

Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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Threepence

African People will get no help from Britain — or UNO

THE DARK CONTINENT

The Governments of the world are loud in their protestations of loyalty to the great purposes and high ideals of the United Nations. But, one by one, with unfailing regularity, as their own activities are questioned during U.N.O.'s deliberations, they protest, and obstruct, and refuse to comply with its recommendations. Governments of all political colours—Conservative, Communist and Labour, are alike in this, and as they form into rival blocs against each other, they all with an air of hurt innocence declare that all are out of step but their own group. Nowhere is this clearer than in the discussions on the future of colonial territories, in particular, those in Africa. It becomes more and more obvious that the colonial peoples will have to fight their own battles for their own freedom from the imperialist powers which "will do anything for them except get off their backs". But the coloured workers must learn that national revolution will only exchange foreign masters for masters of their own race. Their revolution, to be effective must be a social revolution directed against governmentalism itself. They must destroy not only white authority, but authority itself. And so must we.

THE trusteeship Committee of the United Nations has passed a series of recommendations concerning colonies ("non-self-governing territories"), calling upon Britain, France and other Colonial Powers to report to U.N.O. on their political position, to give equal education to all children, to promote native languages in all schools, to give information on human rights, education, illiteracy and other colonial matters, and to permit U.N.O. groups to visit colonies on special missions.

Britain Refuses

The British delegates voted against these resolutions which were passed by a big majority.

A British spokesman afterwards said: "Where Britain voted against these resolutions she will not comply with them." Britain's refusal also extends to specific recommendations affecting three territories she holds under trusteeship—Tanganyika, British Togoland and the British Cameroons.

The *Daily Express* (19/11/49) reports the proposals as "attempts to clamp U.N.O. political control on the lives of 70 million people . . . seeking to make Britain answerable to U.N.O."

for what she does in colonies that were British long before U.N.O. was thought of."

Press Hysteria

The *Sunday Express* (4/12/49) heads its leading article: "We Should Quit U.N.O." and it calls the vote "U.N.O.'s first open move to pluck the British Empire to pieces. It even has the insolence to propose that the flag of U.N.O. shall be flown alongside the Union Jack in trustee territories."

U.N.O. is described as "a crazy, dangerous institution" (Freedom said this years ago, but for far more valid reasons). The *Express* ends with a note of full-blooded imperialist bellicosity: "The jackals are leaping on the lion because they think he is mangy and dying. It is time to show them that there is life, vigour, and a good roar in him yet."

"Honour" and Policy

DR. Malan, the South African Prime Minister, recently announced that his Government proposes to annex the Native Protectorates of Bechuanaland and Swaziland and Basutoland. The two larger of these territories, as their former High Commissioner pointed out last week "came of their own free will under the British Crown, and were promised in all things the protection of the Great White Queen". Many years ago, Lord Selbourne, discussing the future of the Protectorates, wrote: "It is no question of policy about which we are disputing; it is a question of honour."

Michael Scott

How much the question of "honour" enters into the shabby politics of imperialism in Africa was demonstrated by the recent sessions of the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations. South-West Africa was "liberated" from German rule after the First World War and was made a South African mandate. For several years the Rev. Michael Scott, whose courageous efforts in the past on behalf of the Indian population in Durban, and the Negroes living in

(Continued on page 4)

THE NEW 'INTERNATIONAL'

IN 1946, when the workers of Germany were starving on rations little better than those the Nazis had given to the inmates of Belsen, a British miner wrote on behalf of forty of his fellows to Victor Gollancz's "Save Europe Now" organisation.

"Each of us is willing," he wrote, "to take an undernourished child from Europe into our homes, if they can be brought here, and to share our rations with them, if we have to. We don't mind if they are German."

That was the voice of the ordinary decent worker, but, at about the same time, Will Lawther, boss of the miners' union, was claiming that British miners had been generous to their foreign comrades in the past, but not a penny piece would they give to German miners in their need. It may be taken that his view coincided with the general opinion of trade union leadership in this country, and it showed a pretty disregard for international solidarity—especially as compared with what German miners had sent to British miners during the British General Strike of 1926.

Still the Same Men

This same leadership—Lawther, Deakin, Tewson, Bullock and the rest—are now among the leading lights of the founders of a new international federation of Trades Unions, formed as a rival set-up to the older World Federation of Trades Unions, from which Britain's delegates, together with those of the "free" countries of the West, walked out last February. The W.F.T.U., having become an organ for Cominform propaganda, was no place for the politically pure non-communists.

So, with the avowed intention of "avoiding national politics", the free trades unions come together to form yet another International to add to the long string of dismal failures and pressure groups that union leaders have created in the name of the working-class everywhere.

The First International was avowedly revolutionary—although it was split by Marx and Bakunin on issues relating to its attitude to the State and political power. But since then, these international get-togethers have steadily declined in revolutionary ardour as the organisations forming them have grown in terms of "national responsibility".

Mouthpieces for their States

To-day, it is perfectly true that the W.F.T.U. is simply a platform for Communism, which means another mouthpiece for the Kremlin, because in Stalinist countries the unions are completely under the thumb of the State. But are they not just as much so in the so-called democracies? Is not the T.U.C. hand-in-glove with

the Labour Government to the extent of completely abandoning the workers' interests for the sake of the "national economy"—i.e., capitalism?

Even in the U.S.A., the unions are playing an increasingly responsible part in national life, and although large-scale struggles with the employers can still be staged, the union leaders make it perfectly clear that they have no quarrel with capitalism—indeed they want it run more efficiently since, they say, bigger profits for the boss means higher wages for the workers!

In every country, the reformist T.U. officials are only too eager to show what good patriots they are—see Lawther's attitude to the German miners as quoted above. That such people should go in for international organisations, then, would be laughable if it were not sinister. For they haven't a grain of real international solidarity in their smug characters. At the very times when internationalism is necessary, as when governments are starting wars, these T.U. internationals in the past have folded up—to reappear as large as life when the fighting is over. This happened in 1914-18 and again in '39-'45.

The only difference to-day is that the two internationals—the C.P. dominated W.F.T.U., and the new "democratic" set-up—are already lining themselves up on the sides of the two probable blocs in the coming war. Thus members of the same organisation are not likely to find themselves on opposing sides, nationally speaking, so embarrassment will be avoided—assuming they ever feel any.

It is Up to Us

No, these organisations are completely false to the whole concept of internationalism. When workers come together to pledge mutual aid across the frontiers—indeed to pledge the abolition of frontiers when they announce that their solidarity will lead them to refuse to go to war against their fellows in other lands; when they renounce their patriotism and their rulers, then we may see the creation of a valid International with real hopes for a free world. The working miner quoted in the opening paragraph obviously had at least the beginnings of these ideas. There are others, and it is up to them—and us—to strive to give real meaning and strength to a coming together of the peoples.

P.S.

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UNREST IN NIGERIA

IN Nigeria, which has a coloured population of 22 millions and a European population of 2,000, the miners of Enugu are demanding a daily wage of 5s. 10d., the present basic wage being 3s. 4d. The Government, which controls the coal mines, is resisting the demand which it claims will increase the price of coal (600,000 tons produced annually) by 2s. 6d. a ton. The miners' go-slow movement developed into a stay-in strike, and, according to press reports, on November 18th, police sent to remove explosives from the mine, clashed with strikers, and "at least 20 people were killed" and 30 injured. Rioting followed in several towns. In Aba, four people were wounded by police fire, and in Port Harcourt, where the police suffered a number of casualties, two were killed. In Calabar, crowds were dispersed with firing. In Onitsha, after the use of tear smoke and baton charges, the police opened fire and wounded three."

The Governor, after a week of sporadic rioting, declared a state of emergency, gave the police special powers of arrest, imposed a rigid press censorship on the East Coast, and instituted a curfew, while "fifty-six-seater planes stand ready to rush steel-helmeted police, with rifles and cudgels, to any trouble-spots". The Colonial Office has nominated a Commission of Inquiry to examine the causes of the disturbances. Arrests have been made in several towns in the Eastern Provinces, and five sentences, ranging from six months to five years, were imposed at Aba.

Although there is every sign of a wide-spread impending revolt in Nigeria, the *Daily Express* (29/11/49), anxious to assure its readers that in fact "all's well with the Empah", reported that "Broad African smiles greeted me against an exotic backdrop of palms, the smooth water of the lagoon, the eternal lizards twitching on the hot walls, and the restless throb of distant drums. In the club, the Britons bathed and changed, stretched their moist limbs and commented: No trouble to-day, old man. Good show."

Suspicion and Discontent

But, unfortunately for the defenders of the *status quo*, all is not well in Nigeria. Marjorie Nicholson, in last week's *Tribune*, described the underlying discontent and suspicion throughout the Eastern Provinces—high cost of food, exorbitant rents, shortage of land and soil erosion. "There have been strikes amongst railway and conservancy workers, a nation-wide strike was narrowly averted in June, and there is at present a strike in the Cameroons amongst the Development Corporation's workers." She describes the totally inadequate Ten Year Development Plan, and mentions that "In some districts the people have moved themselves, and are carrying out striking village development schemes". The Ibos, the largest tribal group, have, she says, made an extraordinary move forward in the last twenty years. "The Ibos have never developed any large-scale system of government of their own . . . But they have in recent years organised collective action on a surprising scale—funds for sending students abroad and for establishing schools are easily collected."

Finding a Scapegoat

As usual, everyone is most anxious to attribute the disturbances to agitators.

The *Times* see them as the work of mischief-makers among Ibo nationalists, and Sefton Delmer in the *Daily Express* (29/11/49), regards them as the result of Soviet propaganda, which he argues, having failed in Europe is turning to Asia and Africa. He poses the question: "Why is Soviet policy so much more effective with the Chinese, Indians and Africans than it is with Tito and Moscow's Slav brothers in Iron Curtain Europe?" and his answer is:

"Because the more primitive peoples of Asia need firm rule and we Westerners have not been giving it to them; because we have instead, encouraged nationalist and autonomist movements easily exploited by Communist agitation, and because the firm but benevolent despotism instituted by Communist régimes, like that in China, are the natural form of government at this stage for these countries."

The only conclusion we can draw from Mr. Delmer's curious analysis is that we should emulate what he euphemistically describes as the "firm but benevolent despotism of Communist régimes", a curious point of view to come from Lord Beaverbrook's mouthpiece (until we remember how well his lordship got on with Stalin during the war—truly brothers under the skin!)

Mr. Creech Jones, the Colonial Secretary, who used to be famous for his championing of the cause of the colonial people, told Parliament that: "I know of no evidence that these troubles have been fermented from outside," but, despite this, his department is evidently looking for a scapegoat, since the *Daily Telegraph* reported on the same day that Commander Burt, the head of Scotland Yard's Special Branch will report to the Colonial Office on people in Britain suspected of having fomented subversive acts in Nigeria from London.

The Theory of Work of Wilhelm Reich

I
DR. Wilhelm Reich is a German psychotherapist whose books were banned by the Nazis, who was arrested by the F.B.I. soon after Pearl Harbour and held almost a month on Ellis Island, who (already disgusted with their intellectual dishonesty) was expelled from the Communist Party of Germany around 1932, and who was thrown out of the International Psychoanalytic Association in 1934 because his psychotherapeutic views were to unorthodox and too radical.

II
Simply put, his theory of work is this: the workers should control the work, do the work, plan the work. They should do useful, joy-giving work. They can co-operate in a free self-regulating society. Reich is anti-state (he calls the U.S.S.R. state capitalism), although he has what I believe are mistaken concepts of the necessity of police. He rejects all authority whether of the state, church, army, boss, etc. He prefers the individual to be self-regulating in perfect, deep accord and harmony with his own biological, sexual, personal, and social self. Reich tries to root his theory in the biology of life and in orgone energy ("the basic bio-electric energy of the human body"). This he does in great and, for me, convincing detail in the area of sex. He has not worked out the economy of the biological energy of work in such detail. He is at present engaged in a whole book on Work Democracy, his previous work on the subject (in English) being published as articles in the *International Journal of Sex Economy and Orgone Research* and republished in his *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*.

III
Central to Reich's theories is his theory of sex, which I can only touch briefly here and especially in its relation to his theory of work. However, this sketchiness is no minimisation of its importance and whereas Reich's theory of work (as so far propounded at least) cuts across many other thinkers' conclusions, although here too his line of approach is original, it is in his theory of sex that he is most original and astounding and, to me, true. (There is no other word for it: astounding!)

Freud in his rediscovery of the importance of sex in human life, of infantile sexuality, of repression and the cause of mental illness, made revolutionary discoveries, challenging the very bases of bourgeois society: the family, authority and even the state. In his youth Freud pondered the challenge his medical discoveries had made: if the society makes so many people sick, is not the society itself sick? Should it not be destroyed, rooted out and a new healthier society take its place? A free society where the individual can express himself sexually and in work and artistically. A co-operative rather than a competitive society. (For sexual suppression and suppression of the workers is closely linked.) Indeed Freud made many socialistic statements and if I am not mistaken hailed the Russian Revolution as a great experiment to be carefully watched and encouraged.

But in his older age he became disillusioned, worked out a theory of suppression and sublimation as being at the base of our syphilisation, and a theory of the Death Instinct whereby people were supposed to desire pain (as well as pleasure). The "progressive" bourgeois and Freud's psychoanalytic followers jumped at this easy way out. The thing to do was to realise you had these suppressed sexual desires (only suppressed in Western society) and then... forget about it. Therefore you do not challenge the family (the miniature state) and you do not challenge society, but you go on being the same (consciously) suppressed slob you were.

Freud, too, worked in an era when modern Anthropology had not yet shown beyond a doubt that his analysis of the sex problem was particularly valid only in the West and that some "primitive" cultures had very little of sex problems indeed and also that co-operative societies could and did exist among these same "primitives".

Reich broke with Freud and demanded the revolution. This attitude led him to further intensive concentration on the biology and physiology and physical biology of the sexual act, an area which psychoanalytic prudes shied unconsciously away from, or took for their surface value only, or refused to investigate, for fear it would have socially revolutionary implications.

Reich discovered and measured a specific life—biological energy in the body which he called *orgone energy*. It is the suppression or the damming of this energy through abstinence or incomplete fulfilment of the sexual act that creates the energy for the neurotic symptom. He argues for the free union of lovers and against the authoritarian patriarchal family which perpetuates and is perpetuated by the state. The patriarchal family is a miniature state, the father is a miniature boss and dictator both. (I remember now from the famous Western Electric experiments—a foreman says, "We prefer the young Italian girls—they are very co-operative and easy to handle.") It is this submissive character structure in the authoritarian family which creates the fascist personality, the personality which submits itself to a leader. It is this repression which creates the sadist and the masochist. For the function of the patriarchal authoritative family is to suppress the sex of the child and even of the parents—and (as in a castrated animal) to create a submissive child, worker, soldier. Or, as they say in the *Infantry Drill and Regulations* (p. 207), "His (the soldier's) loyalty to his country should be like that of a dog to its master."

IV
Reich sees the personality acting on three levels:—

1. The surface—or polite level of ordinary inter-personal intercourse, the "moral" level.
2. The unconscious or perverse level.
3. The deep third level, the inner core, the real man, the centre of life-creating energy.

One might draw a parallel or analogy (this is my own, not Reich's) between these three levels and the work levels of society:—

1. The surface or polite level—ostensibly we are producing things for human use and the benefit of us all, and we are all partners in production ("we are all partners" in exploitation, i.e., some exploit and some permit themselves to be exploited). Examples: food and clothing production (but here all for profit... and consider ostentation, waste and luxury while others starve).

2. The unconscious or perverse level—actually we produce a "hell of a lot" of bombs, weapons of destruction (including uniforms, etc.), useless and energy-wasting time-consuming crap. Over 2,000,000 men (volunteers) in our U.S. armed services and their departments. Book-keeping, money, accounting and sales systems which employ at least a million mostly useless workers (3,188,854 salesmen, for example). Internal police systems—lawyers, police, judges, watchmen, 600,000 guards; 175,000 clergymen and religious workers; 47,000 railroad conductors (ticket collectors); 35,000 advertising fakers; 72,000 buyers and department-store heads; 31,000 "credit" men; 1,174,886 stenographers, typists and secretaries (for what?); 85,266 elevator operators (unnecessary in new techniques); 440,111 barbers and beauticians (can you imagine doing nothing but cutting other people's hair all your life?); 128,342 bartenders and 604,908 waiters! (is waiting and bartending necessary?); and 2,349,394(1) private family servants (slaves). These are just examples—not a complete list. And how many millions directly or indirectly, partly or wholly producing weapons of destruction?

3. The deep third level—real creative expenditure of work energy, arts and crafts, and the joy of work, i.e., co-operative farms, the Palestinian *kutza*, the Spanish communes.

The exact character of the energy of the joy of work and its expenditure through the body musculature would be interesting to follow. This would have a

definite relation to the problem of fatigue.

Reich says that the sex and work energy are the same and there is no reason to doubt this. But whereas the sex energy has an orgasmic release, the work energy seems to release more steadily and slowly. One wonders though, if this may not be partially sickness. And the approach to ecstasy in the artist, is that an orgasmic parallel? The feeling of release after the accomplishment of a work of art, is that related to the orgasmic release? *Sex and work are both activity.*

The very word *work* as we know it today is connected with displeasure. But this does not necessarily have to be so. Some day work will be pleasurable.

There is also in Reich's theory of work energy an answer to the old reactionary canard about "no-one wanting to work". As anarchist theoreticians have stated, there is a necessity for the human animal to do some physical work—a physical necessity—or put in orgone terms—the body's energy must be expended. The human animal becomes physically ill if it is forced to refrain from all physical activity.

Modern machine society would seem to have a tendency to make man mentally ill by prohibiting the full exercise of his functions, mental and physical, by tying him into routine, boring concentrations of simple repetitive machine operations. (The "idle" man can have less of damming-up of mental, and physical energy), because he is free to imagine, to observe and enjoy and to think. He is free to dance and sing. Three cheers for "idleness"!)

V

Or, to put the previous section IV on another level: A Clerk in a brokerage house in the financial district goes to work every morning; he is going for a good reason, i.e., to support his family and to "keep the wheels of commerce rolling". Once at work, he begins to do useless, compulsive, unnecessary, masochistic, or, if he is a foreman, sadistic (i.e., perverse and harmful work). But deep within him, he (day) dreams of having his own farm and raising the food he eats and making many of the things he uses (and needs) himself (or with friends). Thus, the work segment of an individual's activities can have three levels also: (1) the polite and moral surface level; (2) the perverse, and (3) the deepest creative level.

1. Every job is given this spoken or unspoken moral and polite justification; i.e., atom bombs manufacture is to "protect the country"; the book-keeper "keeps business going"; the sales-clerk in a grocery "gives people food" (what a farce, actually he gets in the way. Yet every worker must somehow feel that his work is useful).

2. Every job in a class society has on the second perverse level, the masochistic-sadistic element. Some command and some are commanded; some submit and some do the submitting. The worker can express his fears, hostilities and compulsions through the job—through materials or through the manipulation of people. Bureaucracy is a whole disease of this character.

3. Every worker has deep within him a need and a desire to do creative, energy-releasing, totally satisfying work. This can be felt and seen in their constant dissatisfaction with their work and with the economic structure of society: the whole classically economic revolutionary movement (Marxism and Anarchism) is in a large measure an expression of this feeling. The feeling of joy in work, commonplace of the middle ages was fractured in modern bourgeois society. The growth of Sport is an attempt at a modern replacement. It is significant that children who do varied, light, interesting work (for short periods, of course) like, say, gardening (as in the Palestinian *kutza*), find it sport and not work. Definitely sport! Full of pleasure and joy. A game, a kind of dance.

The revolutionary movement has neglected the theory of work and assumed that a tremendous shortening of hours would solve everything. This is not exactly so. It has slighted the theory of work as it has slighted the theory of sex.

JACK GALLEG0.

(To be concluded)

WINTER READING

Freedom is not a literary paper, and in its present size is not able to devote a lot of space to book reviews, while our financial position does not allow us to include a Winter Book Supplement as several of our readers have suggested. However, we make below some suggestions for your winter reading, some new books, some not so new, but all in print. We make no apology for including a few of our own publications—we think they're good or we wouldn't have published them!

A BOOK just out which should interest *Freedom* readers is Alex Comfort's *THE PATTERN OF THE FUTURE* (Routledge, 6/-). Here in permanent form are his four lectures broadcast earlier this year. The first poses the question "Is Christianity True? The second is on "The Values of To-day" which Comfort believes must "come from belief in man and in his fragility, his impermanence, his need to fight the universe by knowing it and changing it". He then discusses "Power and Democracy" and observes that to-day:

"Most of us are far more concerned to find ways of protecting ourselves against the delinquent activities of the state, such as war, tyranny, and suppression of freedom and individual rights, than with the protection which the state gives us against individual delinquents. Quite apart from concentration camps and atomic bombs, we are beginning to recognise a definite association between mental abnormality and the desire for power, and between political delinquency and certain types of society. . . . The one personality type for whom political power has an irresistible fascination is that of the individual who combines an over-mastering desire for praise, authority and dominance with an inability to secure it elsewhere in daily life. In modern urban cultures we have delegated very extensively the kind of functions which, in primitive cultures, belong to us all. We have delegated our politics to professional politicians, our law and order to professional police, our sport to professional athletes, our art to professional artists, and our sexuality to professional film-stars. We are therefore left with politics as a whole-time occupation which offers peculiar temptations to those who desire power for its own sake, and a public which has been so far atomised and broken up into its individual components that it has no autonomous functions at all, except in the limited field of its occupation."

Among the Big Thinkers

If someone wants to make you a present of one of those big and comprehensive volumes which will be a source of interest and stimulation for years (and assuming, of course, that you have already read Rudolf Rocker's *NATIONALISM AND CULTURE* (Freedom Press, 21/-), suggest one of Lewis Mumford's scholarly and well-illustrated books, which have been described as "essential reading for anarchists", *THE CONDITION OF MAN* (Secker & Warburg, 25/-), *THE CULTURE OF CITIES* (Secker & Warburg, 16/-), or *TECHNICS AND CIVILIZATION* (Routledge, 21/-). One might also mention Bertrand Russell's *HUMAN KNOWLEDGE ITS SCOPE AND LIMITS* (Allen & Unwin, 18/-).

What, More Psychology?

Our choice in the field of psychology is *MAN FOR HIMSELF* by Erich Fromm (Routledge, 12/6). This admirable book by the author of *The Fear of Freedom*, reaches the conclusion:

"It might seem that the psychoanalyst, who is in the position of observing the tenacity and stubbornness of irrational strivings, would take a pessimistic view with regard to man's ability to govern himself and to free himself from the bondage of irrational passions. I must confess that during my analytic work I

have become increasingly impressed by the opposite phenomenon: by the strength of the strivings for happiness and health, which are part of the natural equipment of man. 'Curing' means removing the obstacles which prevent them from becoming effective." And of the innumerable books on the social aspects of sex, what better works could we recommend than René Guyon's *SEXUAL FREEDOM* (Bodley Head, 16/-) and Alex Comfort's *BARBARISM AND SEXUAL FREEDOM* (Freedom Press, 3/6), the first book on the subject to take into account the findings of the Kinsey Report.

Novels

If you want fiction for Christmas and do not feel like a cosy evening by the fire with *THE NAKED AND THE DEAD* by Norman Mailer (Wingate, 15/-), there is always Joyce Cary's *THE HORSE'S MOUTH* (Penguin, 2/-), a witty and uproarious novel, or the same author's new novel *A FEARFUL JOY* (Michael Joseph, 10/6). Two fine novels from Italy are *A TALE OF POOR LOVERS* by Vasco Pratolini (Hamish Hamilton, 12/6) and *THE WOMAN OF ROME* by Alberto Moravia (Secker & Warburg, 12/6). Another book full of human sympathy and enjoyment of life is Elliott Paul's *A NARROW STREET* (Penguin, 2/6). Then there is the year's most important work of imaginative fiction, George Orwell's *NINETEEN-EIGHTYFOUR* (Secker & Warburg, 10/6).

Other People's Lives

Of biographical books there is George Woodcock's *THE PARADOX OF OSCAR WILDE* (Boardman, 15/-), which has just appeared in a new impression. [And don't forget that his fine biography of *WILLIAM GODWIN* (Porcupine, 12/6) is still available.] Then there is K. J. Kenefick's *MICHAEL BAKUNIN AND KARL MARX* (European Distributors: Freedom Press, 7/6 boards, 6/- paper), which incidentally contains a great number of newly-translated extracts from Bakunin. An absorbingly interesting "portrait-gallery" of nineteenth-century Russians in exile is E. H. Carr's *THE ROMANTIC EXILES* (Penguin, 2/6) which describes the wanderings of Herzen, Ogarev and their circle. Many books have recently appeared about J. W. Goethe, two of the best and least expensive of these are *GOETHE* (A. & C. Black, 6/-), by that noble man Albert Schweitzer and Sir Charles Sherrington's *GOETHE ON NATURE AND SCIENCE* (C.U.P., 2/6). Wordsworthians will enjoy Herbert Read's *WORDSWORTH* (Faber, 15/-), and for budding megalomaniacs only, we sourly recommend Lord Reith's autobiography *INTO THE WIND*.

Art and Architecture

If you are interested in your physical surroundings there are the fine series of picture books, *The Things We See* (Penguin, 2/6 each). Titles which have appeared are *HOUSES, FURNITURE, POTTERY AND GLASS, and PUBLIC TRANSPORT*. If you look with an enquiring and sardonic eye on architecture and topography, the book which will delight you is *DRAYNEFLETE REVEALED* (John Murray, 8/6), by Osbert Lancaster, whose erudite and urbane text rivals his witty drawings. For sheer value-for-money you cannot beat the new edition of *THE MEANING OF ART* by Herbert Read, 2/6, which a critic described, with no exaggeration, as "the best pocket introduction to the understanding of art that has ever been published".

Children's Books

For your children (or other people's) there are the splendid Puffin Picture Books, at 1/6 each, with titles ranging from *THE BUILDING OF LONDON* to *OUR HORSES*, and the Puffin Story Books, also 1/6, of which some recent titles are H. Williamson's *TARKA THE OTTER, DICKON AMONG THE INDIANS* (about life with the Lenape Indians of the 17th century, with illustrated instructions on making fire without matches, preparing Pemican and other esoteric recipes), and Barbara Euphan Todd's *WORZEL GUMMIDGE AGAIN*, which tells of the adventures of the famous scarecrow of Scatterbrook Farm (resemblance to well-known anarchists quite co-incidental). All these books are beautifully produced and should please most children.

WE WILL SUPPLY ALL BOOKS MENTIONED ON THIS PAGE

(And don't forget to take advantage of our front page offer)

★
Delphic Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 1949 ... 2/6

★
Some Books under Five Shillings . . .

I Chose Freedom	V. Kravchenko	2/6	Treasure Island	R. L. Stevenson	3/6
This England (Illustrated by Searle)		2/-	The Song of Lazarus	Alex Comfort	1/-
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"Worlds Masters" Series each	Graham Greene	2/-	Smoke	Turgenev	4/6
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FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

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A New Anarchist Review

IN these days of chronic crisis, when good magazines are going down like ninepins, it needs a certain boldness to start a new one. So it is with additional pleasure that we greet the "DELPHIC REVIEW", the first issue of which has just appeared (DELPHIC Press, 52 pages, 2/6). It is described as an "Anarchistic Quarterly" and is edited by Albert J. McCarthy.

Augustus John contributes a witty and wise article in which he describes his proposal of an alternative to the "collective suicide pact" which civilisation is entering; Tom Farrell seeks an explanation of the appearance of 'folk art', and George Woodcock writes on "The Rebel Falstaff", an admirable study of Shakespeare's greatest and most subversive character.

There is an extract from a forthcoming Freedom Press pamphlet by Herbert Read, an article on Cyril Connolly ("the archetype of the contemporary bourgeois intellectual") by Gerald Vaughan, a very funny examination by Charles Fox of unbelievably bad poetry, and a detailed study of "The American Negro and the Vote" is given by the editor. There are also poems and reviews.

The "DELPHIC REVIEW" closely resembles the late and lamented "NOW", but, in comparison, it seems to lack the cohesion of "NOW"—a fault which will probably disappear in later issues.

This is a good magazine. May it get the support it deserves.

PACIFISM—FAKE OR REAL

EARLY in December, the Gandhians will hold a conference in Shantiniketan, in which foreign pacifists from various countries will take part. The organisers of the conference wanted to spend 2½ lakhs of rupees on it, but claim to have collected only 50,000 rupees. The conference was first proposed by Gandhiji but as he was assassinated, his followers in India and foreign friends wanted to fulfil his wish by holding such a conference. It is very doubtful whether the conference will take the course which Gandhiji would have given. Now Gandhiji is no more, they have constituted themselves as authorities or dictators of Gandhi-ism and pacifism. Their pacifism will be of the status quo type, for the Indian Gandhians have now a state in their hand to wield. Not only that, they want to wield if possible a world government.

Tolstoy, from whom Gandhiji borrowed the ideas of refusal to pay taxes and refusal to obey laws (of course—not in the sense of Gandhian tax-evaders!) made it plain that so long as people pay taxes, obey laws and carry arms, they have no right to complain against governments and violence. There can be no pacifism internally or externally with government machinery. Instead of at least telling that, our Gandhian world teachers (Jagatgurus) want to hold on to office in the name of pacifism, and even Gandhi-ism! They ask others to support government (of course, their own)—as any other government would do in the name of classless society, to obey laws and shoot when ordered. That will be *ahimsa*. It is a caricature of pacifism and non-violence! It will be impossible. Truth is dangerous to governments, for if they told the truth, the opponents would make full use of it to discredit it! Non-violence is, of course, impossible. Those who say we want violence, and therefore government, will be honest.

Gandhians do not know the nature of Governments: it is an instrument used by one group of people over all the rest. There cannot be even class government. It makes no difference whether people accept it or vote it into office foolishly in the name of democracy, according to the rules of the game called constitutions. When an Indian (still alive) asked Tolstoy what Indians should do to overthrow British rule, Tolstoy answered that so long as the people pay taxes, obey laws and carry arms, they cannot get rid of it and therefore they must be made not to do these things. To a certain extent Gandhiji used this advice against British rulers, otherwise we would still be grumbling against British rulers, as we are doing now against our rulers, all the time obeying masters. Masters are masters, whether native or foreign, and there can be no peace with master and servant relations, whether that relation

is voluntarily accepted or not. Voluntary servitude is still servitude. A golden chain is still an instrument of slavery. Anyway, that is not pacifism—unless pacifism means voluntary servitude. But our Gandhians think or preach that voluntary servitude is freedom. Let us say plainly and honestly that if we want or must have state machinery, we do not want pacifism, truth and *ahimsa*. There cannot be any compromise between *himsa* and *ahimsa*, truth and untruth, but what our Gandhians want to do is to harmonise the two, trying to keep them side by side. Hence their talk degenerates into hypocrisy. As they want, so they will be. Either, or—no half-way house between yes and no. And they are going to teach the world Gandhi-ism! Pacifism even.

We know that among the foreign delegates, there are men who have gone to prison as conscientious objectors, refusing to carry arms. They are very nice people. But pacifism is not just being nice. It is stern business. They harm no government but only themselves. For they are not against the root cause of organised violence. They think violence (governments) are an evil necessity: "Only we must tame governments and make them lion and the lamb lie together." It requires individual courage to refuse to carry arms and prefer prisons. But that cannot create pacifism, for the governments which organise violence are left intact and even considered necessary for society. Many of these honest but short-sighted people are for the maintenance of business which governments defend. Some of them have business interests—although delegated. They are ready to spend money out of business and even go to prisons, but are not for the abolition of business and governments—for going against instruments of violence. Non-violence!

The pacifist meetings organised by them are everywhere like hikers' parties in picnic. They have a pleasant, happy and peaceful time among themselves. But pacifism demands stern thinking. No, they don't want it. Therefore they go on talking of world peace and non-violence and truth. Of course, they are respectable pacifists for they do not touch things that matter.

We are not going to have either internal or external peace with this kind of pacifism. It is simply propaganda pacifism, but leaving things as they are. What they mean by pacifism is that governments should not go to war. That is all. That the war of classes and groups and individuals should be made harmonious, not abolished. This war must go on, but peacefully. Peacefully means protected by governments. If it came to the abolition of governments, they would prefer Bolshevism to pacifism. For Bolshevism is at least government—"order"—not anarchy! But true pacifism can only be non-governmental. Unfortunately for them. For government and pacifism cannot go

together, cannot be harmonised, are mutually exclusive, are contradiction in terms. But that does not worry them. It gives them a headache to think.

I want to ask them if they are ready to abolish government if non-violent society requires that. They will say that society without business, and therefore the state, would not only be impossible, but would be mere savagery. They have no use for a pacifist society if it means abolition of business and the state. They want roses (governments) but without thorns (violence)—they are not against arms but against violence—naturally by the disarmed. That is the pacifism of the graveyard. We have it already. They do not want logic because life is not logical. Opportunism is pacifism. They are not dishonest but they just don't want to think.

Rather they want a world government. What is world government?—they do not want to think that out either. If they thought about it they would see that it will be organised violence from one centre for all the world. They are habituated to think that government is an instrument of peace. Therefore they are addicts of violence. Nothing—not even peace—can take place outside violence. We must have greater violence to subdue lesser violence—that is their pacifism. One good thing—the only hope—for the world is that when small governments are abolished, the big World government will become impossible. Otherwise, there would be tyranny from one centre instead of from several centres. We will more probably have chaos than world government—in spite of the pious wishes of the pacifists of government. Otherwise, mankind's case is hopeless. Let them shout for non-violence with one world government. It will only create a respectable name. World government is just now the fashion on all hands—i.e., from all quacks.

Our Dr. Rajendra Prasad will preside over the world pacifist meeting. He was a minister until recently, is now Chairman of the Assembly, and may become president of the republic. As a man of government, violence, political machinery, he wants to create peace and *ahimsa*. He wants "pacifism" at the service of the state, and not of society.

Dr. Radhakrishnan is the vice-president of this world pacifist meeting. He is trying in Moscow to make the opposing violence lie together in peace, but not to abolish the opposing violence. That would be more difficult than talking of quick peace. Everything must go on as before but there must be no violence. If necessary, they will prefer Fascism or Bolshevism to non-violence, peace—and truth. Otherwise, the society of their conception cannot go on. But will it go on even with Fascism or Bolshevism, you professors of pacifism? It won't.

M. T. P. ACHARYA.

"Have a real good party and kill a lot of people"

NOT a day passes but that some pronouncement is uttered, some statistic published or some new revelation made, regarding either the recent war or the war to come.

For those who enjoy figures, H.M.S.O. has just published a report of the Ministry of Pensions in which one learns that since 1914 war pensions have cost £1,930,000,000 and that the estimated expenditure for the current year will be £90 million. Translated into human misery and sorrow, this money will be paid to more than 1 million people, of whom 738,343 received *disablement* pensions. There are 200,000 war widows receiving pensions and 143,161 "parents and other dependants". The Ministry is still responsible for 5,000 war orphans. Wars come to an end, but there is no end to the suffering caused by wars.

The effects of the American Atom bomb on Hiroshima are still being felt. A United Press report (20/11/49) states that according to Dr. David G. Cogan of the Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary: "The first delayed reaction of atomic bombing has appeared in survivors at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the form of eye cataracts. The cataracts apparently began to develop two and a half-years after the bombs were dropped, he said. The ten certain cases found were among 237 persons who were within 1,000 metres of the centre of the explosion. Beyond that limit, he said, investigators found no sign of eye trouble."

How un-Christian are the official representatives of Christianity! The Archbishop of York, in a speech at Bridlington in which he expressed the opinion that "the inventive genius of the human race had outgrown its moral capacity," had a few words to say about atom bombs. "For a time," he said, "we had rested satisfied knowing that the atomic bombs were in the possession of the peace-loving peoples of America. That was no longer the case. 'Over the world there hangs a menace. The security we had has vanished.'"

How stupid these learned prelates can be. As if the atom bomb ever was in the hands of the *people*. The first "peace-loving" Americans knew about the atom bomb was when thousands of Japanese were snuffed out or maimed or terribly burned by radiation when the first one was dropped. All peoples are peace-loving whether they live in Russia or America. But equally true is it that the peace-loving peoples have no say when it comes to dropping atom bombs. That is left to the professional war-mongers. And they have recently been shooting off their mouths. Our great military expert, Field-Marshal Montgomery, spoke at a luncheon of the National Press Club in Washington last month, in which he spoke on a number of subjects from atom bombs and tactics to women and his beret. But he also said, "if anybody commits an act of aggression

against the nations of Western Europe from any direction, we will have a real good party and kill a lot of people."

How easy it is for Field-M Marshals who almost invariably die in their beds and who direct others to do the killing, to make a joke of the horrors of war. We found no report of this speech in the British Press; presumably such remarks are still unpalatable to English taste and must be suppressed in order to maintain the hero-worshipping of "Monty" unscathed. But in America, such talk brings applause from some sections of the public.

But then, in this atom bomb business, the Americans are always a step ahead of all competitors, and do not visualise being at the receiving end of the bomb. Senator Johnson has been reported as saying that America's new atom bomb tested at Eniwetok last year was "six times more potent" than the model used on Nagasaki during the war. He said he based this figure on an official news release of the Atomic Energy Commission. He also said progress was being made toward development of a bomb that would be "one thousand times more powerful" than any now in production.

But, just in case things did not go all their way, our American cousins have already started work on Atomic Bomb resisting houses. At an annual meeting of 4,500 estate men held in Chicago last month, one of the treats awaiting them was one such house. It is still far from perfect, but the sponsors are reported as saying that, "the roof may be expected to give some protection against atomic bombs, but they admit that the protection is relatively and most effective when the bomb bursts are a considerable distance away."

And so, piece by piece, they are putting together the jig-saw puzzle which, when completed, will spell World War 3. It will take time, perhaps, but it is inevitable so long as the decisions rest with the politicians and the militarists.

What is the alternative? We agree that it is Utopian to expect the "peace-loving peoples" to suddenly revolt against the war-mongers. The majority of people may be peace-loving, but they are also conditioned by upbringing and by every public institution to respect authority. So long as they respect authority they cannot be free. Let us face up to this fact. And if we have the courage to admit they, then we must be prepared to stop talking in terms of mass resistance, mass opinion and the like, and start once more from the beginning, from the individual. And if the writer of this column is asked "What is the alternative?", he must admit that there is at present no alternative to World War 3 except on paper. The alternative would exist *if*... But for the majority of anarchists the position is clear. Their position in World War 3 will be the same as in World Wars 2 and 1: Opposition. And we think that opposition can only be expressed by an unconditional refusal as individuals to be invited by the Montgomerys of the next war to "have a real good party and kill a lot of people".

LIBERTARIAN.

THROUGH THE PRESS

THE REGULATED STATE

Sir Stafford Cripps offers us a reward for informing the Government on breaches of the currency regulations. If this democratic habit of our morally incorruptible leaders continues, we shall shortly be able to collect lump sums for informing on those of our neighbours who use a drop of red petrol, get an extra slice of meat, receive a food parcel from Ireland, forget their identity card, or contravene any one of the monstrous regiment of regulations under which we bear up with difficulty. Finally, we may find ourselves informed on ourselves for expressing thoughts like these. There will be no need to struggle against totalitarianism. Totalitarianism will have won.

—J. B. Pick in *Picture Post*, 26/11/49.

POLICE NOT SO WONDERFUL

More than 100 unemployed, mostly women, hunger-striking in a church near Pescara, on Italy's east coast, declared to-day they would not leave, for fear of the police.

News Chronicle, 21/11/49.

SOB STORY

While telling the wonderful story of H.M.S. *Amethyst* to my seven-year-old son, with a lump in my throat, *Illustrated* plopped through the letter-box. I opened it at the photographs of Burnham Beeches. My "lump" melted and my tears flowed. Like the *Amethyst* story, the scene was so British and so majestic.

Illustrated, 26/11/49.

THEY SHALL HAVE MUSIC (SACRED)

London's down-and-outs who sleep on Thames Embankment benches will have their own church and canteen in January. A £1,000 vehicle, ordered by the London Embankment Mission Headquarters, will broadcast sacred music and sermons near Somerset House.

News Chronicle, 26/11/49.

GRIM REMINDER

Workmen in Frankfurt found more than 100 bodies in an air-raid shelter smashed by an Allied raid.

News Chronicle, 25/11/49.

IMMACULATE DECEIVER

Salvador Dali stood alongside his latest painting, "Madonna of the Immaculate Conception", which he showed to the Pope yesterday, and said: "I'm through with my wild past, I am returning to the Catholic Church."

He added: "In art, I am returning to the pre-Raphaelite Renaissance classicism."

Daily Express, 25/11/49.

GET CRACKING!

Overseas Food Corporation. A vacancy exists for a Senior Statistician with a first or second class honours degree in statistics, mathematics or economics with statistics for service with the East Africa Groundnuts Scheme in Tanganyika...

—Advert. in *New Statesman*, 26/11/49.

PEASANT UNREST IN CHINA

THE needy peasants in Northern China initially were rather attracted by the Communist ideal. The influence of the nationalist was small among the peasant rank and file. The Kuomintang was considered to be an elitarian body of men giving a great deal of privilege to a few governing people. Now all this is past, but the Communist occupied country is harassed by requisitions for the armed and the civilian administration. The rural population was deprived of all stocks, and is now starving. Gangs of bandits sprang up adding to the general disorder. Lately these bands are growing in force and becoming politically conscious, they fight the Communists. The Nationalists are trying to take advantage of these bands for their infiltration into the occupied territories and in some ways they are successful. Especially strong peasant units reached the neighbourhood of Peking from the North lately. —P.I. Agency.

THE MEASURE OF SUCCESS

EVER since the Japanese occupation, the natives of the Solomon Islands have been discontented with British rule, and a movement variously called *Martin Lo* or *Marching Rule*, which according to the press means "Marxian Rule", has been organising opposition to the authorities. But on November 20th, Sir Brian Freeston, the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific announced the ascendancy of the Union Jack over this movement. And what are the benefits for the natives of the reimposition of British rule? According to the High Commissioner, it was now "possible successfully to reintroduce taxation on the people of Malaita, a former stronghold of the movement, after a lapse of nine years."

RHODESIA: Federating Misery

SIR Godfrey Higgins, the Prime Minister, of Southern Rhodesia, is busily demanding that a Central African Federation be set up as a new dominion, consisting of Rhodesia, Nysaland and the protectorate of Northern Bechuanaland. His Minister of Justice is coming to London to press these claims, which are opposed by the native population who regard them as a step from the frying pan into the fire. Southern Rhodesia is nominally under the control of the British Government, which has remained silent while legislation discriminating against the coloured people has become law, while wages are at a starvation level, while facilities for native education are almost non-existent, apart from missionary efforts and while, as a correspondent of the *New Statesman* points out, "armoured cars and troops were used to intimidate the undernourished strikers at Bulawayo".

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A Strike Against Class 'Justice'

IT is difficult to write serious social history (as distinct from the school-book humbug about kings and queens), because the sources are few, the chroniclers of the day reporting the observations of some temporarily inflated windbag. Bevin recently put it on record that his trip to America was "historic", but nothing achieved by any politician, for good or bad, in twenty years has had such real significance for English people as the strike at St. Pancras over the week-end of November 26th. An exaggeration?

The newspapers would think so—they made it a two-days' wonder, dismissing it as one more unpatriotic observation of the London railwaymen. Yet they had worked themselves into hysterics over the decision to pay informers on currency offences. Although informing is an old English custom, its use has been mainly against the "lower orders"—not only the so-called criminals but against those treated as such by reason of poverty.

What does freedom mean to the bourgeoisie? They understand it only as the freedom to exploit. They complain at not being able to spend their pounds abroad, but what would they do to stop the encroachments of the State which it is temporarily "in order" to complain of? Only those who believe in freedom as a concrete ideal can do anything against State encroachments on liberty.

The St. Pancras Strike

The activities of the informer are bound up with the whole system of police and detectives and coppers' marks. Against this, the St. Pancras men struck—defying the "well thought-out" axioms of would-be "revolutionaries" that "the workers are only interested in bread-and-butter", and praising or condemning them accordingly.

They struck against what they called Gestapo practices—although it would have been equally correct to call the Hitler police "Scotland-Yarders", since the use of secret police, provocative agents, and informers is far from being un-English so far as the ruling-class is concerned.

A package was found tampered with at St. Pancras, and the railway police passed the matter to the Metropolitan

police who obtained a warrant to search the homes of the goods porters who had reported it. The police found nothing and were accused of causing a shock to the old mother of one of the men concerned, apart from the humiliations felt by some to be caused by a "police visit" (which may, of course, have unpleasant repercussions in sub-tenancies sometimes—as was discovered by *Freedom Press* in 1945).

The men struck to see that such action did not occur again. It was a short strike and the matter "is now being investigated". The settlement will not mean much. Whatever the mediators decide, the whole point is that such action by the authorities will in the future provoke strikes, certainly on the railway, probably also in the docks, and in the many heavy industries.

Class Differences

This social strike (which is in effect, the basic assumption of Anarcho-Syndicalism) comes spontaneously from the workers. No political party sees anything really reprehensible in police action and all careerists are sceptical of the popular interest in personal liberty. It strikes against the basic assumption in English politics, which the main parties sedulously pretend to ignore, and that is the class difference, which is more naked here than in almost any other country, but which it is considered expedient to forget. The class difference ranges right down to such matters as sport, religion, tone of voice, and even sometimes, physical characteristics.

Only this explains the social set-up—the apparent contradictions of the aristocracy and monarchy existing cheek by jowl with working-class organisations which participate in political power; and the spectacle of fervent "socialists" (ever reformist), reconciling democracy with monarchism.

Now, the St. Pancras men have struck against a basic—if unadmitted—part of the legal processes, whereby rich and poor do not receive equal treatment (and those who believe they do, might reflect for a moment on the significance of the classic plea: "Don't send him to prison—he comes from a good family.")

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

DRUGS AND SEX

I HAVE recently heard that law courts are using a drug in homosexual cases which destroys all sexual feeling. The long-term effects are doubtful and may even be dangerous to life. I do not know any details and would hardly go to the police courts for them. Nor do I know for how long sexual feeling is destroyed. It would be wrong to use it however short the effect. The mental effect that worse-than-impotence must have on the victim must be very serious. Nor do I believe it unlikely that the drug would be used in normal sexual cases—at schools say. In George Orwell's 1984, the scientists were still working at the destruction of the orgasm in intercourse. If I am right, it has been discovered already, and we are one stage nearer. London. T.S.

[A full account of this procedure is given in an editorial article in the Journal of Sex Education for this month. Unless such a drug is given with the full consent of the subject, it would in law and in fact constitute an assault.—EBS.]

Not for the Upper Crust

It is impossible that police could ever raid the homes of those railway gentlemen whom yesterday the Tories called "merchant-adventurers of industry", and to-day call "soul-less bureaucrats", whom the Labour Party yesterday called "capitalist exploiters", and to-day call "tireless public servants"—the executives doing exactly the same jobs under nationalisation as they did under monopoly. Or imagine what an outcry would ensue in the *Evening Standard* if—what would certainly be called the "Gestapo"—broke into the Putney or Surbiton homes of chartered accountants believed to be fiddling the books of their companies so that some of their directors could have a beano in Switzerland!

Well, if they march into the Poplar and Stepney homes of men who haven't the "influence" to set telephone wires buzzing to their friends in Westminster and Fleet Street and other strategic positions, they can at least reckon with the strike weapon. For a strike for personal dignity has been fought, and St. Pancras shows the way. While the clubmen of Pall Mall, groan in their armchairs over this latest manifestation of England going to the dogs, in its hostility to work and free enterprise, let us be thankful that there are workers enterprising enough to find new ways to fight for freedom. A.M.

BIG PLANS FOR SMALL PEOPLES

APPROPOS the "Great Adventure", as one of your correspondents calls the Groundnuts scheme: this scheme is based upon the complete rejection of any right of the native citizens and workers to influence their own lives and destiny. In other words, its base is that of State Power, in this case an alien and Imperialist State.

Although not an Anarchist, I am somewhat surprised that one signing himself so should, while deploring politics, exhibit the Fabian, New World, Big-plans-before-small-people ideology. London. DON BANNISTER.

"Anarchist" writes: Our correspondent appears only to have read (and misquoted) the headline to my article on the Groundnuts Scheme A Great Venture Ruined by Politics. I must draw his attention to my remarks on the "Labour colonial apologists" and my conclusion that:

"The point is that for socialist of an earlier generation there would seem little cause for rejoicing at turning a man into a wage slave. Such a transformation is only possible because the Europeans have first broken up the African's way of life and ruined him economically. Their remedy, to offer him wages in return for long hours of work, confers singularly one-sided advantages."

THE CADET CORPS

I WAS very pleased to read about the Cadet Force at public schools, in *Freedom*.

My son, aged 15, is at a public school, and was in the Cadet Force before I knew anything about it.

I did not like this, not being one for exercising authority; I had to think about getting him out. I wrote to the headmaster and told him in no uncertain manner what I thought.

I had a reply saying that the onus was on me, as every boy was put in the Cadet Force if the parents did not object.

This is one way to swell the ranks, as some parents will not take the trouble to object, and another reason seems to be fear of the boy having to suffer.

My son is now one of the very small minority out of the C.F. Another point may interest you. A history master told my son that history will show him how to vote! Greville. FRED OGDEN.

FREEDOM THE WRONG EFFECT

A READER sends us the following cautionary tale from the *Bolton Evening News* (25/11/49):

"A National Service Officer addressed the senior boys of a Bolton school on the varied aspects of the Services they might be called upon to join. At the close, he asked for questions. Consternation assailed the teachers present when one big lad, not the school's brightest, asked—'Please, sir, how can I get out of National Service?' The officer collected his papers in silence and departed."

We would have thought he was the school's brightest lad!

CLOUDS ON THE HORIZON

SINCE the war, with the increase in general apathy and the decrease in ready money, many small papers and little magazines have ceased to appear. One of the most regrettable casualties from our point of view was George Woodcock's "NOW", for which we were the distributors. [Incidentally, copies of the later numbers are still obtainable from Freedom Bookshop, and their contents are of permanent value.] And we were very sorry to hear recently from Dwight MacDonald, that "POLITICS" is to appear no more. He writes to say that he cannot raise enough money to continue publication, and that, along with other personal reasons, he is "reluctant to assume again the many routine chores involved in putting out a magazine (these are stimulating for a time, but after five years they pall)." Now we learn that the December issue of the literary magazine "HORIZON" is to be the last until (if conditions improve, December, 1950. This is in spite of the financial support of a wealthy sympathiser, and the editor remarks that, "A decade of our lives is quite enough to devote to a lost cause such as the pursuit and marketing of quality in contemporary writing. In the end, despite all the good will in the world, the public gets the magazines it deserves."

"Freedom" does NOT intend to close down, even if its editors are tired of the "routine chores", they mean to go on doing them, nor do they consider they are wasting their talents on a "lost cause". Nor, by the way, do they get paid. We know that our readers appreciate and value "Freedom", because they write and say so. But we do most urgently need your support in increasing the circulation of the paper, for this would not only reduce the cost of producing it, and enable us either to return to eight pages, or alternatively to publish it weekly in its present size, but would spread our ideas and their influence. Many readers are getting subscription reminders this month. Do please pay up promptly for your paper, for we simply cannot afford to send out copies after subscriptions have lapsed. Another way in which you can help us is by buying your books through the Freedom Bookshop. And, in order to keep the standard of articles in the paper, we would like to have many more submitted to us. And then, of course (for we have no rich backers), there's the press fund...

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THE DARK CONTINENT

(Continued from page 1.)

object squalor in the vast, shanty town of "Tobruk", have earned him only prison sentences, poverty and sickness, and the admiration of men of goodwill, has for several years been trying to put before the world the case of the dispossessed Herero Tribe of South-West Africa who, already confined to "reserves" are threatened by the further extension of Dr. Malan's anti-native policy since the South-African government is "bringing about a closer association" between the mandate and the Union.

Mr. Scott was granted a public hearing by a vote of 25 to 15 with six abstentions. Needless to say, all the colonial powers (concerned with "policy" and not "honour"), opposed the motion. The British delegate, Sir Terence Shone, supported the South African spokesman, saying that "There was a danger of the whole African continent climbing on the back of this procedure." The *News Chronicle* (29/11/49) reported that:

"Every stratagem known to diplomatic experts has been applied to silence this giant man with the burning eyes. Michael Scott's credentials—pathetic bits of paper signed by scattered tribal chiefs to whom he had journeyed tirelessly over thousands of miles under the eyes of hostile police—were challenged up to the last moment."

"Endless Tyranny"

"Malan's delegate has been instructed to boycott the session—and Scott indicts an empty chair."

"He tells a story of endless treachery and tyranny imposed on the shattered tribes who have sent him here. He tells of the Germans, who massacred them and robbed them of their lands; of the British who promised that their lands would be restored to them after they had fought the Germans in the first World War (a promise which was not kept); of the South Africans, who took over their rule and reimposed the savage doctrine of white superiority and domination."

"He talks of natives in the gold-mining shanty towns digging through rubbish heaps for paraffin tins with

which to build shelter for their families, of tattered farm labourers paid from five shillings to a pound a week.

"Without expression, Scott quotes from an official report: 'The natives are used to sleeping under the bush and are not entitled to anything better.'"

"Ravages which the past century has wrought have brought us to a turning point in Africa's history," Scott says. "These people's fate is now for U.N.O. to decide. The future of all Africa calls for a firm holding to their moral obligations by all civilised nations."

And *Reynold's News* (27/11/49) says: "He recalled that aircraft had been used against the Hottentots in 1922, at the beginning of what he termed the 'reign of terror'. Defenceless people were driven from their lands."

"The lands of the Herero people had been taken from them and the tribes had to exist as best they could 'as hewers of wood and drawers of water' for the whites."

Moral Victory only

But Mr. Scott's moral victory will cut no ice in a world of "policy" which is not concerned with "honour". He asked that the United Nations should return the land to the native peoples and place South-West Africa under international trusteeship.

The committee passed a resolution to this effect, after the departure of the South African delegate who announced that he would attend no further meetings of the Trusteeship Committee during the remainder of the Assembly's session: Britain, France, U.S.A., Sweden, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Greece, Turkey and all the Dominions except New Zealand (which abstained), voted against the Trusteeship resolution.

Dr. Malan has declared that the Union would refuse to place South-West Africa under United Nations trusteeship or to permit interference in her domestic affairs.

Accusing the United Nations of "interference mania", he says: "The principle having been accepted that agitators, and what is more agitators of the Scott type as we know him, can

obtain entrance to its council chambers, by-passing a country's own legal Government, there seems to be no limit to interference any more. The way has become open for wide incitement and the creation of unrest from outside."

"We are not going to give up our freedom for anything in the world. We are not going to throw South-West Africa to the wolves."

British Support with M.15

Where does the "socialist" British Government stand? Mr. Mayhew, replying in Parliament for the Foreign Minister, said that the Government considered Mr. Scott's hearing at the committee "a thoroughly undesirable precedent". He declined to comment on the justice or injustice of the case, but the attitude of our authorities may be gauged by the news that on the 30th of November, Sir Percy Sillitoe, the head of M.15 and the South African Minister of Justice, held discussions which (says the *News Chronicle*, which euphemistically describes Sillitoe as "a director at the War Office"), "have the blessing of Mr. Malan, and will probably bear fruit next year, when the Union Parliament will be asked to pass stringent legislation to combat Communists and agitators."

Sinister Co-operation

This sinister co-operation is taking place in the Colonial Empire as well. Chief Inspector G. S. Barnes of the Special Branch, has arrived by air in Uganda to advise East African police forces on police methods in Britain at the request of the Colonial Office and to assist in the establishment of a special branch on the lines of that at Scotland Yard. He took with him a confidential report giving a list of suspects known to the Special Branch and military intelligence. The *Daily Telegraph* states that: "It will also keep the authorities informed of people suspected of being concerned with attempts at establishing underground movements" and describes these moves as "part of Colonial Office policy to assist colonies and protectorates to establish efficient detective forces".

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

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).

December 11th. Speaker: Louis Adeane. "SHELLEY'S VIEW OF SOCIETY"

December 18th. Speaker: Sybil Morrison. "THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CONSCRIPTION"

January 1st. Speaker: Tony Gibson. "CHILDHOOD AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION"

January 6th. Speaker: Philip Sansom. "ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM"

January 15th. Speaker: Charles Duff. "FRANCO'S BLUE PARADISE"

January 22nd. Speaker: Alan Smith. "WILLIAM GODWIN"

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

INDOOR MEETINGS every Sunday at 7 p.m. at the

CENTRAL HALLS, 25 BATH STREET, GLASGOW.

Frank Leach, John Gaffney, Eddie Shaw.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP

OPEN DISCUSSION MEETINGS held fortnightly

NEXT MEETING: Sunday, December 11th, at 7.30 p.m.

Enquiries: Ring Royal 4669

COLNE & NELSON DISTRICT

Discussion Group to be held fortnightly, Sunday, December 18th, at 3.0 p.m. at

Twisters and Drawers Club, Cambridge Street, Colne (Lancs.)

HAMPSTEAD

Discussion Meetings at 7.30 prompt at 5, Villas-on-the-Heath, Vale of Health, Hampstead, N.W.3.

15th December: Discussion opened by Pat Cooper, on "Liberty"

TUES. DEC. 20 Discussion opened by Marjorie Mitchell on "Psychology and Anarchism"

All are Welcome