local Authority—Headmaster—Teachers. It was proposed by the Working Party that education should be organised from the bottom upwards that teachers should appoint from themselves persons to perform the functions of Headmaster, of local

and of regional administration. These offices should be held for short periods, no salary should be attached to them, and at the end of their period of office the persons should normally revert to teaching.

It was felt that control of education by the teachers could not be carried out by the Trade Unions because in so many cases the unions merely represent sectional interests: i.e., assistant teachers or head-teachers, men or women, in opposition to each other.

The following attempts to dis-sociate education from the State were examined:

(a) In England, payment of fees for pupils at independent schools by the local authority—and compared with the Danish Folk High Schools.

(b) In India, Gandhi's Basic National Schools which by the sale of the children's craft and agricultural work, cover part of the cost of schooling.

(c) In Palestine, self-supporting communities, the Kibbutzim, which contain schools within them.

2. CRIME.

A Conference on the Scientific study of Juvenile Delinquency held in London on October 1st by the leading bodies concerned with mental health reflected the divergence of opinion among experts and the public at large on the causes of crime and the best methods of cure.

It was however urged that there is a great need for co-ordination of work so that experiments in treatment may be planned on an adequate basis—at present many projects have been started on preconceived notions, and conclusions drawn from insufficient data. As for research, the 'operational group' was the most favoured method. This means that technical and non-technical people work to-

gether on a joint effort, all sharing responsibility for the work itself and for its findings.

Children actually convicted of crime are like the part of an iceberg showing above water. Much more is going on under the surface. Statistically it has been found that a greater number of children of low intelligence, and of boys rather than girls, are convicted. This may only show that the more intelligent children and the girls do not get caught. Similarly, the so-called increase in crime may only signify the existence of more active policemen to detect it.

It was born out by several speakers that the delinquent child is very often one of several brothers and sisters who are not delinquent. In the light of this, Dr. Bowlby, of the Tavistock Clinic strongly urged the importance of parental affection, particularly of mother's love, in the early years of childhood. True as they may be, it is a dangerous weapon in the hands of people who say that therefore improved living conditions, better housing, etc., are irrelevant—"they will only keep the coal in the bath".

Theft and destruction are the common juvenile crimes and it was assumed at this Conference that the maladjusted child must be adjusted to society as it is. When will the psychologists and probation officers realise that capitalism itself is a system of theft legalised by the state? (Note that Lord Templemore is a magistrate on a Hampshire Bench which on Sept. 8th convicted a boy for stealing a half gallon tin of paraffin which was the property of Lord Templemore.) Grown-ups carry out crimes of destruction in war, and of governmental violence, which make the juvenile's imitation child's play indeed.

ANTHONY WEAVER.

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FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

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The Struggle for Civil Rights in France

WORLD citizen Garry Davis is back in the news on the C.O. issue in France. He has actively taken up the case of a French conscientious objector, Jean Moreau, who is at present serving a prison sentence, with the object of awakening French public opinion on the rights of the individual to refuse military service. Camping-out outside the Cherche Sidi prison and demanding to be arrested and imprisoned for as long as Jean Moreau remains in prison he was arrested six times but released almost immediately. The seventh time he was kept in prison and charged with being in France without "papers", a ridiculous charge as the French authorities had known for over a year—since he renounced his American citizenship—that he had no papers. It appears that even the magistrate could not take the case too seriously for he sentenced Garry Davis to 8 days' imprisonment, which meant his immediate release.

From remarks he afterwards made to his supporters in explaining why he has now called off the "picketing" of the prison, it appears that his gesture, and the wide publicity it has received, has had some effect and that we shall be hearing shortly of developments regarding recognition of C.O.'s in France. However, the battle is far from over, because in countries such as France and Italy any

legislation will result in many tens of thousands of young men refusing military service and the Governments know this and fear it.

We have so often heard French anti-militarists point out that it is quite hopeless to try to do anything about compulsory military service in their country, just as others maintain that it is impossible to do anything about curbing the French police who are notorious for their unchecked brutality. And along comes a

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

determined young man, who is not even a Frenchman, and succeeds in giving more publicity to the rights of the individual to refuse to take part in the military machine of the State, than all the anti-militarist pessimists all put together. Will our French and Italian friends take a leaf out of Garry Davis's book and see what they can do on both issues referred to above? They are issues which interest individuals rather than political organisations and in our opinion are issues on which anarchist individuals can and should work with others who, though they may not necessarily hold similar political views, are genuinely concerned with the question of civil liberties. Many of us found this possible with Freedom Defence Committee, without in any way compromising our political independence.

ANTI-MILITARIST ACTIVITY IN ITALY

IT would be wrong if by the foregoing we implied that our comrades in France and Italy were not active in these fields. We recently referred, in this

column, to the courageous stand of our Paris contemporary *Le Libertaire* in exposing the brutality of the French police and this week the French Anarchist Federation have held a mass meeting in support of Jean Moreau, with Garry Davis and André Breton being among the many speakers. And our Italian comrades have been holding well-organised anti-militarist campaigns over wide areas of Northern Italy. In one region over 30 meetings were held during one week-end. An Italian correspondent of *Peace News* writing recently in that journal on the Peace movement in Italy pointed out that "it is hard ground that has to be tilled. Twenty years of Fascism has almost destroyed what little anti-military tradition existed in religion and politics. Before World War I there were a number of people who did not support compulsory military service, influenced especially by Tolstoy's teaching which was then very popular in Italy."

And he adds: "The Federazione Anarchica Italiana (Italian Anarchist Federation) perseveres in its vigorous anti-militarist and anti-war propaganda, according to its anti-state principles and methods. In 1947, the Italian Anarchists published an ably drawn up 'Manifesto': 'Contro il Militarismo e Contro la Guerra' (Against Militarism and War)."

With regard to the attitude of the Church to Conscientious Objection, Signor Marcucci points out that she has never condemned compulsory service, nor pronounced authoritatively on conscientious objection. Her official doctrine is still that of the "just war". And in spite of the Pope's pronouncements on international peace, etc., they have never forbidden "the blessing of armies and weapons".

Justice in Budapest

THERE is no doubt about it that in the Communist dominated countries political prisoners are condemned before they are tried. For not only are the Courts composed of faithful followers of the regime, but the defending lawyers also carry out their task with obvious distaste and lack of professional dignity. In the trial of the former Communist leader Rajk and others, the defence lawyers at one stage of the trial and with only one exception, rose to their feet and informed the judges that the men they had been assigned to defend were as guilty of sedition and espionage as eight men could possibly be. Rajk's lawyer opened his speech to the Court with these words: "I am in a very difficult position. The sins of this man are so heavy. They are not everyday crimes. Why should his defence be an everyday defence?"

General Palffy's lawyer was even more helpful to his client with the remark: "I must defend this man, but I must defend him in spite of the loathing I feel." He then proceeded to a long disquisition of the law which provides that a criminal must be defended even if he is as vile and as guilty as the men now in the dock are alleged to be.

But, because we refer to the Budapest trials to expose Communist ideas of justice we do not wish it to be implied that the democracies are the repositories of justice. We cannot forget the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, the imprisonments without trial in India (under British rule as well as to-day under that democrat Nehru), in Africa, in Dutch East Indies and in the French colonies. And in Italy under Christian Democracy people are held in gaol for long periods without even a charge being proffered as was the case,

for example, of our comrade Fancillo and some sixty other workers in Sardinia. And if we were an unfortunate American negro suspected of raping a white girl who knows whether we should be still alive to appear in Court?

NOT A CHOICE OF LESSER EVIL

FOR Anarchists it is not a question of choosing between Capitalist democracy and Stalinism. When we publish material attacking the Russian system it is because we wish to destroy the myth that Russia is the workers' paradise, and land where civil liberties are respected, and the alternative to Capitalism. We refuse, however to fall into the trap of accepting the lesser-evil which democratic capitalism probably represents in the world to-day. It was heartening therefore to see a United Press report from Ankara (25/9/49) of a Soviet airman, who succeeded in escaping from Russia by flying his training plane to the Black Sea town of Sinop and asked for protection as a political refugee. When asked whether he wanted to go to the United States "he quickly said 'No'." The terror in Russia was becoming "unbearable" but he nevertheless had no illusions about America, which he blamed for the "coming war" and which he thought was a "bad country where the people are exploited by Wall Street."

He stated that an underground movement exists in Russia and sometimes manages to pass around a few handbills, but he said the movement is not well organised.

His conclusion was that, "If the people could leave freely, Russia would empty herself."

To Be or Not to Be

abortions every year in France). Or does he support this legislation on the grounds that *la patrie* needs more sons—for the next war?

LIBERTARIAN.

SURELY THE PARTY HAS A LINE?

COMMUNIST delegates to the International Miners' Congress here split to-day over "God Save the King".

Mr. Arthur Horner, Communist Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, stood to attention, as did the majority of his British colleagues when the band struck up the British National Anthem.

The Scottish Communist miners' delegation, however, of which Mr. Abe Moffat is the head, stood for the national anthems of half a dozen other countries but not their own.

When the three-man band played "God Save the King" to start off the congress Mr. Moffat and three other Scottish delegates ostentatiously remained seated.

When the band then moved to the Marseillaise and the national anthems of half-a-dozen other European countries they rose to attention.

This incident has created a great deal of unfavourable comment.

News Chronicle, 6/10/49.

The New German Reaction

(Continued from our last issue)

THIS course has created a new German reaction, quicker and more formidable than in 1918.

(1) *In the people.* Disillusionment with the original anti-fascist and anti-militarist hopes.

(2) *The cadres of Nazism and the militarist reactionaries*, who were scared for their lives in 1945 in case the people should liquidate them for their responsibilities, were preserved and become daily more insolent.

We consider first the development of general public opinion.

One can hardly wonder at the fact that the four-sided nationalist dictatorship of the occupation powers has called forth a terrible disillusion in the German people. One must not forget that this yoke is laid on them in the name of democracy and socialism.

The 1918-1933 situation has been newly-created since 1945 but there are many other factors: compromise of democracy as an enemy of the people and a system of exploitation; compromise of the political parties as warders and collaborators; a new artificially-created unemployment. Add to it the ruins, the millions of vanished POW's, the millions of refugees from the East; the absolute ignorance about the future.

There is a greater difference with 1918-33. In 1918 there was a general revolutionary wave. The people had thrown out the Kaiser. At half tide this wave was halted. But social revolutionary ideas were prevalent and the libertarian movement influenced hundreds of thousands.

In 1944-45 every revolutionary attempt, even the palace revolution against the Führer, was suffocated in advance. The success of this palace-conspiracy would have offered an opportunity of ending Hitler absolutism and have opened an era of mass movements. Revolutionary movements have, after all, frequently stemmed from such palace-conspiracies.

However, not only did German and international capital (plus Stalin) not offer any support to the palace-conspiracy of 1944, but on the contrary they did everything in their power to ruin it. For they knew that this could be an opening for a mass revolution.*

The collapse of the July palace-revolution of 1944 meant that Hitlerite absolutism could assert itself from within and met its defeat from outside military causes alone. In spite of the broad popular sweep against the Hitler regime the German people did not manage to remove it by their own efforts.

The military defeat of 1945 afforded a second opportunity to unleash an anti-fascist mass-movement. This second possibility was trampled down by the Allies. The occupation created a new absolutism that represented the continuation of the old and the preparation of a future fascism. It brought to life once more the nationalism dead since 1943-45. It established a regime worse in many respects than the Hitler regime and one that aroused nostalgia amongst many for the 1933-39 period.

The absolute dictatorship of the victorious powers took the trouble to crush every forward movement against the occupation powers and wherever possible opened the road back to Nazism. That is quite understandable when one realises that the same powers were in 1918 the godfathers and accomplices of German Nationalism and Fascism.

German nationalism is most marked to-day in the refugee masses who have lost most. These predominantly peasant and working-class families from the Eastern and border zones have been dumped in barracks and ruins. They represent socially a form of sub-proletariat. Naturally, they radically oppose present-day society and should, if an anarchist propaganda had been presented to them, have strongly taken to it. As it is, however, they encounter only nationalist propaganda, which has a certain success. Not only the Right but also the Left parties propagate nationalism and advocate a return of the Eastern districts. Just these nationalist victims remain as a spur to German chauvinism and imperialism.

Naturally, the general voice that one hears in the street, the markets and the trains, is not so violent as that of the refugees who have lost everything. It is rather a mixture of nationalist outpourings against dismantling and the general misbehaviour of the occupation

powers, and at the same time anti-militarist assertions. However, the open and secret nationalist propagandists hope to swing public opinion more and more towards nationalism.

The State apparatus is under Allied leadership, and again places have been found for proven Nazis.

The real German reaction is seen in three forms:

(1) *The military faction* represented by the generals who conspired against Hitler and have to-day spread the legend that the war was lost by the military incapacity of the Führer. This new dagger-in-the-back myth is principally detailed in a pamphlet by the former Chief of the General Staff, Halder, to be seen in all the newspaper kiosks, "Hitler as Field-Marshal". The generals advocate the reorganisation of the Wehrmacht "without politics", i.e., without national-socialist hegemony. They want to burnish up the glory and prestige of the German State, and to purge the Army and judiciary of compromise with the Nazis, and thus to preserve them.

(2) *The Nazis.* There is no illegal, central or regional organisation. In Austria there has developed an illegal and legal Nazi movement once again. In Germany there is in particular the "Comrades' Circles", which carry out whispering campaigns. According to them Hitler was infallible, Goebbels was right, and the generals lost the war by their attentat. These voices also occur in the Press.

Major Remer, who on the orders of Hitler massacred the participants in the July putsch, is not only free but took part recently in the formation of a new nationalist party. It is significant that on this occasion he held out the hand of friendship to the generals and proposed a new national-reactionary bloc. The generals refused. "Not with Remer."

(3) *The Catholic Church.* Its influence is strong. Since the fall of the Nazi State, its jealous rival, it has gained in influence and power. In Bavaria it inspires a number of reactionary parties. In the remainder of Germany it is the C.D.U. which plays a leading rôle and has gathered in a diverse collection of Catholic anti-fascists and outspoken fascists.

The anti-fascist parties are just as nationalistic as the so-called Right. The S.P.D. even has a special ambition to be the most nationalist party. In this respect they copy the N.S.D.A.P. (Nazis) and are only beaten by the K.P.D. and S.E.D. financed by Moscow. All the anti-fascist parties fight for the crown of German nationalism in order to escape from the smell of collaboration with the occupying powers. Once the occupation regime goes, as it will sooner or later, the seed they have sown will bear fruit. The anti-fascist parties will then find themselves playing a limited rôle because of their present dependence on the occupying powers.

(To be concluded.)

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THROUGH THE PRESS

THESE CHRISTIANS

All three clergy, in a considered memorandum, upheld the principle of the death penalty, and thought it was a deterrent, calculated to educate and sustain the weaker members of society.

Asked about actual executions, Mr. Smith said:

"We are amazed at the demeanour of these men. Nine out of ten go to their death bravely. I am sure they have some special Grace given them that morning."

The chaplains considered that the posting of notice of execution should be retained as necessary publicity.

"I have seen some people praying when the notice is put up," said Mr. Smith.

Women, the chaplains thought, should be treated in the same way as men in the matter of the death penalty.

Daily Herald, 7/10/49.

POETS' CORNER

But a word of warning. Many poets to-day, whatever they may call themselves, are anarchists. There is a place for such, but there is not much place for the anarchist critic. Here I agree with Mr. Eliot who, in 1923, stood out against Mr. Middleton Murry's championship of the Inner Voice. Anarchists should sing but they should not speak.

—Louis MacNiece in

New Statesman, 8/10/49.

SEGREGATION IN U.S.A.

"Home of the Brave", a moving American film condemning racial discrimination against Negroes, has created a peculiar situation at the theatre at which it is being shown in Salt Lake City.

Negroes have been picketing the streets outside carrying posters reading: "Grand picture: Lousy theatre".

Reason for their action is that the theatre itself operates a discrimination policy. It segregates Negro patrons in the cheapest seats up in the balcony.

Daily Herald, 7/10/49.

... AND SLAVERY IN AFRICA

The South African Dutch have never forgiven the British for abolishing slavery in 1834; to-day, with the Malan Government in power, they have discovered a very ingenious and profitable way of re-introducing it. The idea, brilliant in its simplicity, is to maintain private gaoles which employers can always keep full and from which they can draw convict labour as they wish. On September 2 the Minister of Justice of the Orange Free State, Mr. Swart, opened on of these gaoles at Leslie. It was built by the Leslie Farmers' Association Labour Supply Company, which has fifty shareholders with shares worth £40 each. Its private gaol will house three hundred Negroes; it is the fifth of its kind in the Bethal district, which means, as Mr. Swart pointed out, that more than a thousand farm-labourer convicts will be conveniently available for the employers. He denounced critics of this system as "malicious, ill-informed and mischievous". The system seems quite perfect and the slavery absolute. There can never be a shortage of recruits since there are always natives who have not paid their annual poll tax (£1 for each adult male) or who, having paid, have lost the receipt or who have entered a railway carriage marked "Europeans Only", gone into the railway station by the wrong entrance or committed some similar crime.

New Statesman, 8/10/49.

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS

PREPARATIONS for the International Anarchist Congress, which have been going on for more than a year are now in their final phase. It is now certain that the Congress will take place with the participation of many comrades coming not only from Europe, but from the Far East and America. Everywhere, where anarchist groups are struggling, thinking, and working, whether in the 'liberal' atmosphere of the Western democracies, in the semi-clandestinity of South America, or in the difficult conditions which face our comrades in Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Germany or Korea, everywhere groups are discussing the agenda, deciding on their attitude, or collecting the funds for sending a delegate. In some countries, as in South America, the initiative of the Congress has awakened a real enthusiasm in libertarian circles for the idea of the big and fraternal gathering which is to take place, and which could mark the beginning of a new phase in the international libertarian struggle.

"It is a pity that the people of England, being born as free as any people in the world, should be of such supple humour and inclination, to be under the ignoble pressures of an arbitrary tyranny, and so unapt to learn what true freedom is."

—MARCHMONT NEEDHAM
(1656)

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

OPEN AIR meetings are held in Hyde Park every Sunday.

Speakers, support for the platform and literature sellers will be equally welcome.

INDOOR Lecture-Discussions every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at the

Trade Union Club, Great Newport St., W.C.2 (near Leicester Square Station).

PLEASE NOTE the CHANGE OF ADDRESS

October 16th Norman Haire

"Sexual Behaviour and Society"

October 23rd Geoffrey Thorpe

"The Meaning of Freedom in Education"

October 30th

"Brains Trust on Anarchism"

November 6th Mat Kavanagh

"History of Anarchist Idea"

November 13th Philip Sansom

"Anarcho-Syndicalism"

November 20th F. A. Ridley

"The Papacy in the Present European Crisis"

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

INDOOR MEETINGS every Sunday at 4 p.m. at the

CENTRAL HALLS, 25 BATH STREET, GLASGOW.

Frank Leech, John Gaffney, Eddie Shaw.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP

Enquiries: Ring Royal 4699

GODWIN SOCIETY

For particulars write to:

ALAN SMITH,

12 Shawville Gardens, Ilford, Essex.

HAMPSTEAD

Please note that the weekly discussion meetings are being temporarily discontinued.

EAST LONDON

Will readers interested in the formation of an East London Anarchist Group, please write to the Provisional Secretary, c/o Freedom Press?

Never, in fact, have circumstances been more favourable for a genuine libertarian renaissance. Even the excesses of totalitarianism have worked for us in demonstrating to the oppressed, not by theory, but by bitter experience, that the false 'solutions' of liberalism and social-democracy lead nowhere. The tidal wave of Bolshevism itself, which swept away the voice of the proletariat, has begun to ebb, while the islands of libertarian resistance are re-appearing.

The time has come to build strong bridges between these islands, to share our experiences, to put into a common pool the wealth of practical and theoretical knowledge accumulated in the hard struggles of the past decades. That is the purpose of the forthcoming Congress. A commission is being set up, of comrades speaking French, Spanish, Italian and Esperanto, which in addition to the C.R.I.A., will deal with the many technical problems which arise on the eve of such an important conference. It will have, among other things, the task of translating the documents sent in by the various organisations in French, English, Spanish, Italian, German and Esperanto. The financial means at the disposal of the commission are very small, so we must ask the groups and individual comrades to send what they can as a subscription for this purpose.

Circulated for the Commission by C.R.I.A.

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS

Subscriptions should be sent to:—

BRITAIN: International Correspondence Bureau, c/o 27 Red Lion Street, London W.C.1.

ABROAD: Joulin C.C.P., 145 Quai de Valmy, Paris 10me.

It should be specified that the money is for the Congress.

Groups and sympathisers are reminded that money is also urgently needed for paying the fare of the U.A.G. delegate to the Congress, proposed at the recent Anarchist Summer School at Liverpool. Contributions should be sent to International Correspondence Bureau, c/o Freedom Press.

A BALANCED INTERNATIONALISM

(Continued from page 1)

There can therefore be little surprise at the purge in Czechoslovakia where signs of unrest at the economic depredations of the Russian government have been visible for many months. And it would be idle to deny that a break away by Czechoslovakia on the Yugoslav model would be very welcome. But it is needful to exercise great care, for it is not difficult to let such feelings land us in quite untenable positions.

WHITEWASHING TITO

More and more public men in this country are urging that Tito should receive full support from the western nations because of the effect of his successful defection on other Iron Curtain countries... and because of the usefulness of such a break in Russian imperialism in the cold war. Tito is built up as "the only man who has stood up to the Kremlin", and is gradually being represented as an agreeable figure. Now it is absolutely necessary to remember that the Yugoslav regime is founded on the most brutal repression and bloodshed; some of the details of the Partisans' struggle for power rival the Nazis in cruelty and brutality. Hatred of Russian totalitarianism must not permit one to condone regimes whom the accidents of power politics place among Russia's adversaries.

The situation ominously recalls the pre-war period. The clerical fascist dictator of Austria, Dollfus, who had turned armed reaction against the Austrian workers only a few years before, and was built up as a martyr when he was assassinated by the Nazis. And later on the anti-fascist propaganda was taken over en bloc by the National Government to further a war which had absolutely nothing to do with ideology.

GLASGOW WORKERS AND "SEX ETC."

DEAR COMRADES,

"Are workers interested in Sex, Art and Education" has often been discussed in the columns of *Freedom* with the champions of the proletariat hollering their disapproval from the back benches. It is not intended that further futile comments be added to the subject, but as a good living example of what really interests some workers, a few words should be said about the Glasgow Anarchist Group, and some of the effects of its constant contact with workers from a variety of industrial activities.

With four popular speakers, the Sunday night meetings of the Glasgow Group are as well attended as the "dugs", and although it has been suggested that many go for a free night's entertainment (which they never fail to get) to be one of the crowd and listen to the high level of the questions and the expert handling of them, makes one realise what workers are really interested in.

There is a variety of subjects discussed from week to week. Religion stirs a lot of interest but rarely opposition. In fact, there seems to be general agreement that the division of workers by religion, is a threat to their solidarity. There is also a real interest in workers' control, and the production and distribution of goods in an anarchist society is a closely questioned subject. Contrary to what the anti-sex boys tell us, these workers at any rate are interested in sex, which is discussed with tolerance and intelligence, as is also, perhaps surprisingly for Glasgow with its almost entire male audience, the position of women in society. Indeed all subjects which have any connection with human existence are brought up at these meetings.

If this, then, is an example of some workers, can it not be so of others? Is this supposed lack of interest on the part of workers in anything outside industry created by those people who would divide

workers and intellectuals, and have us believe that sex is a parlour game exclusively played by intellectuals and education is for the indulgence of the rich? This, to quote a contemporary anarchist, is a lot of baloney.

Manual and intellectual workers have generally the same basic desires and needs which some of the defenders of workers' rights would do well to study. R.M.

WHERE ARE THE INSPIRED OF TO-DAY?

DEAR COMRADES,

I have recently been reading much biography and autobiography of the early Revolutionaries and have been much impressed by the wonderful enthusiasm for and reality of Anarchism that these great people had, and am much concerned for our modern attitude to this way of life.

To these people—Bakunin, Kropotkin, Berkman, Emma Goldman, and the host of other wonderful men and women, Anarchism was a real way of life, a way for all men—ordered, organised and living not an impossible dream for the future when all men are perfect, but a possibility for the now—how have we lost the way—why has it not grown as Marxist Communism—why are the Anarchists in England so few and far between? Why has it become no more real than an intellectual exercise? Or am I wrong? Do I misjudge my generation? Who have we to follow on when Mat Kavanagh and Lilian Wolfe have gone? Have we become so concerned for our own individual freedom that we have forgotten that this is a way of life for all—especially the common people?

Could you please publish this as I should like to know other peoples' opinions (especially of my own generation) on these points? JOSÉ HALLAM.

SOCIAL CREDIT DISCREDITED

DEAR COMRADES,

In so far as I understand the idea, Social Credit is but a palliative to prolong charity and so does not concern the aims of an anarchist.

For you have three classes to cater for: the upper class, the middle class and the lower class. The idea we are looking forward to be worth working for will scrap or make the present class system unnecessary.

The upper class and the State, hold a certain amount of reserved capital (exchange for the means of life). They also own the machinery for making essential commodities. They are mass-producers for profit, never for use.

The incomes of the members of the classes vary from say, roughly £100 a week for the first class, £15 for the second, and from £5 a week downwards for the lowest class. To remedy this state of things, I believe Social Credit suggests taking enough money from reserved capital to pay all in each class £5 per month.

This will enable the starving ones to starve a little more slowly, for although more goods may be made and sold they but aid the richer ones to make more profit and continue strengthening a rotten system which must and always does end in war.

WILL YOU SACRIFICE NOW—OR LATER?

MR. JACK JONES, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Supply, has distinguished himself recently by being the first to demand longer hours of work by productive workers as one of the solutions to our economic troubles.

Mr. Jones was reported as demanding the abandonment of the five-day week, and was hailed by a certain section of the press as being "courageous" and "realistic" for broaching an unpopular subject. Perhaps it was being told that he was courageous that gave him cold feet, for the next day he retracted—in part, at least—saying that what he meant was not the abandonment of the five-day week, but the working of overtime, and extended overtime, if necessary.

That, of course, is a different matter, but with P.A.Y.E. the way it is, few workers find overtime a very interesting proposition. What is more interesting is the peculiar logic with which Mr. Jones approached the subject. Speaking to engineering workers in Leeds, he said: "Better make the sacrifice now than to be left with nothing to sacrifice!"

The propaganda of the Left became the war cries of the Right.

IDEOLOGY FOR MILITARISM

It is, in fact, becoming obvious that the repressive nature of the Russian regime is not being exposed in order to assist the Russian people's revolutionary struggle against their rulers, but in order to provide an ideological cover for the next war. Clearly no one who holds internationalist sentiments can complacently act as a stooge for warmongers. But it is important to avoid the error of the pacifists. Seeing the last war coming, they sought to show that there was "no difference" between the Nazis and their opponents, and there are some even now who triumphantly produce every scrap of American intolerance as evidence that totalitarianism is just as advanced in the U.S.A. as in the U.S.S.R. Such simplifications get us nowhere, are not believed, and so damage the real interests of internationalism.

A BALANCED ATTITUDE

The first thing that is required is that we should keep our heads, and not allow ourselves to be used for war propaganda. The anarchist movement denounced the repressions of the Russian government while Lenin was actively directing affairs, and our attitude remained the same throughout the thirties when many left-wing groupings were flirting with the Communists, and through the various turns of the Russian coat during the war. It should be easy enough to remain level-headed; yet our movement can provide examples of confusion and dereliction of internationalist principles which should keep us from

complacency.

What is more important is to provide a policy which contains the struggle against totalitarian reaction on the red fascist model, and also against the nationalist line-ups which only further the rush into a new war. Such a policy demands the same internationalism which we referred to in the beginning of this article. Our policy must base itself on the recognition that all men are members of a world community, and that our loyalty is to the people over whom governments, whether "democratic" or Communist, rule. Their interests are not served by supporting scoundrels like Tito merely because he is not on good terms with Moscow. The peoples of the world can serve each others' interests best by ceaseless struggle against their rulers so that they can secure control of their own lives in their own hands. Moscow may be frightened of the successful defiance of the Moscow-trained Communist, Tito; but it is much more frightened of the successful revolutionary uprising of the Yugoslav people against the dictatorship of a nationalistic Communist party or of one owing fealty to Russia.

The destruction of the old pattern of rulers and ruled, and the establishment of individual freedom with its corollary of mutual support among the populations of the world, provides not only the severest threat to tyranny everywhere, but holds out the solution to the threat of yet another war. Continually to press for such a solution requires both level-headedness and perpetual analysis of events and our reaction to them, and also an imaginative grasp of life and its purpose which is able to transcend the disastrous framework of contemporary political events.

★
Social Credit seems to ignore the fact that goods manufactured under the profit system have also manufactured the poverty that goes with it and will continue to do so.

This system worked to its miserable conclusion finally leaves no more avenues for plundering. Soon a bureaucratic state of the first classes would arise unless workers take their business and fate into their own hands and control their workshops for the use and benefit of all.

No grading of incomes for us! Production and equality of distribution according to necessity; welfare for all, no power policies with their degrading power-money.

No more dividing and conquering noble humanity with tainted lucre. Unless we dig deeper at the root of matters than giving a charity dole of £5 per month we cannot cure or end this constant state of war and preparation for the final blast.

People who manufacture disease cannot cure disease—they prolong it.

CLARA COLE.

THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF FREEDOM

(Continued from page 2)

Thus viewed, we see that individuality and sociality are not necessarily at war with one another but are two expressions of an identical impulse. They appear to be at war only where, as at present, the social environment is a repressive one, aiming at the individual's domination. Where society is non-repressive (libertarian) the conflict between individuality and sociality disappears and, with it, the source of corruption.

In my view, this argument disposes of two illusions. One is the belief that man is completely at the mercy of his environment to be dragged and buffeted to and fro by the forces of economic determinism; the illusion that he must have only duties but no rights. The other is the assumption that he is separate from his environment, a mystical "I" to be worshipped for his intransigent individual demands from society; the opposite illusion that he can have rights without obligations.

So, in the end, we must come back full circle to our earlier conclusions.

The way forward is the abolition of conflict, the identity of individual aspirations and social organisation. But we are now one stage further forward, for we now see that this is not to be done by passively adapting human behaviour to the environment (that way leaves the eternal dilemma intact, for it solves none of the problems here discussed), but by constantly adapting the environment to the needs of the individual. This process is never final, never completed. For man is himself perpetually acquiring fresh potentialities for social behaviour.

It is for man to choose between the pessimism of the reactionary who maintains that man has tried to run before he can walk and thinks that salvation lies in turning back the clock and reverting to the hand-loom (and the typhus epidemic, as Alex Comfort has so rightly pointed out) and the optimism which sees in this process of adaptation, man's faltering first steps to reconcile modern production with personal liberty by and through society. D.B.

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