

Freedom

AN ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

"We have enslaved ourselves by our own petty, circumscribed view of life. It is glorious to offer one's life for a cause, but dead men accomplish nothing. Life demands that we offer something more—spirit, soul, intelligence, good will."

HENRY MILLER.

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Threepence

The Western Powers are Following In Russia's Footsteps

THAT the post-war epoch would see a continuation of the general trend towards totalitarian forms has long been obvious to those anti-fascists who were not blinded by support for war. But the pace has hitherto been slow. Now, however, that pace has been enormously speeded up during the last few months. We had already noted with disquiet the anti-Communist proceedings in Australia and South Africa—not that we have even the smallest sympathy with the Red Fascists themselves, but are very much concerned with the rapid abandonment of liberal principles of civil liberty. Thirty years ago these principles, whose general acceptance was the fruit of centuries of hard struggle, seemed to have been achieved for good. To-day we see them not only officially abrogated, but witness the extraordinary spectacle of a flight from liberal conceptions both light-hearted and seemingly unaware of the issues involved.

In the past we have often had to point to governmental measures which are in fact quite unworkable; that measures designed to "test" a citizen's relationship with Communist activity in any sort of equitable way are quite impossible has been recognized by many people of all shades of political belief. In America, the Dies Committee and Senator McCarthy survive general ridicule and contempt only because of the general hysteria; such a situation is just part of the sinister paradox of our times.

The McCarran Act

The same verdict of unworkability has now overtaken the Communist Control Bill which Senator McCarran pushed through in the United States in spite of the President's veto. It is now being said that Truman will now have his revenge, but the irony of the situation (for Liberals) is that this means not that Truman will be able to throw out a piece of totalitarian legislation, but that he will be able to make it workable, that is, practicable.

This piece of legislation ex-

emplifies some of the ludicrous, yet sinister, aspects of the legal cold war. Put forward as a Bill to protect democratic institutions from Totalitarian enemies, it was aimed at Communists and Fascists. But Senator McCarran is himself known to be a friend of General Franco. So the chief promoter of an allegedly anti-totalitarian measure is himself a friend of Fascism. Accordingly, Falangists were at first exempt from the attentions of the Bill. Now, presumably because of the manifest absurdity, they are brought within its scope.

We have already protested against the depriving of many Americans with Communist affiliations (or suspected of them) of their passports, a bureaucratic manoeuvre which, in effect, forbids them to leave the country. Now the reverse process is piling up queues of suspected foreigners on Ellis Island, while many applications for entry visas are being refused on the grounds of an applicant's association (at any time during the past thirty years) with Communism.

Such legislation is however a commonplace in contemporary

America. An occasional voice is raised against it, like that of Mr. Dubridge, the president of the California Institute of Technology, who observed that in defending liberty we may very easily lose it. But there are always others, like an Illinois professor, who oppose such doubters and urge that one has to trust the government to do the right thing.

Continued Trend in Britain

All aliens in America are to be investigated for loyalty—a sufficiently formidable undertaking, which will certainly involve considerable hardship to some, and no doubt much injustice as well.

Now the same manoeuvre is to be undertaken in Britain also, for it is announced that 200 aliens are to be interviewed by officials of the alien office. Such investigations are not bound by the rules of evidence, are frequently influenced by statements not made upon oath, and which provide no facilities for the victim to cross-question informers who may, indeed, be unknown to him. Nor is it easy to provide a satisfactory avenue of appeal from any decisions the investigators may reach. Hence these aliens are not even protected by the ordinary processes which the law provides. When one remembers that they are

already, often enough, victims of anxiety who sought asylum in this country from repression abroad, one can begin to envisage the kind of cruelties which such an investigation will perpetrate.

Now, too, it is reported that a new department of the Special Branch is to be set up to investigate the infiltration of the Communist Party into industry, to probe into industrial unrest and strikes, and so to imply that such are of a criminal character. The new branch will be headed by Superintendent Wilkinson, who speaks Russian and was Molotov's bodyguard during his visit to England.

Just how far we have slipped down the totalitarian path is shown by a recent question in Parliament. Concerning the disappearance of Prof. Pontecorvo, Mr. Peter MacDonald (Conservative, Isle-of-Wight), wanted to know how it was that Professor Pontecorvo was allowed to leave this country, and take his family with him, when his sister was the wife of a Communist? Pontecorvo has been naturalised for several years, and is therefore a British citizen. The implication of this question is clearly that a man's family can justifiably be held as hostages for his good behaviour and return. It is unfortunate that this system of family hostages is a

feature of Soviet life which has received the most searing criticism in this country. Further comment is scarcely required.

The Observer's Position

If one has embraced a revolutionary conception, and has recoiled from existing society, one no longer finds oneself automatically involved in the judgments of society. Hence it is possible to see clearly the extraordinary capers of the legalistic struggle against Russian sympathisers and the vicarious patriots of the Communist Party. But if one accepts present-day society, feels oneself to some extent part of it, it is difficult to take so objective a viewpoint. Embroiled in the social problems of governmental society, such people fail to recognise the pattern of affairs, fail to understand them. Argument about the details of legalistic anti-Communism is likely to be completely sterile, so that meeting those who differ from us half-way (a course beloved of the realists) offers very little chance of success. The strength of the revolutionary anarchist position derives just from its uncompromising nature, its rejection of bargaining, and in its insistence on moral values. Such an uncompromising attitude is very much needed to stiffen what feeling there is for the older liberal principles.

Background to Korean War

Report by Korean Anarchist Federation

IN earlier issues of *Freedom*, we have drawn attention to the strength and influence of the Anarchist movement in Korea, and have pointed out that, like ourselves and anarchists all over the world, they support neither American or Stalinist imperialism, but struggle for the freedom and independence of all peoples from governmental control of any kind. The following report from W. Karim, the general secretary of the Korean anarchist federation, was written before the outbreak of frank hostilities in Korea; it provides an informative and interesting background to the present struggle.

THE following report was submitted by the Korean Anarchist Federation to the International Anarchist Congress held recently. In this critical situation, the Anarchist Federation of all countries is the only body which reaffirms its complete independence of both imperialist camps. It supports neither the Yankee nor the Stalinist variety. In Korea, there is a strong anarchist movement which has a long and honourable tradition in the fight against exploitation.

The Pacific war put an end to the cruel Japanese oppression in Korea. In December, 1945, the Moscow Conference gave to the country a provisional government accredited by Russia, the United States, Britain and China. But Russo-American antagonism and above all the movement of opposition by the Korean people (a movement initiated and sustained by the Anarchists) defeated this attempt. A series of Russo-American Conferences failed to solve the problem and in 1947, the United Nations authorised South Korea to elect an

autonomous government.

North Korea, ruled by a government of the "People's Republic" type is a satellite of Russia. In Southern Korea, the democratic government is economically and militarily dependent on the United States.

The frontier dividing these two parts is the scene of what has been baptised as "the battle of the 38th parallel". Every night, the Bolshevik groups attack, burn, murder and sack.

This state of affairs allows the Southern Government to bombard the people with decrees and under the pretext of anti-Bolshevik struggle to extend its authority.

In spite of this state of nascent war and permanent insecurity, life in Southern Korea is infinitely better than north of the 38th parallel. The following figures speak for themselves.

Population of the South: 1944—16,545,370 Koreans; 462,508 Japanese and 12,648 other nationalities; 1946—19,369,270 Koreans, no Japa-

nese and other nationalities; 1947—21,800,000 Koreans and no Japanese and other nationalities.

The reason for this rapid growth of the native population between 1944 and 1947 was the return of about 100,000 workers and soldiers and above all the flight of some five million Koreans from the Bolshevik terror from the North.

Working Conditions: As a result of the rise in prices, due to monetary disorganisation, wages are very low and cover barely two-thirds one's strictly necessary expenses. There is moreover great unemployment. In November, 1946, there were 1,050,937 workless according to official figures, and to these must be added more than 10 million people who receive periodic assistance.

Northern Korea is mainly an agricultural region, although its soil is not very fertile (22 per cent. arable land). After the Japanese withdrawal, many big landowners, fearing agrarian reform sold their estates. But these transfers brought about no great changes and the land continues to be very little divided out.

Anarchists in the Fore-Front

Struggle of Anarchists: After the defeat of the Korean revolution, the anarchists fought on and killed many of the leaders of Japanese imperialism. The Emperor himself was attacked several times by our comrades, who destroyed the means of invasion and

Tito Admits New Privileged Class in Yugoslavia

SOME months ago, correspondents reported that prices in the free market in Belgrade were double the 1949 level when they were already regarded as oppressively high. And yet almost all the population of the Yugoslav capital were forced to buy in the free market or starve.

The discontent has obviously reached such proportions that Tito has been obliged to ensure, at least in theory, a more equitable distribution of the consumer goods that are available by ending the special economic privileges enjoyed by members of his party.

The decree places the greater part of the party's 500,000 members on the same footing as the rest of the Yugoslav population of 16,000,000 in obtaining food in the current drought disaster. It strikes at many of the other acknowledged abuses of the Tito government and provides for heavy monetary fines and short prison terms for violators. *Borba*, the organ of the Yugoslav Communist party, called it an act of "great political significance because it abolishes all unjustified privileges in the field of supplies".

Among the main provisions are the following:

(1) No-one in the country, "regardless of what function he fulfils" can have more to eat or more consumer goods than mine, forest and railway workers. Communists who fulfil "specially responsible and hard work" or persons who do important scientific tasks will be allowed above-average rations, but below those of the heavy industrial workers.

(2) The notorious "special shops" for food and consumer goods for Communists will be abolished except for a limited number for persons performing particularly valuable work. The "special shops" of the Communist people's committee throughout the nation are to be done away with.

(3) All types of "special rest homes, holiday houses, villas, and similar establishments, hitherto intended only for certain persons (that is, Communists)" are prohibited. The only exception will be workers' summer rest resorts.

(4) Communists are forbidden to make any further purchases of furniture, pictures, carpets, curtains "or any other goods for interior decoration of their offices". "All contracts already made for that purpose must be broken."

(5) Distribution of petrol to Communist officials free of charge is forbidden to "any persons or for any reason". Marshal Tito may allow certain small quantities of above the ration to be sold for "minimal" official use.

The decree must have come as a shock to those Left-Wing apologists of Tito, for it is of greater interest in revealing the existing state of affairs than in what it promises for the future. It shows, as in Russia, whenever there is a ruling caste there is privilege and inequality. Our Left-Wing apologists of Tito would have had us believe that this was not so in Yugoslavia. But Tito has spilled the beans! And we suspect that no decree will in fact change this situation.

SLAVERY By LOUIS ADEANE

IN some of the civilisations of antiquity, the labour of slaves was enforced; each slave was tied to his master's estate, and should he escape, then property-owners would combine to catch and return him to his master. The slave was obliged to buy necessities from his owner, at that owner's price. (But Roman slaves were sometimes encouraged to gather a little property of a private sort, which might then be taxed.) These civilisations did not lack a few men who denounced slavery; once one of them got up and argued that the provision of food, housing and medical care for slaves was not altogether a good thing; it tended to pauperise the slave, making him like an improvident child or household pet, with no interest in his own work, future, or in other people; in short, it made him less than a man. There were excellent reasons, however for the continuance of slavery: the absence of machinery, the need for defence . . . though indeed, it was often found that slaves did not make good soldiers, except perhaps in rebellion.

In some civilisations of to-day, the labour of workers is enforced; each person is tied by currency and legal restrictions to his Government's territory, and should he escape, then Governments will combine to catch and return him to his own State's jurisdiction. The worker is obliged to buy necessities from his Government, at Government prices. (But in some cases, workers are encouraged to gather a little private property, which may then be taxed.) Governments of to-day attempt to provide food, housing and medical care for the people, who are thus persuaded to take an eager interest in the work of the State, the future of the State, and in other nations. There are excellent reasons for this condition of affairs: the lack of slaves, the need for defence . . . fortunately, free citizens make obedient soldiers.

In antiquity, property-owners would often take responsibility for the actions of their slaves; thus the slave was free from the consequences of decision; so free was the slave, that some men were quite willing to give up their liberty. In our day, Governments will often accept responsibility for the actions of their citizens; the citizen does not have to make choices, and is liberated from their consequences; thus, all are free citizens and live in free nations under Governments freely appointed, and would be perfectly happy were it not for the aggressive intentions of the slaves across the frontier. The person who pressed the button which released the atom bomb was not the author of the subsequent suffering; Mr. Churchill has accepted that authority. It requires greatness of a sort to accept responsibility for the melted eyeballs, the skin sliding like gloves off the hands of the unwarned people of Hiroshima; at least, it requires greatness of a kind to confess these things without shame or even diffidence. Joseph Stalin is a great man; many raped children will remember the virility he exercised in the towns and villages of Europe. But the greatness of politicians does not derive

from the circumstance that they go up in aeroplanes and drop bombs on defenceless men and women; it derives from the fact that they allow and encourage human beings to become their slaves.

Human beings are free to choose and thus to be the authors of change and action. In order to hold their freedom and authority—and hence to retain their political liberty and the possibility of more bread—they must avoid doing two things: firstly, they must not make a choice which will preclude their making further choices in the future; secondly, they must not in the hope of evading direct responsibility for their actions, delegate their authority and responsibility to anyone else. (Direct action has its corollary in direct responsibility.) To do either of these things freely, is to give freedom away; that is more to be regretted than to suffer the forcible removal of one's liberties; it is to become a sheep instead of a man. All political authority in the world has been stolen, swindled or gratefully accepted from the authority of individuals; because of this, the history of Government and the history of slavery are the same. The greatness of politicians is not their own, it comes from their followers as does whatever great crime is thence committed; this crime proceeds from the greater initial crime of the voluntary acceptance and surrender of freedom and responsibility—the mutual crime and crippledness of Government and Slave.

The Crippled Hand

A man without hands is a man whose hands can no longer choose. A cripple is a man partly dead; in place of a hand he may have a mechanical appliance with which a clumsy choosing may be done. Government is such a mechanical appliance, the hand of the cripple, the potency of the castrated. The cripple is a frustrated man, a violent man, his arms shrunk and raging because they cannot choose. It is in the nature of Government to transmit this violence. Simone Weil said that violence is that which changes a man into a thing; extreme violence will literally change a man into a corpse, and the fear of violence will change him into a slave or cripple. So will the love of violence: the State grows greater as men grow smaller. Government concentrates violence: it makes a great deal with its followers and then makes a great deal of death out of them; it converts the living into the dead, substitutes the peace of death for the peace of achievement, demands like death an unconditional surrender from its fol-

lowers, desires final victory instead of free understanding, puts Law in the place of Justice and Justice in the place of readjustment. Surrender to the State is like the body's surrender to cancer; living tissue is transmuted into lively death, feet and fingers rot away; the extension of Government is the proliferation of pain.

All men are in danger of becoming cripples, for every time a man chooses, he changes, and thus cuts away from himself not only the possibility of making a different choice but also the ability to make the same sort of choice again. Men have to delegate some of their authority and responsibility to others, to divide themselves up, to share their failure to be immaculate or unborn. I lop off a leg for you and you lend me a hand in exchange. But there is a difference between exchanging life for life and life for a mechanical instrument, a cumbersome institution. Those whose ideal is freedom and personal responsibility will be careful not to make decisions which will absolutely preclude further decisions in whatever field of possibility is relevant. They will not commit suicide or chop off their fingers; they will not choose to join military organisations which take from them their own responsibility and opportunity to decide, according to differing circumstances, about such final matters as killing or such important matters as the enslaving of others. Also they will not delegate their authority to remote and impersonal powers, but will delegate it temporarily, locally, and with a clear discrimination between different kinds of responsibility, physical, moral, imaginative. In brief, they will create a decentralised and communal social order in which there is little specialisation—for the specialist is one who has given most of his life and liberty away to other specialists. Cancer is a specialisation. Technical specialisation and war are the chief obstacles to the evolutionary progress of mankind.

The Machine Hand

Once it was thought that machinery would free the slave, and that the sort of rational planning which is applied to

machine production would, if applied to society, release men from their more arduous social engagements and allow them to become more fully individual. But in his long and terrible moral fable, Virgil Gheorghiu points out that what has occurred is that the human slave or hand has been turned into a machine-hand, a mechanical slave working according to machine standards. Society itself has been made into a vast machine: the abstract thought which ordered the machine pattern is now turned upon men themselves. "And how long will it take them to discover they have arrested us and are keeping us in jail?" asks one of the characters in *The Twenty-Fifth Hour*. Her husband answers: "They never will become aware of your existence or of mine. Western civilisation, in the last stage of its progress, is no longer conscious of the existence of the individual . . . As far as it is concerned man as an entity, as an individual, does not exist . . . You, for example, are an enemy citizen arrested on German territory. These particulars are the maximum amount of detail concerning you which Western Technological Society is able to register . . . When this society arrests or kills a person it does not arrest or kill a living thing but an abstract conception. Like any other machine, it cannot be held responsible for such acts."

The characters in the book are typical figures: a peasant, a priest, a novelist; they are set in a formalised mid-Europe bounded by hedges of barbed wire and planted broadly with barracks, camps, prisons, torture-chambers and Government offices. One by one the protagonists are enslaved and are then herded with other cattle about the landscape. As they approach death, they speculate about the causes of the death-in-life which the whole of Western civilisation is now suffering. (As his title indicates, the author does not think there is any chance now of saving this civilisation; the most he hopes for is the survival of a few lucky individuals.) The atmosphere of the story mingles those of *Darkness at Noon* and *The Good Soldier Schweik*. The speculation is not usually profound, but the book is made more than remarkable by its author's wide range of feeling, which is not limited to indignation or despair but extends to irony and even humour. He is a great human being. He protests strongly against the results of our failure to recognise the serious limitations of the scientific method, against the automatism, uniformity and anonymity of what he calls the mechanical slaves. Only secondarily, perhaps, does he observe that not technology, but Technocracy is his true enemy, born from the marriage of technology and social centralisation. He does not deal with the relevant problem of the rate of material change in societies. Intrinsically desirable changes may set up undesirable effects because of their too-hasty introduction; human beings cannot always adapt themselves to suddenly altered conditions; they may be able to cope with change only by means of a specialised ability. Confronted by unforeseen technological advances, for example, man develops for their control the scientific habit of mind; his other

*THE TWENTY-FIFTH HOUR
by Virgil Gheorghiu. (Heinemann, 10/6d.)

abilities are not engaged, and customary patterns of human behaviour are largely transferred and subdued to the new conditions, or else they are destroyed and violent reactions ensue; in either case, slavery continues. The fault is not that of the new element in the environment, but of the rapidity with which the whole situation has altered. This is why minorities, or even majorities of slaves and cripples, cannot make successful social revolutions.

Iago's Hand

The scientist is a crippled artist, and thus has a peculiar affinity with Government. The inhumanity of Government is shown by the fact of its impotence; for like the machine, it never yet originated anything. Government has a secret yearning, however: to make society into a work of art. It has always flattered or murdered the artist, has always tried to buy or burn his creations, because it knows he is its antagonist or rival. True, the slave-master has excelled in one art, namely the Art of War—which, like architecture, is a social art. Like architects, great generals cannot create alone, but must rely upon the co-operation of others, must deal in materials and transport, must understand geometry, trigonometry, set-squares, rules, must produce plans, elevations of cannon and so forth. But whereas the purpose of the architect is to build holes in the air wherein men may live, the aim of the general is to scoop great holes in the earth wherein men may die. Whereas the architect designs for the grace and dignity of man, the general designs his disgrace and indignity; the one manipulates space and builds against the flux of time, the other operates in time and pulls space down; the one stands by light, the other grubs in the dark.

To make war is to do the opposite of making love; warfare is ordered hatred, and hatred promotes death as love conduces to birth. The slave's will to power is not exactly a distortion of love or of the will to procreation. Warfare bears the same relation to the State as love-making does to the artist. The will to power is a crooked expression of the will to create art. This was recognised by Shakespeare, who makes Iago an artist in human passion, a cunning disposer of human beings as the true artist is a subtle composer of colours, sounds or shapes. Iago the slave, symbol of the will to power, is set against Othello, a storyteller and a holder of power achieved. "I am thine, for ever," says Iago to Othello; then drags him down into the blackness of slavery just as he smothered love with the pillow of night. Government is a bad artist; that is why Government is so jealous. The intention of the artist is to extend the human horizon, but the intention of Government is to limit it—as the State increases the earth grows smaller every day, but there's plenty of room beneath. The intention of the artist is to enlarge the human imagination; Government diminishes humanity, chops it down, cuts it up. The State favours the arts of Butchery and Torture; slaves invented the rack, the thumbscrew, the guillotine, the electric chair and the gas-chamber; the master-artist rewarded them. The tyrant is an artist who creates destruction. The poet Macbeth plunges downward like Lucifer (who when asked

(Continued on page 4)

Wherever there are Prisons . . .

SCOTTSBORO BOY
by Haywood Patterson and
Earl Conrad. (Gollancz, 16s.)

IT is one of the features of our society or of the power of the Press, that public feeling can be aroused over an injustice to a particular individual and yet remain apathetic when the injustice involves tens of thousands. A phoney trial of a Balkan bishop can evoke more horror and indignation than all the atrocities now being committed in Korea. And, conversely, hysterical public opinion can condemn an individual against the evidence of all the legitimate facts of the case, and yet the same people can contribute to charities helping strange and distant communities. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the United States. Recently we have seen such crazy stunts as the Alger Hiss trials, the Robeson passport episode, the trials and intimidation of Reds, and now, at the foot of the Statue of Liberty, the detention of thousands of foreign travellers for not having sufficient presence in 1920 to realise that their brief flirtation with the C.P. might incur the displeasure of Congress thirty years later.

This aspect of the United States was particularly apparent during the period of the Scottsboro trials of 1931 and later. The case arose when some negro youths, riding a freight train, were involved in a fight with some white boys and managed to throw them off. The humiliated white boys, however, phoned through to the next station and, on the train's arrival, the negroes found themselves facing an angry mob. The incident might have been minimised had there not been two white girls on the train. What could be easier for an hysterical mob than to assume that the negroes had also raped the girls? Luckily, the Deputies beat the mob, and the negroes were taken to gaol. Only the arrival of the National Guards saved them from the lynch party outside.

Within two weeks the youths were on trial. "Down around that way they'll hoe potatoes kind of slow, but when it comes to trying negroes on a rape charge they work fast." The youths had no lawyer. The girls swore they had been raped. Enough for all the white jury to return

a verdict of guilty. "Guilty or not guilty, let's get rid of these niggers."

From this picture one turns to the sudden protests that arose following the verdict. Soon they found that a Scottsboro Campaign Committee had been set up. The International Labour Defence fought for a re-trial. Money and letters of sympathy poured in. Then the U.S. Supreme Court ordered a re-trial.

At the second trial, one of the girls admitted she had not been raped. The doctor's report verified the fact that both girls had lied. So we find ourselves in the middle of a series of trials and re-trials in which Haywood Patterson was, perhaps, the most interesting of the defendants. He was only eighteen when sentenced to death. Seventeen years later, while serving seventy-five years' imprisonment, he realised that the only solution lay in escaping. In this he was successful.

With the collaboration of Earl Conrad, since Patterson is no scholar, he has filled in the space of these seventeen years. His story, however, is more than a factual record of prison life. In simple language he creates an atmosphere truly representing the unnatural and tragic circumstances of life. The human problem, even of the warders, constantly conflicting with the harsh institution of a prison. And there is the added complication of race which makes negro prison life a series of brutal and degrading incidents. The prisoners, to the white guards, are 'dirty niggers' and this is a greater crime than that for which they were sentenced. There is nothing worse, therefore, than a prisoner who is 'uppish', who refuses to submit to authority and, worst of all, has no respect for white folks.

Patterson was such a prisoner. Instead of resigning himself to the fact that the trials had been faked and, by good behaviour, that he might gain a reprieve, he became a permanent recalcitrant. In this he was no idealist. Rather was he a healthy animal with an inherent sense of fairness, as the following will illustrate: "White and black churches both tells my people to tell the white man the truth. A majority of coloured children on the farm, they will hear their ma and pa say, 'If you tell Old Master a lie, I flog you. Tell old white man the truth every time.'

That's what makes stool pigeons out of the Negroes to-day. That's what makes many Negroes bad leaders for their people when they grow up. They were taught to respect white folks more than black. Few coloured parents I ever knew to tell their young ones to stand up like men and fight. Just bang their backsides with a rod in one hand and flog their brains with a Bible in the other and say, 'Now just you mind that white man and do like he say. You get along with him then.'

The years of imprisonment, of course, had their effect on Patterson. In the beginning he took to self-education, reading, studying the Bible, taming snakes while working out of doors. Later, as the years brought on hopelessness, he found himself a gal-boy, built up a few profitable rackets such as selling tobacco and julep, used a knife as expertly as any of the other prisoners, became accustomed to the frequent floggings. In fact, this book shows prison life, for warders and inmates alike, to be a breeding place of hate, perversion and brutality. The following will illustrate this. "I never knew till then that a man could use a man and get a thrill out of it . . . The prison authorities, they were for it. It helped them to control the men. Especially the tough ones they called devils. They believed that if a devil had a gal-boy he would be quiet. He would be a good worker and he wouldn't kill guards and prisoners and try to escape. He would be like a settled married man."

But most revealing of all is the background of white fear and prejudice. The warders who commit crimes far worse than any of the prisoners. The prison doctor's indifference to sickness and suffering. The Judge's indifference to elementary justice. The readiness of people to condemn, and their reluctance to forgive.

After seventeen years, Patterson succeeded in escaping and making his way to Detroit. Since this book was published it is pleasing to learn that his 'direct action' has resulted in one of the Northern states pardoning him. One is left wondering how many Haywood Pattersons are still in prison, in South Africa, in Russia, in Zanzibar, wherever there are prisons. And yet, equally tragic, how many warders like L.J. Burrs and Si Gumpert? CHARLES HUMANA.



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AN INDIAN LOOKS AT "INDEPENDENCE"

SIRDAR PATEL gave up cheroots and drinks to organise the revolt of the peasants of Bardoli.

As a lieutenant of Gandhiji, he went to prison several times (1st class).

As a result of all this, he has become the uncrowned Emperor of India—a good change from barristership to emperorship—the cost of his sacrifice.

Now he—the man, the only man, who knows Gandhiji's mind (Gandhi was the father of the nation and Sirdar Patel has become the grandfather of the nation), goes about like an emperor and speaks like an emperor. He addresses the Navy in Dhobi as white emperors did in former

times, "inspects" the guard of honour and ratings with the white commander of the navy paying respects to him.

Nothing has changed under republic except the skin and dress.

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Now, if I planned, I would go about it like this:

(1) 340 million people require so much food per day each, hence so much food is required for the whole year for all the people.

(2) Then calculate how much land is required to produce each kind of food and where they are available.

(3) Then, what materials, implements and animals are required to produce the different kinds of food to make the total.

(4) Then find out where and how much of the materials, implements, and animals are available.

(6) How much food and fodder are available to keep these men and animals alive.

(7) Collect them to produce all the food required for all.

(8) If, say 40%, or even 50 or 60% of the people can produce all the food required for all the people, then the rest of the population can be fed and put to work—to produce other things, to transport everything, to give education, medical aid and sanitation, to provide clothing and housing, and even entertainment, to all people all over the country.

★

But the trouble now is that everything has to be bought and paid for, and it would require more money than we have—or even can print. All things are in the hands of persons who have to be paid their prices. Otherwise nothing can be had for "national economy". But that is what our planners are trying to do, and cannot do, can never do.

Their plans are still-born.

M.P.T. ACHARYA.

WHO IS BACKWARD ?

BACKWARD people are people brought up in backward cultures. Fifteen years ago, Professor Vellard of Lima University in Peru explored the interior of Paraguay in search of the Guayaki. These people are among the most backward known, still living as our Stone Age ancestors, living on honey and the wild beasts they can catch in their primitive ways. The Guayaki fled from their encampment when the explorers drew near, but left a two-year-old girl. Professor Vellard adopted this Stone Age founding.

Now she's seventeen, and a brilliant biology student, and the assistant of her foster parents, both scientists in their work.

It's facts like this that can keep one cheerful in this age when mankind seems bent upon destruction. There's nothing seriously wrong with people. It's their culture, their arrangements for living and for making a living, that needs changing. This has changed greatly during man's history and so is clearly changeable.

—Henry Jones in the *Industrial Worker* (Chicago).

Foreign Commentary

Molotov & German Rearmament

MOLOTOV'S Four-Point Plan for the future of Germany cannot be taken seriously by anyone other than the mouthpieces and stooges of the Communist Party. Calling it "a historic opportunity—the way to security in Europe", the *Daily Worker's* editorial comment refers to the wicked politicians of the West who want to re-arm Germany in spite of the Potsdam conference decision that Germany should be disarmed. And the *Daily Worker* naively adds: "In the German democratic Republic [i.e., East Germany] that pledge has been kept." Yet everybody knows that to be untrue. Consequently it is an easy matter for the politicians and the Press which supports the Western Powers to expose the hypocrisy of Russia's "peace" plans.

But all politicians, in both camps, should certainly be reminded of the high-sounding phrases which they used at the time when Germany was the enemy: "Unconditional Surrender", dismantling, occupation for 50 years . . . for now, within five years of Germany's capitulation, "the unequivocal acceptance of

German partnership in Western Defence" is one of America's demands from its European allies" in return for setting up a unified North Atlantic Treaty Organisation High Command under American leadership" (*Observer*, 22/10/50). As we go to Press it is reported that even the French Government will accept these conditions.

Is not a healthy cynicism to all the fine-sounding declarations and promises by politicians, called for? Or do we just forget the promises and perform the somersaults demanded of us in the name of democracy and patriotism, just as the Communists do in the name of the "workers' fatherland"?

RULES FOR WAR 3

APPARENTLY it has not yet filtered through into some people's heads that Treaties are made in order to be broken when it suits one's convenience. The Red Cross are plodding away to find a formula for making the Third World War less beastly than the Second. The Red Cross

Treaty for the protection of civilians in wartime provides for "security zones in any future war in which young mothers, children under 15, wounded, sick and aged civilians would be immune from attack of any kind.

It also rules that prisoners may not be employed in lifting landmines or unexploded bombs.

And it outlaws the taking of hostages, murder, torture, corporal punishment, mutilation and medical "experiments"—all practised under the Nazi wartime régime.

And while the rules of the game are being laid down in Geneva for World War 3, we are reminded that the price men pay in war does not end when hostilities cease. The thirty-fifth annual report of St. Dunstan's states that after more than thirty years of deteriorating sight, many 1914 war veterans are still coming there for training, guidance, and help. "No fewer than forty first-war cases were admitted to St. Dunstan's last year—mostly the delayed result of mustard gas. Forty-one more young men from the late war came to us during this period."

Seventeen hundred casualties of the first world war remain and still require care and attention.

DEMOCRATIC BULLETS

AN A.P. report (14/10/50) from Savannah (Georgia) states that "Seventeen Negro workmen were shot and wounded to-day while on the way to work at a lumber plant here which was involved in a labour dispute."

THE INDECENT KISS

SOME ten days ago, a young woman from Rome, Maria Pope, was gaoled for three months at Naples for kissing a man in the main square of Capri.

The judge ruled that "lingering kisses" in the square, even in moonlight, are an "outrage to decency".

It is unbelievable—yet it is a fact. How easy it would be for the people of Naples to make the law look an ass by descending in mass into the streets one moonlight night and giving one another "lingering kisses". And what a pleasant form of protest, too!

LIBERTARIAN.

REMOTE POSSIBILITY

There is a danger that the rising price of wool might stop the moderate income groups buying it.

—Mr. Harvey Rhodes, Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Trade. *Daily Express*, 3/9/50.

White Man's Paradise

IN an article recently published in *Freedom* dealing with the "Future of South Africa", the writer pointed out that whereas the Smuts régime sought to maintain white supremacy by an increase in white immigration, Malan instead, fearful that such a policy might "introduce too strong a liberal influence into race attitudes", is committed to a repressive "apartheid" policy. But whatever policy is adopted in South Africa or elsewhere in the African continent by the white man, his days of "supremacy" are numbered. And though many of the white herrenvolk in Africa will not or cannot accustom themselves to the thought that the African peoples will some day achieve their freedom, Labour politicians in this country are as conscious of the inevitable final outcome of the struggle in Africa as they were in the case of India and their policy will be to salvage what they can in the way of economic and trade preferences during that period so euphemistically referred to by the Colonial Secretary in a debate last July, as one of guidance "to responsible self-government within the Commonwealth . . ."

At the Labour Party conference earlier this month, Mr. Bevin also showed that the Government knew which way the wind was blowing when he said that Britain was leading the African colonies along the road India has travelled. But Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, who obviously believes in the White Man's supremacy in Africa as a permanent institution, has told the Nairobi Rotary Club that he is "horri-fied" by Mr. Bevin's remarks. The analogy with India was all wrong. India had not been settled by Europeans and it was always understood that the British Administration would leave.

(We wonder whether his ex-counterparts in India would have agreed with him—or even whether he would have held this view—ten years ago?)

He deplored the fact that so "many loose statements about Africa" were made by people who ought to know better. "Southern Rhodesia is in the nutcrackers

Two recent convictions in South Africa illustrate the ludicrous lengths to which Apartheid is being carried. A young school-teacher, of Malay origin, was found guilty of leaning against a station bench reserved for Europeans. According to the defence counsel, "the most the constable can indicate is that there was a spasmodic leaning against the bench". Yet this charge was held over the girl for four months—a fact which led the magistrate to order her release. In the other case, a White miner was hauled before a court for using, late at night, a Native lavatory. He pleaded in vain that he was in a hurry to catch a train and that he had not seen the notice of segregation. Because he "unlawfully made use of a certain place reserved by the Administration", he was convicted and discharged with a caution.

New Statesman & Nation.

between the Union of South Africa and Northern Rhodesia," he added. "What a prospect for poor little Southern Rhodesia—in the nutcrackers between a Brüderbund dominion in the South and a black dominion in the North."

★

Unlike Dr. Malan, who wants to maintain white supremacy not by immigration but by segregation and the continued exploitation of the African, in Southern Rhodesia they have quite different ideas for tackling the problem. The council of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association has decided to explore the possibilities of working tobacco farms with European labour instead of African.

Actually, they do not mind whether the labour force is limited to British subjects

from Britain or whether it includes displaced persons already in Britain or anywhere in Europe because experience shows that "good Rhodesians" can be made from any nationals of Europe! In the first phase the families would be employed under contract for wages and a share of the profits. In the second they would become tenant farmers, the holdings being broken up into four separate farms. In the third stage they would be enabled to buy their farms, for the intention is to establish as many peasant proprietors as possible. An important stipulation is that no African farm or domestic labour should be employed on the property whatsoever.

The report cites two main reasons for the scheme. First, it is essential for the future of the white race in Southern Rhodesia that it should be able to exist and progress, if necessary, without the aid of the African. Second, if the European remains merely as the supervisor and skilled worker, pegged to some ratio of unskilled African workers, the colony will soon reach the stage when further development must cease for lack of African labour. It is the intention to demonstrate that the colony can expand its primary industries on a basis of purely white labour.

R.

THE NEW MORALITY

Two couples were remanded at Johannesburg to-day charged with contravening the Immorality Act.

In one case a European man, aged 67, and a coloured woman, age 70, were charged with living together for 25 years.

In the other case a European man was charged with living with a coloured woman for six years.

News Chronicle.

FROM PAGE ONE

KOREAN ANARCHISTS

sabotaged Japanese exploitation, organising at the same time working-class unity.

The police decimated our groups repeatedly. When action became impossible inside the country, the militants went to China, Manchuria and Japan itself to carry on the struggle. The sacrifices they made were enormous and this stimulated fervour and desire for justice and freedom among the survivors.

The Japanese authorities were obsessed with fear and the police became even more severe. The terrorised people had great admiration and sincere respect for those who in such great numbers died for their cause. At last when the terrorist régime was defeated, the General Federation of Korean Anarchists (Gfka) resumed its struggle openly.

In Spite Of Them All . . .

Since the war: In September and October 1945, the majority of the workers and peasants joined the Workers' Union, sustained and led by the anarchists. Heavily aided by the U.S.S.R., the Bolsheviks succeeded in using the union as a means of action for their political ends, lessening the strength of our comrades. Soon

another "union" was formed, of American inspiration and in a short time, it supplanted the other. Undismayed, our comrades carried on the struggle on all fronts.

In May, 1946, our comrades created the Agricultural Workers' Party and the movement of Independent Workers, together with the General Conference of Korean Anarchists, the General Workers and the General Students' Federation.

Some figures show the influence of Korean anarchists. The Gfka has 3,000 militants who by means of the above mentioned movements influence 600,000 perfectly organised Koreans. The Gfka has two daily papers and one Weekly printed on its own presses. The Gfka has created a University where young workers can study in the evenings and has founded two schools in the country.

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★
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Through the Press

ALMIGHTY WINNIE

Mr. Churchill, speaking last night at a State banquet at the Danish House of Parliament here, described the English Channel "as one of Britain's advantages." "I think that if the Almighty were to be replanning the creation of the world and I were invited, as I might be . . . to offer my advice and experience, I certainly think it most advisable that there should be a channel between every country."

"Then I think they might be all right."

Evening Standard, 11/10/50.

But never a thought that perhaps there is no real need for division between peoples.

NO NERVES IN RUSSIA

"How do they treat neurosis in the Soviet Union?" asked a member of the audience when the British women who have just returned from the Soviet Union addressed a meeting in St. Pancras Town Hall last night.

The answer came from Dr. Nora Johns, prospective Labour candidate, who said that she and another doctor in the party had subjected Soviet doctors to "diabolically clever questioning" on this point.

They had finally satisfied themselves that, among Soviet people, neurosis hardly exists.

Daily Worker, 23/10/50.

WHAT A BIRD!

A colleague draws my attention to a remarkable article in a recent copy of a Hungarian newspaper. "The Dove of Peace," it begins hopefully, "is spreading its wings over the whole world." But the villain immediately steps on the scene. "Its enemies," the writer goes on in the next sentence, "fight under the symbol of the Royal Lion and the Eagle."

These creatures, however, "like their friend the capitalist Jackal, now dying in agony, are useful to stuff as museum specimens. The lame British Lion trembles before the gentle, yet militant Dove. The English Socialists want to bar out peace and justice with an Iron Curtain". But apparently there is no cause for alarm, because the Dove, spreading its wings over the world, is "nestling in the hearts of British workers".

Observer, 22/10/50.

WHAT A TWIRP!

The President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, opening a conference organised by the Indian branch of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, an organisation which aims at the eradication of commercialised vice, said here to-day that if he had the power he would prevent all films with sex appeal from being shown in India.

Such films, he declared, "play havoc in our society."—*Reuter.*

Manchester Guardian, 20/10/50.

INDUSTRY IS NOT CRICKET

THE work of the Public Relations & Personnel Officer in a factory must indeed be a fascinating occupation. As an intellectual exercise, the task of reconciling the irreconcilables must alone lead to very interesting realms of thought.

The British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education has recently held its annual conference. Nearly 200 delegates from 116 British firms discussed the "human relationships" necessary for the harmonious running of industry, and those delegates were company directors, senior executives and officers in charge of personnel, welfare and training.

The aim of the conference was to make an attempt to close the gap in understanding between the company director and his workmen, but the question which immediately arises is: "Understanding for what?"

The delegates to this conference were all people whose main task is to maintain the smooth, efficient running of industrial plants, to eliminate the grievances of the workers before they grow into disputes and yet at the same time make sure that the profits are rolling safely in. And it is precisely here that the problems begin to look unlikely of solution.

to give others work. His motive is to make money, and the more workers he exploits, the more money he makes. Briefly, the conflicting interests between worker and boss can be summed-up as: the worker wants more money from the employer for less work—the employer wants more work from the worker for less money. Which immediately shows the irreconcilable nature of the interests of each side.

"Get to Know Each Other"

Our conference delegates, however, through their own wishful thinking, chose to ignore these fundamental antagonisms, and fondly imagined that a friendly, homely, man-to-man attitude all round will greatly help. Well, so it will. It will help the employers to bamboozle the workers, who will begin saying: "You know, he's not such a bad chap after all, I don't mind doing a bit extra for a good fellow like him," and the boss will say, "I'm not standoffish with my men, and so they do anything for me." And there you are—Harmony Hall, everybody happy and working like hell, voluntary exploitation for the workers and more profits for the shareholders.

Are we a little unkind? Well, here are

the words (from a *News Chronicle* report) of one of the delegates:

"Does a managing director really believe that he knows what lies behind the words in which a demand for a wage increase is expressed?"

"He went on: 'The truth is that there is in general far too wide a gap between the boardroom and the kitchen of a drab little house, between the luxury hotel and the "local", between comfort and privation—even in these days of super-tax and social security.'

"He thought this gap was still too wide for understanding.

"It must be the task of modern industrial communication to work both ways—down from the management and up from the shop floor.

"What communication means is this—that somehow we must take the chairman to the kitchen, and the 'local' to the luxury hotel before we can begin to consider our problems and communicate our needs objectively.

"In that process we have mountains of suspicion and prejudice to remove.

"We must stop thinking that we have dealt with this problem just because we start a house magazine or a joint production committee."

How Will It Help?

Quite frankly, we don't quite follow the reasoning here. This delegate is trying to make a human relationship out of what is purely an economic one, but seems

very naive in his belief in this peep into the other man's life. Is a steel worker really going to feel better while sweating before a furnace because he knows the colour of the walls in the luxury hotel to which his boss will be driven by a chauffeur, while he—the worker who produces the wealth—fights for a seat in a tram on his way home to a "drab little house?" Is the director's heart going to be touched by the distemper flaking off the kitchen wall so that he will want to make a radical alteration in an obviously unequal balance? Possibly, but very improbably.

It should be obvious at this stage of social development that human relationships can only become fine and valid in a condition of equality. When all the producers in an industry have equal responsibility for, and equal reward from, the products of their labours, harmony and humanity become not only possible but probable. When all producers in all industry have the common interest of producing for the needs of all in a condition of responsible freedom, conflict need not even arise.

Incidentally, the delegate at this conference with these bright ideas was Mr. Howard Marshall, a director of public relations at a steelworks. He became famous broadcasting commentaries on cricket matches and presumably, through his fame, got his present job. He was a first-rate commentator, but is making some silly points now.

P.S.

Split in the Port-Workers' Committee

WE have been cautious in the past in referring to the London Port-Workers' Committee because, although it obviously consisted of genuine rank-and-file port workers, fed-up with Deakin's union, there was a strong suspicion of C.P. influence behind it.

And we wish to leave severely alone—and advise all other workers to do the same—any initiative with which the Communists are associated. At the same time, though, we have no desire to assist the Isaacs-inspired hysteria against "Reds" in industry. So we went cautiously.

Now, however, signs of strife within the committee are showing. One member, Jack Manning (member of a Moral Rearmament [Oxford Group] religious body) has resigned over allegations of Commie influence, and another member, Arthur Copland, has resigned "because there was an informer on the committee."

Which goes to indicate that the committee consisted of rather a mixed bunch. Is it too much to ask that some dockers could get together whose aim is workers' control of the docks, and not to further the interests of Joe Stalin, God, or Scotland Yard?

★

Deakin Must Go!

TALKING about Deakin (we weren't, but we might as well!) how about his treatment of the dockers who tried to talk to him at Transport House? We can almost hear an official voice saying: "Talk to Deakin—the very idea! Whatever next?"

For Arthur Deakin, C.H., has been consistently ignoring the "Dockers' Charter", unofficial demand for 25s. a day, fortnight's holiday with pay and pensions. Fifteen port workers from London and Liverpool, however, picketed Transport House the other week to tackle him personally. They tackled him, all right, but, protected by a policeman, he escaped into a lift.

After all, those dockers only help to pay his comfortable salary, but they mustn't think that buys them the right to speak to the man as well. He can only speak to conferences, like that up in Edinburgh, where he told Scottish delegates that the T.U.C. had made a great mistake in voting out the wage freeze.

Prices of all kinds of consumer goods may be going up, but Deakin knows best what is good for the workers—pegged wages! There are two answers to this sort of thing: direct action for the dockers to get their charter and all the workers to keep abreast of rising prices, and—get rid of Deakin!

★

Transport "Redundancy"

TOKEN strikes on Sundays and Mondays have been started by 200 transport men in the North-Western area during the period of a 21 days' notice of a strike in defence of men sacked as "redundant".

Originally 47 men at Preston were threatened, then protests brought the number down to 20, then eight were finally fired.

In nationalised Road Transport there may well be redundancy—but in the offices and board rooms! Start by cutting the number of unproductive workers—then if there are too many drivers and mates—cut their working hours!

P.S.

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Letters

DEAR SIR,

The Esperanto language is a living language. I taught myself in 1920. With men from 40 countries, I have exchanged ideas, without difficulties, in writing and speech. As I also have a little knowledge of French and English, I can say that Esperanto is the best aid to understanding among all men. With speakers of one's own language, use one's own language; with others use Esperanto!

With greetings, etc.,
B.S.

DEAR SIR,

The letters in *Freedom* on Esperanto (2/9, 16/9, 30/9) demand comment. I do not deny that Esperanto is a substitute for a language, but whether it is a good one is questionable. A language is born and developed in the soul of the people which speak it, and expresses its particular thinking and sentiments with it.

Every linguist knows that almost every people express their thinking and sentiments in a different way and words, hence if anybody wishes to know an individual or a whole people he has to speak at least their language. It is indeed very naive to believe that a sentence in English translated word by word into German does in every case mean the same to a German, who cannot speak English, although English and German are near related languages. And so is it with Esperanto, or any other language.

Therefore it is not sufficient to speak the language; knowledge of literature and above all history are necessary to understand that what a man intends to say, by the words which he says. The best an Esperantist can do is to translate that what he wants to say into Esperanto, but whether his hearer, who is of another nationality, understands the meaning of his words, that is another matter, because the hearer would have used quite different words of Esperanto, if he had wanted to say the same thing.

If words, and combination of words, had the same meaning when translated into other languages, we would not have so much understanding in the world.

But nevertheless, even if an Esperantist cannot converse with the other Esperantist in his own language, and only with the help of Esperanto, and therefore has sometimes only a nebulous conception of that what the other says, but he can take that much out of the conversation, whether the other is his opponent or his friend, whether he sympathises with him or not, and many other things, and so Esperanto can be an intermediary between men and people.

On the whole I agree with comrade J. Fox and what he said on Esperanto (*Freedom*, 16/9/50), even if I cannot follow him in everything he said. His

WHITE COLLAR CRIME

Professor Edwin H. Sutherland, the noted criminologist, defined a white-collar crime as "a violation of the criminal law by a person of the upper socioeconomic class in the course of his occupational activities." He also says, our author tells us, that "the financial loss to society from white-collar crimes is probably greater than the financial loss from burglaries, robberies and larcenies committed by persons of the lower socio-economic class."

New Leader (U.S.A.), 9/9/50.

criticism of the article on Esperanto (*Freedom*, 2/9/50), which was written in a humorous mood by comrade A.P., was written in a style and spirit which ought to be employed when Anarchists converse and argue together. That is in a friendly and brotherly manner.

With the letter of comrade Bournazel (*Freedom*, 30/9/50), I cannot agree at all. Comrade Bournazel says in his letter, that Comrade A.P. unfortunately does not understand Esperanto. I don't know

Esperanto Controversy

[With these letters—and some relief—we close the correspondence on the subject of Esperanto provoked by the article of A.P. in the September 2nd issue of *Freedom*. We have received too many letters on this article for us to print them all, and some have had to be shortened. Most of these letters have been opposed to the viewpoint of A.P., but what has surprised us has been their frequent bitterness, amounting in some cases to abuse of a most unfriendly and intolerant kind. "The crazy article," writes one, while another old and valued comrade allows himself to speak of "a rambling palaver of uninformed and cheap abuse..." In publishing "this lamentable hotch-potch" the editors of *Freedom* are said to have done "international unity a substantial disservice". It is apparent that A.P. has stirred up a hornets' nest.

Now we are less upset by the pasting these readers have given us, than by the intolerance displayed. Is Esperanto so sacrosanct that it cannot be criticized? Anarchism contains many more essential doctrines than the idea that an inter-

national language might be a useful handmaid of internationalism itself. Yet the editors of *Freedom* regard no dogma, be it never so central to anarchism, as being beyond criticism. They regard a critical attitude as a valuable, if not an indispensable, quality in anarchists.

I believe further arguments are superfluous.

WILLY FRITZENKOTTER.
Wuppertal, Germany.

★

SLAVERY

(Continued from page 2)

why he left heaven, replied that it was because he too wanted to be an Author) creating chaos as he goes. In his last distress he cries that life is a tale told by an idiot—the verdict of an artist.

The Human Hand

Government never created anything, nor did it ever organise the creations of humanity. For when the State undertakes to provide order, it refers not to the balanced order of architecture, the exfoliate order of the poem or the rose, the organised silence of the symphony, the

agreed harmony of ear and eye, order of thought or calm of mind. The order of this insolent Undertaker is the confined lie to the living pattern: the sealed order of command, obedience of orderlies, agreement of locks, caterpillar rhythm of the galley, ant-like file of armies, spidered wheel of the prison, trellis of pain, the wooden order of the Cross. Consider the marvellous hand of the living man, that hand which pulled him up from the branch of the ape, man's pointer to space, his calendar of time, his sign of fate endured and overcome; that hand which delivers the child and milk for the child, guides the plough, divines the net, plucked the holy apple, wrote the music of Beethoven, painted the Sistine chapel, composed the agony of *Lea*; the human hand, symbol of friendship, instrument of freedom, five-fingered chooser and agent of recognition, mercy, healing, gifts—Government hobbles that hand into a fist, palms it in bribery, extends it in salute, beggars it in extremity, prints the fingertips black and finally severs it from the body and makes it a word of slavery. It puts the hand in order and an order in the hand.

Let us not suffer insolence. Government never gave life, never created art, never occasioned joy or deserved love. Government never cared for man or woman, never liberated a slave, never aided humanity in its long struggle out of the blind crippledom of beasts. All it did was to pull down mankind—to pull down man, "in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god"—to betray him, to break him, to brand him, to ship him off to another country. In a place of death, all men are slaves.

LOUIS ADEANE.

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Identity of Interest?

For harmony in a human relationship depends upon identity of interest. Where two persons or two groups of persons are thrown together, harmony can only result if it is recognised that their interests really do lie in working together for their common benefit. If there is no common interest, then only a semblance of harmony can be maintained by one group subordinating their interests to the other's.

This, of course, is what is happening all the time in any firm. Only when a strike or other form of dispute spotlights the disharmony it is clearly recognised that the employers and the employed do not have the same interests. All the rest of the time the employed are working for the employer and serving his interests. It is said by the employer that he is "giving them work", serving the community by maintaining employment and thus prosperity, but there never was an employer whose prime motive was simply

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Discussion Group held fortnightly.
October 29th, at 2.30 p.m.
at
Twisters and Drawers Club,
Cambridge Street, Colne (Lancs.)

NORTH-EAST LONDON GROUP

Discussion Meetings Fortnightly
7.30 p.m.
Enquiries c/o Freedom Press
OCT. 31st Irene Priddy
"THE INSUFFICIENCY OF PACIFISM"
NOV. 14th Stanford Webb
"BOOK CENSORSHIP IN BRITAIN"