

WAR

For Anarchism

COMMENTARY

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TWOPENCE.

The Fourth Winter

THREE YEARS of war, have passed; Autumn is here. Soon winter will be upon us. The bare trees, the rain and bitter wind will herald the fourth winter of war. Then let us recall the happy dreams and careless prophesies of that autumn of 1939.

How easy it was to be, this little war: "Over by Christmas"—over in six months." Do you recall the official statements, the expert opinions, the neutrals just returned from Germany. All told of the imminent collapse of the enemy. His tanks were mostly dummies made of plywood. Germany was ready to rise against the Nazis. Hitler had no tin or rubber and only sufficient oil for 20 per cent. of his needs. Hitler had not the money to run a war. The Germans were starving. All the world was aching to fight for us.

Let us consider how the war is succeeding in ending Nazism and preserving freedom—for that we were told is why this war is being fought. During these three years millions of men, women and children, have perished in the battlefields of France, the Balkans and in Russia, in the ocean or in air-raids. Yet the Nazis, Hitler, Goering and all who influence the Nazi Party (save one who fell from the bullet of a rebel) yet live and hold power, their only fear that of a natural death.

The chief weapon in this "fight against Fascism" was, and is, the bombing plane. Do bombs destroy Hitlerism? Are they dropped on Nazi chiefs, on the ruling class of Germany? No! Berchtesgarden has not been bombed (though the Press reported an empty beer bottle dropped there by an R.A.F. sergeant). Munich, the stronghold of the Nazi Party, is left unscathed, while the heaviest raids are concentrated on the most thoroughly working-class cities. Hamburg, Bremen and the Ruhr have received a

heavier load of bombs than all the rest of Germany. Hamburg the Communist stronghold; Bremen of the Social-Democracy; the Ruhr—stronghold of Marxism and the trade unions. Berlin has not suffered many raids, but when it was being raided, how often we read that the bombs had fallen on Neukoln, Red Neukoln—the fortress of the Communist proletariat!

Nor are our bombs reserved for Germans alone. Our "gallant allies" the French, the Belgians and the Greeks are feeling the blows from the skies, we are told they long for. Is there anyone outside of a lunatic asylum who really believes that Nazism can be destroyed by aerial bombs dropped on the industrial workers? What are we to think of trade union leaders who glory in the massacre of their trade union brothers of other lands, of Labour men who rejoice in the destruction of Social-Democratic workers, and of Communists who hail the raids on Communist Hamburg or the Red belt of Paris as a victory over Fascism.

Imperialist war does not destroy Fascism! Fascism is not imported from abroad. It grows out of certain property relations. These relations exist in Germany, Italy, Russia, France, Britain and every country in the world. As the crisis of capitalism deepens, the state becomes more repressive and totalitarian. Because Germany was one of the weakest of the capitalist countries it became totalitarian before the West, but war is itself an indication of the acute social problem and as it proceeds must turn the "democratic" nations completely totalitarian.

Here is an extract from a description of totalitarianism published in 1939.

"The "total state" extends the sphere of state in-

fluence over the whole of life, public as well as private, and exacts full submission of the individual to the demands of the State." (Penguin Political Dictionary.)

Is that not just exactly what has been happening in Britain these past three years? Military conscription from youth to old-age. Industrial conscription, the Essential Works Order and gaol for late comers. Compulsory fire-watching of business premises and forced A.R.P. and Home Guard service.

The compulsion of war is not (as in other wars) restricted to men. Women too, must suffer forced labour, imprisonment, banishment from home, slave fire-watching and military service. It is even suggested, by one of Bevin's labour bosses, that women be compelled to do coal mine work. Even motherhood shall not escape the State! The children may be deposited in left-luggage offices called creches.

Swiftly the State extends its grip to children, they too must register in their age groups. Ever younger groups are being cajoled or threatened into wearing the uniform of the army, navy or air force. Babies in uniform!

In industry, agriculture and commerce the State tightens its grip until it is easier to grow carrots than to fill in the forms of the Ministry of Agriculture, less laborious to manufacture commodities, than to disentangle the red tape of half-a-dozen ministries.

The system grows like a snowball descending a steep hill. Are we heading for liberty—or Fascism?

While the worker sees his wages melt, his work intensify and his organisations being hamstrung, he cannot perceive any curtailment of the rights of property. The boss remains a boss; profits must go on; wealth must not be conscripted.

The democratic screens erected to hide the class nature of society are soon torn down. The Atlantic Charter, so appaused by Socialists, Communists and Lefts, collapses at the first test. Self-determination for all nations—and when India claims independence, then the Charter does not apply to India.

Freedom, Democracy, Anti-fascism! What have they in common with imperialist war?

And what of the parties which were to lead in the fight against War and Fascism? The Labour Party in 1939 jumped to the aid of its masters even quicker than in 1914. The Communist Party after the dithering caused by Stalin's pact with Hitler, responded gladly to the "change of line". Like prodigals returning home, they rushed to the service of Churchill. In three months they became more imperialist than any labour leader became in three years. Beside them the Conservatives look like long-haired radicals.

No party can oppose the state, even if the party claims to be revolutionary, for the party is the State in embryo. No State — no party. When the State is in danger all parties rally to its call, none can offer any true opposition. No political party can oppose Fascism in truth, for Fascism is but the national development of the State. Who worships the State must admire Fascism, the State at its greatest development. Examine the programme and "demands" of all political parties and there see totalitarianism.

We are against Fascism—because we are against the State. Fascism cannot be crushed on foreign battlefields. It must be fought where it appears—in social war. It can be defeated by destroying the capitalism which gave it birth.

As we face the fourth winter of war we ask "how many more?" Sir Earle Page, Australian representative to London, said that "he had no reason to alter his belief that the Axis would win the first four years of the war and the Allies the last six—making a 10-year struggle" *Sunday Express* 23/8/42

As Macbeth said, "there is to-morrow and to-morrow," so do we all think there is winter and winter and winter. Each year's end finding the world's workers weaker.

To the icy wind is added the weariness of overwork, the gnawings of hunger and the burden of tyranny.

But, through these gloomy mists appears, now faint, though growing, a light. Mankind will not for ever suffer such meaningless bloodshed. Throughout the world they will cry "enough!" Then let tyrants tremble, for the toilers cannot end the bloodshed, except they end the rule of privilege and property. When that day comes, as come it must, let us be in the front rank of Freedom's forces, shaping the instinctive revolt to a conscious constructive force, creating a new society. We shall build anew the ruined cities of the world, we shall tend the wounded and cherish the young. We shall banish hunger and tyranny and war. We shall glow in the sunshine of Freedom and Comradeship.

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What next in India ?

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT has been criticised in certain quarters for the way it has dealt with the challenge of Japanese militarism. It has been stated that even after the ending of the period of "appeasement" the Imperial Government has lacked vigour and energy in withstanding the onslaught of Japanese Imperialism. Such a criticism cannot be made regarding the Government's approach to the challenge of Indian democracy. The firm measures, lacking in its dealings with foreign fascism, are there when it comes to a question of internal social revolt; rival bandits are preferable to the victim.

The Indian aspirations for freedom have been misrepresented in all quarters of the globe. "Pro-British" and "Pro-Axis" propaganda alike has distorted the events, on the one hand to hooligan rioting occasioned by a few Quislings and mystics; on the other hand, to vague suggestions of support for fascism. In spite of the repeated statements by Congress of its hatred of fascism and, in spite of this, and because of this, its hatred of all imperialisms, reports all over the world have been spreading these distortions of the truth. The Indian people knows far too well the horror of subject yoke to think of any deal with German Imperialism.

It might have been thought that great response would have been evoked to the Indian claims for freedom in China. A joint Chinese-Indian partnership to-day, could both resist Mikadoism and at the same time successfully demand independence from the western Raj. But the Chinese people is one thing and General Chiang Kai Shek is another. He will not wish to run counter to his Western backers. The leopard has not changed his spots. In spite of his friendship with Congress leaders, Chiang is still a dictator.

Had it not been for Mr. Jinnah's cleverness in using communalism to break up the unity of the Indian people, there would have been no Muslim division within India. Mr. Jinnah does not represent any but the wealthy Muslims. Many Muslims follow Azad, within Congress; Muslim peasants do not follow Jinnah; within India Jinnah has not altogether disrupted unity. But outside India he has succeeded. India's natural allies in the Islamic countries are hesitant; the religious red herring has been used to break India's natural outside unity with the Islamic countries: including Iraq, Iran, Palestine, and Afghanistan.

INDIA AND IRELAND

We have not received any Irish papers recently. It would indeed be a strange commentary on history if to-day any adverse reports on India appeared in the De Valera Press. For seldom has there been a closer historical parallel than Ireland in 1916 and India in 1942.

Then as now, the British held in bondage a people with an acute depressed peasant problem expressed as an aspiration for national freedom. The Irish leaders then, were English-trained intelligentsia with a nostalgia for their native culture, although with many of them the harking-back to Gaelic days sat on them as awkwardly as Nehru's Congress costume—and his acceptance of Gandhi's "non-violent resistance".

Mr. Jinnah resembles Carson closely, an ultra-patriot whose patriotism is occasioned by other interests, and would change to rebellion if those commercial interests were not protected. At Curragh, Carson's men revolted rather than see concessions to the separatists. Jinnah hints at armed revolt or at the least "the end of co-operation" if concessions are made to the "Hindu-dominated Congress" While referring to his "80,000,000 followers", meaning all those of Muslim faith, as Carson referred to his "Protestant supporters", in reality both only represent a commercial strata, a wealthy band.

FREEDOM IS NOT FOR SALE

Britain, when it was forced to give Ireland "Dominion status" found that the first use it made of it was the right to secede. Since the formation of the Irish Free State, Ireland has been (except for a British legal fiction) outside the Empire as much as Switzerland. We can see why India's leaders despise the offers of "Dominion status" too. Mr. Amery has made it clear that when he refers to the "principal elements in India's national life" he includes the European vested interests. Probably his conception of India's national life consists, as Nehru remarked, of British vested interests, Indian feudal princes, big landlords, communalists and other reactionaries, "a noble company of bejewelled maharajahs, belted knights, European industrial and commercial magnates, big landlords and taluqadars, Indian industrialists, representatives of the imperial services, and a few commoner mortals, all sitting together, possibly under the presidentship of the Viceroy himself, drawing up India's constitution. Thus will India exercise her right to self determination We

shall call this Dominion status so that everyone may be pleased."

Who denies this? Does the British Government intend to withdraw its vested interests from India after the war. Never! Does it intend to dispossess its "Fifth Column", the Princes? Never! Will His Highness the Aga Khan have to live on his Derby winnings? Never! Yet each of these is a prerequisite to Indian freedom. It cannot be granted by the British Government. It must be taken by the Indian people. Freedom is not for sale.

ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT GANDHI

The Government has not "solved" India's problem as it "solved" Ireland's—by shooting the leaders. It shoots the rank-and-file instead. The leaders may capitulate, may be bought or persuaded over—the masses can never compromise for long. It therefore imprisons or interns the leaders; and tries to discredit them. Gandhi's followers are flogged; imprisoned in the vilest cells; or shot in the streets. It does not shoot Gandhi, however, as it did Jim Connolly; it dare not flog the Mahatma of countless millions. Instead it places him in a palace of the Aga Khan, well knowing him to be a man of the deepest austerity, equally at home in a mud hut. It hopes, by placing him in a detention place fit for the titled followers of Mosley in Britain, to discredit him with the suffering masses, while at the same time a fast of his own volition may finish him in any case. But such tactics discredit themselves. The Indian masses have never been to Eton or Harrow, and have a high code of honour alien to the "herrenvolk" of their continent.

WHAT NEXT?

What next in India? No compromise will ever be satisfactory. There is a hard road ahead for the Indian masses. They cannot find a choice between

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New Delhi and Tokyo. It stands out that Japanese Imperialism wants to grab India; and British Imperialism would sooner risk losing it in war than give it to the subject peoples (the lesson of Vichy). And no Indian should doubt that the British officials in India would, while preferring Britain to Japan, and perhaps in some cases India to Japan, would unquestionably prefer Germany to India. German domination would not disturb the white officialdom so much as native domination. Who, knowing even pre-war India doubts this? Even in their clubs, in their society, in their homes, have they not admitted white Nazis and excluded Oriental democrats? Imperialism is one and the same, whatever nation it emanates from.

Indian freedom is inseparable from world freedom. The lovers of freedom must be internationally conscious. The struggle for freedom is the same whether it takes place in the streets of Paris or in Poona; Belgrade or Bombay; Copenhagen or Calcutta; Madras or Madrid.

THE NEW ANTHEM

The playing of the "Internationale" and "God Save the King" at most official political events and any theatre performance remotely connected with Russia, has led to some embarrassment. Some stand, some sit, for both; others stand for one and not the other; a lot of bobbing up and down going on.

To save further trouble, (it is rumoured) a new synthetic product, satisfying to all is to be played; the new Anglo-Russian anthem 'God Save the International!'

DUKE OF KENTS FUNERAL

"It was the first Royal Air Force funeral to take place in this Chapel of the Order of the Garter, which, has seen so many royal burials. It was the first funeral too, of a member of the Royal House of Windsor to lose his life in active service" *Reynolds News* 30/8/42

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OUR DEMOCRATIC ORDER

THE WAR OFFICE has distinguished itself by its pettiness and stupidity in deciding to differentiate between legally married women and "unmarried wives" of soldiers by a large white "W" on the next issue of allowance books. The official object of the change is to confine travel facilities to the legally married. In reality the War Office intends, in such a way, to brand the unmarried woman, to put them in what they might consider an inferior position every time they have to produce allowance books.

Soldiers are asked to go on the battlefield and lose their lives when the War Office orders them to do so, but their wives are to be humiliated and travelling facilities taken away from them because they did not go through the stupid formality of marriage. As an indignant correspondent pointed out in a letter to the *News Chronicle* (20/8/42): "Will the government, and particularly the War Office, make this differentiation should there be another war in 25 years' time, in the calling up of the children of these mothers?"

One can be assured that in twenty years time, just as to-day, everybody will be good enough for cannon fodder, but in the meantime "sacred institutions" must somehow be encouraged.

THREE factory workers were each fined £15 with £1 costs at Southampton on the 14th of August for being asleep when they should have been at work. The three men had been dismissed from their factory but the shop stewards thought that was not sufficient punishment, and it was on their recommendation that the case was brought.

Shouldn't the Government create a special decoration for the Southampton shop stewards? What heroes they are to get their comrades fined £15 for snatching a little sleep at their boss's expense. They would not listen to the excuses of their comrades; one had gastric trouble, another had worked long hours and the third was suffering from eye-strain; and they bravely put them into court. There should be some Boss-Gratitude Cross for such actions. The Chairman of the Court was not less brave, he told the men: "There is no question that you were malingering, and three months imprisonment would do you a lot of good". It would do a lot of good towards helping increase production too, we guess. ..

It's strange that factory directors are never found asleep on their desks or dozing in their armchairs. But perhaps shop stewards do not carry their zeal as far as visiting the directors' offices and seeing that they pull their weight. They can often read in the

newspapers however, how company directors, and similar high-placed people meet for lunch and spend more than an hour over it. Before the introduction of the austerity meals came in, they could even read how many courses they had and what they drank. What about protesting against the bosses' privileges instead of getting comrades prosecuted, to the shame of the working class.

MANY cases of juvenile delinquency "can best be met by a whipping as soon as possible after a court conviction" says the Bishop of Liverpool in the Liverpool Diocesan Leaflet. And he goes on in the same Christian vein: "The ideal punishment is one which begins by inflicting pain It should be something short and sharp. But it should also bring shame. The boy must feel that he has brought discredit upon himself, his parents and his school." The standard of honesty in Britain has been steadily going down, says the Bishop, and he tries to remedy that with the whip. Of course, when one earns four thousand five hundred a year like the Bishop of Liverpool, it must be difficult to understand why hungry children steal, why overworked children break windows or smash doors. The Church is not concerned with children's welfare, but with protecting property by every means including the whip. Like God, who as Diderot remarked, *cared very much about his apples and very little about his children*, the Church has never considered any punishment too great for those who attacked the sacred right of property.

A SOLDIER who writes to us seems to have been shocked by the rather tactless remarks of an officer who has just been training his company to unload petrol ships. After having told the men how to handle petrol tins by night in the complete black-out, he warned them not to drop any, pointing out how difficult it is to get petrol. Even if bombed in the black-out, he said, or "whatever happens do not drop the petrol tins. It doesn't matter if the man drops, we can replace him easily, he only costs 2/6. But we can't replace the petrol." The officer was probably unaware of the effect his remarks produced on the men, as in another camp he again remarked: "If a man was to drop out we could easily put another in his place. We can afford to lose a man, but not the petrol!"

That's why they do not use officers to carry petrol tins: if they fall it would cost too much to replace them!

M.L.B.

THE BURMESE EVACUATION

WHEN the British evacuated Burma the Indian Nationalist leaders accused the Europeans of having received preferential treatment. The Europeans they said, were able to leave Burma along the so-called "white route" which was much shorter than the "black route" which the Indians were obliged to take. This was a serious accusation and one would have expected the Press to shed some light on the truthfulness of it. The fact that the conditions of the Burmese evacuation were ignored by most newspapers seems to indicate that the divulging of facts would not be to the credit of the white sahibs in Burma.

The *News Chronicle* carried an account of the evacuation which seemed to confirm that the Europeans did receive preferential treatment. The *News Chronicle* War Correspondent, William Munday, in a cable to his newspaper (29-7-42) begins by stating that those in charge of the evacuation, refute the claim of the Indian Nationalist leaders that the Europeans had preferential treatment but the facts he goes on to relate, contradict this statement. He first of all admits that the Indians did not choose the "black route" through the mountains, since he says: "They (the Indian evacuees) were diverted also so that Indians working on one of these roads (the "white roads") would not be upset by the sufferings of their fellow country men and women". Who can believe that the Indians were diverted from the white road for such a reason? Since when are our officials in the Empire so anxious to spare the feelings of the natives? And we can imagine how the Indians working on the white road liked the sight of the well fed Europeans rushing to safety while they probably knew of their poor country men dying of cold and hunger along the interminable "black route".

The *News Chronicle* correspondent justifies the preferential treatment received by the whites by the argument that as the Indians were more numerous than the Europeans they could not have *all* gone by the white route. He does not think it necessary to explain *why the Europeans were saved rather than some of the Indians!*

"The Indians came over the so-called "black route", which is much longer but much easier than the other routes and along which there was no limit on numbers. More than 200,000 used it from February to June, many getting free rides in carts and motor vehicles.

The white routes meant a trip along the river or over many hilly miles. The first was limited by the number of boats available and only 60 to 80 were brought in that way every three days. The second was limited by the number of elephants available and its capacity was 60 persons daily."

Thanks to the boats and the elephants, the Europeans arrived safely in India, while the Indians struggled along the black road dying by the thousand.

"During the next month, however, 25,000 Indians, including unexpected refugees, streamed into India. They were in a pitiful condition, and officially 20 per cent. of them died of exhaustion, malnutrition, dysentery, cholera or malaria on the 20-day journey from the Indo-Burma frontier."

One of the causes of the difficulties of the evacuation was according to the *News Chronicle* correspondent, "the generally poor physique and stamina of the refugees". The unfortunate inhabitants of the British Empire work like beasts for starvation wages, in peace time and when it suits us to wage a "war for democracy" we let them die of exhaustion, dysentery or cholera.

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Mixed Committees

Harm Worker's Interests

WHEN BEVIN announced the fact that the trade unions were now an integral part of the state machine it was immediately apparent that trade unionism had reached its logical conclusion. The Tolpuddle memory suffered a shock when Citrine received his Knighthood, and another one when the King was presented with the Tolpuddle medal, but the memory has been completely effaced now, with the union bosses' ruling that it is illegal to strike and the workers—masters collaboration in the Production, Absentee and Hardships Committees.

In a certain West of Scotland factory, these committees are in full swing, and have received the benediction of the Communist Party element. It is quite a number of months since the production committee was formed but production has evidently gone down instead of going up! The minutes of every meeting of the committee are dutifully pinned on the notice-board, but the readers' wise-cracks are more illuminating than the minutes. The *only* reason why production is slow we are told is because of shortage of material. Of course, if there was no production committee the workers would not know this!

The Absentee Committee consists of three members of the management, the shop stewards' convenor and a male and female employee.

To prove how impartial and merciful it is, there is the case of an apprentice who had such a convincing reason for arriving late to work that he won the management's sympathy, but lost his case and received a day's suspension, when the woman worker on the committee argued the case against him! The lad got quite a shock. He thought that the workers' section of the committee was there to stand by him! The woman in question is to be commended for her impartiality and her freedom from class bias.

Quite a number of workers both male and female in this factory have received suspensions of from one to three days according to the enormity of the offence. It has not yet struck the massive brain capacity of the Production Committee how this affects production! The majority of the victims don't show any resentment at the suspensions but appear to welcome them as an antidote to the compulsory long hours. However, it should have been evident to a shop steward in this factory that the 'Union' had sunk pretty low indeed when as an offender he gazed across the table at his judges, among whom was the shop convenor!

The Hardships Committee deals principally with cases of workers who don't turn up or appear late for fire-watching duties. If, at the first offence, a good excuse is forthcoming the worker is admonished on the condition that he behaves himself in future, and if his excuse is bad, his case is referred to a higher authority. The foreman of one department whose non-appearance for fire-watching caused quite a stir, put forward the truthful excuse that he forgot all about it, and had his case reported to the 'higher authority'. This should be a warning to him that following in the footsteps of George Washington does not pay.

To sum up. The workers who sit on these committees and play the master's game for him, can bear the responsibility for destroying any vestige of unity left in the rank and file. From all these observations it is evident that Trade Unionism is doomed, but when the workers re-form their ranks on a syndicalist basis, they will cry: "No collaboration with the ruling class, but an end to them!"

'EAGLE'

DEMOCRATIC WAYS OF TRADE UNIONS

ARISING out of a case of suspension of a driver in the employ of the L.P.T.B., at Kingston Garage, an interesting piece of literature came to light in the form of the *Railway Amendments to the Essential Works Order*. These amendments, to which the T.U.C. are a party, firstly abolish the three days' limit for suspensions, thus meaning that suspension can now be made indefinite, and secondly the employing concerns operating passenger transport under the Railways Executive Committee's direction, are allowed to use their own disciplinary machinery against the workers concerned. The implications of this latter item are clear—if, as the worker often finds, the boss for some reason or another doesn't like his face, then he can hold that one! And the blow is always where the worker feels it most.

This frame-up between the Trade unions and the bosses is, as often happens, kept as far as possible from the knowledge of the worker. It is another interesting sidelight on the democratic ways of the trade-unions.

AUSTERITY MEAL

"The dinner at the Kremlin in honour of Mr. Churchill began at 9 o'clock on Saturday evening and lasted for more than four hours.

The atmosphere was described as "full of fun; a very jocular party with Stalin giving a number of toasts, speaking with sparkling humour, and thoroughly enjoying his own jokes."

There were at least twenty-five toasts. Twenty-six courses were served, and pyramids of vegetables and fruits crowded the tables." *Daily Express* 18/8/42

£10,000 A YEAR MAN

"Leicestershire executive of the National Farmers' Union yesterday decided to urge the appointment of a full-time man of first-class ability as director of the N.F.U. in all its activities at a salary not exceeding £10,000."

Manchester Guardian 25/8/42

Will the ability of the £10,000 director of the N.F.U. consist in keeping down agricultural workers' wages to £3 a week?

WHERE THE MONEY GOES

"Announcement by Associated British Picture Corporation of a 15 per cent. dividend against nil last year, is followed to-day by accounts showing that net profits have more than doubled at £406,666, against £192,263.

Mr. A. G. Allen, the new chairman, says that the cinema business has made a "splendid recovery" from the effects of air raids." *Daily Express* 26/8/42

Soldiers on leave who can't afford a three bob seat in a West-End cinema, please note.

PROTEST AGAINST WOMEN FIRE-WATCHING

"A protest about compulsory fire-watching for women in city areas was sent yesterday to Mr. Herbert Morrison, Minister of Home Security, by the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool—one of our worst-blitzed cities. But last night Mr. Morrison insisted that women working in city premises will be expected to fire-watch in them.

Mr. W. H. Perry, chairman of the chamber's general trade committee, gave these reasons for the protest:—

Women are temperamentally and physically unsuited to fire-watch in warehouses and old properties where it is impossible to provide amenities.

While not opposed to the employment of women in general, we feel they should be employed in residential areas.

Women especially young ones, may be exposed to moral laxity such as exists in some cities during blitzes.

The added anxiety imposed on parents would effect adversely the general morale of the country."

Mr. Dan Tobey, chairman of Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, said: "We seem to be trying to push women into a lot of dirty jobs. This should not be."

Daily Express 26/8/42

INDIANS DEPRESS STOCK MARKETS

"Stock Markets were dull to-day, Indian shares being lower.

Indian Iron lost 1s. 10½d. at 36s. 10½d, Calcutta Electric 6d. at 22s. 6d., and gold mining shares were 3d to 6d. lower. India 3½ p.c. Loan remained at 101 1-16. All Bombay markets are remaining closed for the time being."

Evening News 10/8/42

PARLIAMENTARY REGIME FARCE

"A reader has done some statistical work on the voters' register. He points out that the register in use at the last general election was compiled in June, 1935. No one under the age of 28½, therefore, has ever voted at a general election.

Since the 1935 general election there have been by-elections in just over a quarter of the constituencies. Consequently for three-quarters of the population it is true that people under 28½ have never had a vote in their lives. By the time the post-war election is held, it is more than likely that this age will have risen to 30.

Incidentally the coming bill to prolong the life of Parliament will extend it to November, 1943, a total of eight years. This will exceed the duration of the 1911-18 Parliament by a few days over two months.

It will be the longest Parliament for 250 years. I am optimistic enough to believe that the record of the Cavalier Parliament, which sat for 17 years, will remain unbeaten." *The Daily Telegraph* 26/8/42.

Through

CHILDREN WORK OVER 60 HOURS A WEEK!

"Complaints by a firm about absenteeism among its women workers were said at Luton on Wednesday to have led to the prosecution of the firm for employing girls under 16 for more than 44 hours a week. The company was fined £94 on 38 summonses, some of the girls, it was stated, having worked for over 60 hours a week.

For the firm it was stated that the offences were due to the "zeal of those responsible for maintaining output."

Manchester Guardian 14/8/42

DOCKERS WIN STRIKE

"Nearly 100 mobile dockers transferred from London to Manchester were on strike for several hours yesterday. They complained of working conditions.

The authorities paid the men up and gave them travel vouchers to return to London."

News Chronicle 20/8/42

SOVIET FARMER WORSHIPS GOD

"The Thaelmann collective farm was organised by Ivan Ignatievich Klenov, who was himself a local farmer before 1928.

His home, like all others in the village, is a simple low cottage. When he is not supervising the work in the fields he sits at a small desk in the office.

Looking up, he sees a coloured portrait of Ernst Thaelmann. Looking outside the window he sees a bust of Lenin gazing towards the white church on the hill where villagers go to worship God and pray for Hitler's doom." *Walter Graebuer in the Evening Standard* 24/8/42.

Ivan Ignatievich Klenov knows of course, that God is on the side of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

PRICE OF AUSTERITY

Six months ago Sir Stafford Cripps announced that an era of austerity was about to begin. He caused a great scandal in insinuating that racing was to be abolished, and he had to pacify the indignant race-horse-owners. After Cripps' declarations and Woolton's much-advertised austerity meals, one still reads in the newspapers, reports of meals costing a few pounds a head. The *Evening Standard* 24/8/42, reports the following examples of austerity meals:

"Smoked salmon sandwich, price 2/6 To the bill was added a house charge of 1/-"

"A woman who has lived for many years at a West End hotel told me that when she entertained five friends for dinner during the week-end a house charge of £2 5s. was made.

Other charges in addition to the basic 5s. for dinner were 2s. 6d. per person for the dance band provided, and a service charge of 6d. for every 5s. of the bill.

This meant that a three course meal for six, including coffee, but without drinks, cost £5 5s. 6d."

The Press

YOUTH IN UNIFORM

"Hundreds of thousands of British boys aged between 13 and 18, are in training for battle. They are being given the most expert instruction in the use of modern arms and in the latest tactics of the new warfare.

In this page is explained what the Army, the Navy and the Royal Air Force are doing to prepare for future combat, the lads who are still too young to enter the fighting services, but who, when they do join up, will enlist not as raw recruits, but as trained fighting men, ready for battle."

Sunday Dispatch 23/8/42

A few years ago people looked indignantly at Mussolini and Hitler militarising the youth of Italy and Germany. Now the voices denouncing the military training given to boys, who cannot be expected to know what they are fighting for, are few. Like the youth of fascist countries young people in this country are put under the control of the State, which determines every movement of their lives and their way of thinking before they have a chance to learn how to think for themselves.

PESSIMISM

"I would be delighted to endorse the rumour that General Wavell is to be appointed Minister of Defence. It would be a good appointment reflecting creditably on the Prime Minister who would make it. But I see no reason to hope that Winston will cease to be an Octopus, his hands on everything, and become at last, an Argus, his eyes on everything." *Cameronian in Reynolds News*

PREMIER'S STRATEGY

"One of the most entertaining incidents of Mr. Churchill's tour came when the Prime Minister resourcefully solved a "pressing" difficulty by sacrificing one of his famous cigars.

"It happened in the Western Desert," said Sqdn.-Ldr. Kimber, D.F.C., the navigator of his 'plane.

"The troops gave the Prime Minister such a tremendous reception that he could not get back to the aircraft.

"Taking his cigar from his mouth, he flung it over their heads. The men dashed to secure it as a souvenir and Mr. Churchill had an unobstructed passage to the machine. But by that time the cigar was in small pieces."

The Daily Telegraph 26/8/42

Who said that Mr. Churchill should give up his job as Minister of Defence?

LYNCHING GOES ON IN U.S.A.

"Willie Vinson, 25-year-old Negro, was dragged from hospital bed and lynched on July 13. Although the identity of one of the lynching mob's leaders is known, no arrests had been made by July 16. Sheriff Monroe Watts was so unconcerned that he left the state on vacation on July 15.

Before being hanged from a cottage gin winch outside Texarkana, Vinson was tied to an automobile and dragged through the streets. He already had a bullet wound in the stomach received when the mob attacked him in a cafe where he worked as a dishwasher. He was shot when he tried to defend himself with a knife.

Vinson was attacked after an unknown Negro tried to attack a white woman who was asleep with her 18-months old son in a trailer. She could not identify Vinson as the assailant.

After lynching Vinson, the mob marched through the Negro section firing shots into homes. In a general campaign of terror, Negroes were denied the right to conduct church services or hold meetings.

Although only three of the mob entered the hospital and they were not masked, the nurses said they could not identify them. Nor did they raise any cry for help. They notified Watts but he got to the lynching scene only in time to claim Vinson's body.

Before leaving on his vacation the sheriff said he had no clues as to who the lynchers were."

Industrial Worker 25/7/42.

COST OF LICKING FRANCO'S BOOTS.

"The British public has never really forgotten Sir Samuel Hoare, in spite of the veils of silence which surrounded his work in Madrid. He has been with Franco now for something like two years, and during that period the name of Britain has been compromised time and time again in the eyes of the millions who are our real friends in the Peninsula by the persistent and ineffective boot-licking to General Franco. All this time the Spanish connection with the Axis has become more intimate and the official attitude to this country more unfriendly and contemptuous.

Tribune 28/8/42

"The Ambassadors are on diplomatic scale. Parliament has voted £17,500 a year for Lord Halifax; and £9,529 made up of expenses and rent allowance for Sir Samuel Hoare."

Evening Standard 28/8/42.

The Ban is Lifted

THE LIFTING OF THE BAN on the *Daily Worker* will deprive the communists of that aura of martyrdom with which they have adorned themselves during the last year. The Government openly acknowledges them as allies, as it should since Churchill has nowhere more useful accomplices for keeping down the workers and preventing them from doing the slightest harm to the interests of the capitalist class.

The new *Daily Worker* cannot be expected to arouse much curiosity. It is easy to foresee that there will be exhortations to increase production and a great boosting of production committees. There will be panegyrics about those able workers who can raise production by 300 per cent and who will soon learn from their Russian brothers to raise it by a 1,000 per cent. There will be daily reports of meetings asking for the opening of the second front and news about the latest mayor or bishop who has joined the campaign as well as telegrams sent to the Prime Minister and shop stewards delegations. The *Daily Worker* will do its best to show that the only thing preventing the happiness of the British workers is that they are not sent to fight in France.

One question to which the *Daily Worker* is likely to devote quite a lot of space is the denunciation of the "fifth column" elements in this country who are, as everyone knows, those I.L.Pers, Trotskyites and Anarchists who are in Hitler's pay, who get their orders from German radio stations, who, in Spain, used to play football in no-man's land with Franco's troops, who in Russia advocated (a bit too soon) an alliance with Germany, who write books about Russia pretending to be generals while they are only boiler makers.

These "fifth-columnists" may be working at your bench in the factory ten hours a day, and you may wonder where they spend the money they get for their dirty work since they have no cars and their wives do not wear fur coats or diamond rings. These "fifth columnists" may have been put in gaol by Hitler or Mussolini, they may still have wives and children in fascist prisons, they may have been wounded in Spain, while fighting on the front against Franco, but you have to believe that they are Hitler's agents because the C.P. tells you so.

World News and Views asks its readers to get W. Wainwright's pamphlet "Clear Out Hitler's Agents" and warns the people of Britain against Fifth Columnist elements in this country:

A.R.P. text books tell us that poison gases are noted for their insidiousness, persistence, smell and harmful effects upon the people. This little book tells us about the most insidious form of warfare with which we have yet had to contend.

Although the term "Fifth Column" only came into general useage during the Spanish war, the activities of the Fifth Column have been going on for a number of years under the many guises and in many countries, including our own. The most insidious form it takes is the Trotskyist organisation which carries on its activities amongst the working class.

They must be seen for what they are. They must be rooted out of all responsible positions into which they have wormed themselves."

This gives us a taste of the kind of propaganda the resuscitated *Daily Worker* is going to put forward. We know it is going to agitate for the ruthless suppression of all criticism of the war and the government. Still we welcome the lifting of the ban on the *Daily Worker* as it is up to the people of this country, and not Morrison, to judge the communists for what they are. With apologies to Voltaire we declare: "We hate what the Stalinists say, but we defend their right to say it."

M.L.B.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED, AUGUST 1942.

- Freie Arbeiter Stimme (New York)
- Defence policy in the Minneapolis Trial (Pioneer Publishers (New York)
- Censorship from the Left (correspondence between G. Padmore and V. Gollancz)
- Accion Libertaria (Buenos Aires)
- El Obrero Ferroviario (Buenos Aires)
- Industrial Worker (Chicago)
- The Fighting Worker (Chicago)
- International News (Chicago)
- L'Adunata dei Refrattari (New York)
- Militant (New York)
- Land and Liberty (London)
- Studi Sociali (Montevideo)
- Month by Month (Lydeard St. Lawrence, Somerset)
- I.W.W. pamphlets
- The Socialist (Edinburgh)
- 19 de Julio (Mexico)
- Scots Socialist (Glasgow)
- Labour's Northern Voice (Manchester)
- I.F.T.U. Bulletin, no.16
- Opus (London)
- The Post (London)
- 4th International (New York)
- Federalisme & Feodalisme (Quelque part en Suisse)
- Chez Nous (Quelque part en Suisse)
- La Protesta (Buenos Aires)
- Solidaridad Obrera (Buenos Aires)

Education in the Free School

by B. C. LEWIS

EVERY CHILD* is born helpless and defenceless into a society which, favouring some modes of conduct and some forms of belief while deprecating others, brings pressure to bear to force the child to accept established customs and opinions. The child, lacking as yet any power of criticism, has no option but to behave as he is expected to behave and to believe what he is told to believe. He imitates the habits and thoughts of those children and adults with whom he comes in contact and these in turn are modified in accordance with the approval and disapproval of those, like parents and teachers, with whom he has a special bond.

This natural education is augmented by the more systematic efforts of institutionalised education. Whereas previously the child is exposed to varied influences with varying degrees of effectiveness, he is now subjected to the concentrated efforts of the state to mould him to a pre-determined pattern. The domination motif of that pattern disguised though it may be by a veneer of culture, is a subservience to authority. The whole machinery of state education is designed to that end. The complexity of modern life demands that the child be instructed in such arts as reading, writing and arithmetic. A more enlightened population considers that the child should be informed of the many influences which direct his life, so that some of the confusion which clouds his understanding may be dissipated. Hence the inclusion of such subjects in the curriculum as science, geography and history.

Superficially this may seem an admirable development, but under the guise of disinterestedness the state uses these developments to its own ends. Science, which should stimulate freedom of thought, is emasculated by differentiating, between good knowledge, which is harmless to those in authority, and wicked knowledge such as that concerned with sex. An acquaintance with the working of a steam engine is not likely to make a child a rebel, but should the tabu on sex be lifted and his fears and repressions vanish, there is a greater danger that he might gain courage to challenge political repression. Geography culminates in a special study of those parts of the map which are coloured red and so plays its part in making the child "Empire conscious". History, as a record of all that is unimportant in the story of man, creates the impression, as it is intended to do, that our present society is all that is to be desired and in consequence is well worth dying for. As if these distortions and confusions were not enough to uphold the temporal authority of the state, the spiritual arm of the church must add its quota to befuddle the mind of the child. In scripture lessons the numbo-jumbo of a savage tribe living in the superstitious-past is solemnly taught as sacred truth, and the child is carefully shielded from the knowledge that all intelligent people have long since outgrown this lip service to tabu. Religion which teaches child to know its station in life is obviously of value to those who are set in authority over him. The content of orthodox education is well calculated to serve the interests of the state which is charged with the task of maintaining a class divided society. But since

**It is perhaps hardly necessary to point out that in speaking of the child and the teacher I refer to the boys and girls and men and women. 'He' is conventionally used to indicate both sexes.*

nobody can be persuaded that injustice is really justice after all without the ever present threat of punishment to dissuade the recalcitrant, the methods of ruling by violence immediately offer themselves as the obvious solution to the problem of how to break the spirit of the intractable child so that he may be rendered more submissive in adult life. Thus we find that disciplinary power is the first qualification which is required of the teacher. Now-a-days the clumsy method of corporal punishment is no longer quite so fashionable as it was, but the more subtle assaults upon the child's mind by forcing him to pay attention to knowledge which is outside his interests, are still regarded as being beyond question. Even if the child is interested, he is encouraged by the competitive system of awarding marks to place more value in surpassing his class mates than in knowledge for its own sake, and in this way he is taught to appreciate the joys which are to be found in competitive capitalism. The rituals of initiation in which the youth of savage tribes has to undergo torture before being allowed admittance to adult life, have their counterpart in civilised society. Instead of physical torture, the child has to submit to the mental fatigue of cramming for examinations of graduated difficulty before he is allowed to enter any profession of intellectual interest. The jealousy which the old men who have achieved power feel towards the more vigorous youth is gratified by this kind of sadism. Both in the matter which is taught to the child, and in the methods by which it is presented, is to be seen the underlying motives of the orthodox educationalists. They are interested not so much in the child himself and the kind of education which will give him the fullest possible enjoyment of life, as in the child as a subject of the state who will uphold the status-quo. Those who consider that society as it is at present constituted is the best possible, and is consequently to be defended, must see in orthodox education an institution which is eminently suited for its purpose, since so far, at least, most of those who have passed through the mill are strenuous in their defence of existing institutions. For those, however, who regard existing institutions as tyrannical and contrary to the best interests of society some other form of education is an urgent necessity. The new education must have diametrically opposed aims to those of orthodox education and it is the growing opinion of many that these aims can only be brought to fruition in the free school.

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While perhaps the orthodox educationalist is more concerned with the ideas with which the child is doped than with the manner in which they are driven home, he who champions the free school realises that the treatment which the child receives is more important than the knowledge which he may absorb while he is still at school. In discussing the free school therefore, it is the education method which must have a prior claim on our attention.

The teacher in the state school has an easy task compared with what would be required of him in the free school. Whereas the state school teacher has to impose his will upon his unwilling pupils should the instruction which he has to give fail to interest them, the free school teacher needs to be a psychologist in order to discover the needs of his children and to provide the conditions wherein those needs can be satisfied. He must be pre-

pared to be an applied scientist with a working knowledge of biology, anthropology, psycho-analysis, sexology, and sociology. He must remember that he is dealing with living subjects to whom he can do irreparable harm so that to his high responsibilities he must bring a large measure of humanism. He must learn to forego the dignity with which he was wont to protect his ego in the interests of children who require a scapegoat to assuage a sense of inferiority which results from immaturity. He himself must be broadminded, with wide interests, willing to acknowledge his weaknesses and do his best to counteract them, and be alert to take advantage of any advances which are made in the human sciences in order to increase his value as an educator. These qualities must be used to achieve a deeper understanding of children. A child is not a miniature edition of an adult. His emotions are different, his reasoning processes are different, his values are not the same as those of an adult, so that the adult educator must be careful not to bruise the slowly developing mind by unthinking assumption that they are the same. It must be realised that childhood is the play time of life and accordingly the educator must carry his learning lightly and enter into the joyous antics of the child with zest and jollity.

In reaction against the authoritarian tradition of official education, which would have the child conform in thought and deed in order to serve the interests of adults, especially adults in power, the free school as its name suggests, aims at liberating the child from these impediments. It is true that the child mind is a special product, that he develops by absorbing the experiences of the past. But not all tradition is of value, since it includes superstitious practices which are a burden preventing him from developing to his full mental stature. What is of value commands respect by virtue of its rational appeal and so can be accepted at any period of life. But the strength of superstitions, born of ignorance, lie in their emotional appeal (which is not to say that rationalism and emotionalism exclude one another) and should they gain admittance to the susceptible child mind, it is most difficult to eradicate them in later years, especially as they usually have the backing of powerful institutions whose very existence depend upon them. This is the truth behind the paradox that the free school educates by not educating. As the free educationalist sees it, the primary business of true education is to prevent the talons of a barbarous society striking deep into the heart of the child. He must protect the defenceless child from interests straining to get a grip upon him. This is not to say that the child is to be carefully shielded from a knowledge of current superstition. Since emotions for the child are of greater moment than facts, he must be prevented from acquiring the obsession that it is wicked to hold some opinions and not to hold others.

When discussing any religious dogma for example, the fact can be told that there are some who believe it and some who do not, and if the teacher, as a rationalist, does not, he should say so. In any case he must realise that he owes it to the child that he be allowed to decide controversial matters for himself when he is in a position to collect all the evidence and he should be encouraged to resent any unjust penalisation for his opinions as a violation of his individuality. Above all, the child must not gain the impression that there is some knowledge about which it is improper to have cognizance. He must be free to know, but at the same time he must learn to be willing to give up any opinion should any rational argument convince him of its falsehood.

The free educationalist aims at providing an environment which will encourage but not force the child to acquire knowledge. The child is naturally curious and if

his interests are not dulled by masses of information beyond his comprehension, he will learn far more spontaneously than he would under compulsion. If he realises that he can trust the teacher and knows that he will not take advantage of his trust by humbugging him, the child will come freely to the teacher for information. On this basis the teacher can provide the child with the means by which he can find out things for himself. Culture has been described as what is left over after all that has been learnt has been forgotten, a thought that suggests that one of the main aims of education should be, not to turn the child into a walking encyclopaedia, but to provide him with the ability of using an encyclopaedia intelligently. Nevertheless, since the capacity to use knowledge cannot be gained without acquiring some, even the free school teacher is called upon to provide a frame-work of ideas as an orientation whereby the child can find his way about in the world.

From method in the free school therefore, we turn to what the child may learn there. Play has a biological value. It is a preparation for adult life in which the child learns by doing. The child should be allowed to play spontaneously with no suggestion of regimentation by adults. By a study of play the educator can learn the interests of children and this knowledge will guide him in his presentation of ideas to the child. A study of children's questions asked at different stages of development, will give another important clue as to what should be taught. It will be found that the child has different interests at different ages and the free educationalist needs to know these in order that his children shall not find their lessons irksome because of mental friction. The orthodox educationalist argues that a certain amount of compulsion is necessary and desirable since the child must learn things which he will find necessary in later life, but for which he cannot see the reason when it is required to learn them. No doubt there is some justification for this objection, but if there is a discrepancy between present interests and future requirements, care should be taken that the child appreciates why adults think he should learn certain things. If the adults are honest, they will see that much of what every schoolboy knows "is dictated, not so much by utility, as by a slavish respect for tradition: classics being a good example". Again, traditional methods of teaching are responsible for much dislike of many subjects. Abstract subjects such as mathematics can be humanised by being taught historically instead of logically, and indeed, this principle can be extended throughout the curriculum—if it is decided that a curriculum is necessary. The subject should be adapted to the child rather than the child to the subject. The child has a certain biological logic of his own which is different from adult logic and this should be the compass by which the teacher should steer the child through the sea of knowledge. To force the child to learn unnaturally for the good of his soul is to demonstrate sadism in the teacher and to guarantee that the child forgets all that he has been compelled to assimilate as soon as he is beyond the clutches of the teacher, for, as every Freudian knows, interest determines memory.

Acting upon the argument that the free school puts responsibility upon the child's shoulders and that the child sometimes desires to be told what to do and what he is to learn, since it relieves him of the anxiety of deciding everything for himself, we may conclude by recounting what subjects should be taught to the child while remembering at the same time that a water-tight distinction between "subjects" is not an advantage. Working outwards from the child's own ego and treating the sciences first, we may start with a psychology adapted to

(continued on p.14)

WILLIAM GODWIN

by *George Woodcock*

ANARCHISM has suffered in England because it has been regarded by the general public as an exotic growth, a creed originating among Russians, Latins and other suspect races and therefore something to be avoided by good Englishmen. The anarchists themselves have tended to perpetuate this illusion by their continued reliance on foreign sources and their neglect of the English predecessors of anarchism, whose works should be studied not from any sense of racial loyalty, but from the fact that the writings of men like Winstanley and Godwin present a philosophical case for human liberty in a more capable manner than many of the commonly read anarchist classics.

It was indeed in England, with Gerrard Winstanley, that anarchist ideas were first enunciated in a complete system of social philosophy, which bore a close resemblance to the Anarchist Communism of our own time. Winstanley's ideas, however, were not widely spread, and vanished quickly after the break-up of the Digger movement in the 17th century. Their influence, if it persisted, must be regarded as tenuous in the extreme, and it is with William Godwin, a century and a half later, that modern anarchism appeared in the wake of the French Revolution.

Godwin, a non-conformist minister, who had lost faith and discarded the cloth, was one of the leading figures of the literary circles of England during the Industrial Revolution and the romantic revival. Shelley married his daughter and became his most devoted disciple, Blake was his friend, and Byron seduced his step-daughter Claire Clairmont. His work had a profound—if in some cases transitory—effect on the ideas of such writers as Wordsworth, Coleridge, De Quincey and Hazlitt, and his arguments provoked Malthus to reply in his famous *Essay on Population*, which, by the irony of history, came to enjoy a greater fame than the book to which it replied so unconvincingly.

Godwin wrote many books, including school text books and novels, of which the most famous was 'Caleb Williams', but his masterpiece, the work which expounded his social theory and on which his influence rested, was the 'Enquiry Concerning Political Justice', published in 1793. 'Political Justice' is a work of great scholarship and consummate argument, and remains, in my opinion, the best philosophical exposition of anarchism that has yet been written.

Godwin held that all discussions of the form of the desirable government were irrelevant, because government itself was the cause of the principal social evils.

"All government corresponds in a certain degree to what the Greeks denominated a tyranny. The difference is, that in despotic countries mind is depressed by a uniform usurpation; while in republics it preserves a greater portion of its activity, and the usurpation more easily conforms itself to the fluctuations of opinion. By its very nature a positive institution has a tendency to suspend the elasticity and progress of mind. We should not forget that government is, abstractly taken, an evil, a usurpation upon private judgment and individual conscience of mankind."

"... Society and government are different in themselves and have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness. Society is in every state a blessing; government even in its best state, but a necessary evil."

He refuted the current Jacobin idea of government being based on a social contract:

"We cannot renounce our moral independence; it is a property we can neither sell nor give away; and consequently no government can derive its authority from an original contract."

The majority of the faults in society, he taught, sprang from the repressions of the individual which were inseparable from the systematic, coercive and external rule of the state. Every human being had a fundamental will towards peace and freedom, and if authority were removed, this tendency would assert itself in individuals and cause them to desire and live towards a society based on justice.

"Normal man seeks the light just as the flowers do. Man, if not too much interfered with, will make for himself the best possible environment, and create for his children right conditions, because the instinct for peace and liberty is deeply rooted in his nature. Control by another has led to revolt, and revolt has led to oppression, and oppression causes grief and deadness, and hence bruises and distortion follow. When we view humanity we behold not the true and natural man, but a deformed and pitiable product, undone by the vices of those who have sought to improve on nature by shaping his life to feed the vanity of a few and minister to their wantonness. In our plans for social betterment, let us hold in mind the

healthy unfettered man, and not the cripple that interference and restraint have made.”

Godwin repudiated the law, by which he meant the codified laws of organised states, and taught that in its place must be substituted natural justice, based on the elemental rights of man.

Perhaps the most important section of Godwin's treatise is the essay on Property. He realised, unlike the political radicals of his time, that men could only live together amicably if fair economic conditions prevailed and no man were subject to exploitation by another.

“However great and extensive are the evils that are produced by monarchies and courts, by the imposture of priests and the iniquity of criminal laws, all these are imbecile and impotent compared with the evils that arise out of the established system of property”

“Accumulated property treads the powers of thought in the dust, extinguishes the sparks of genius, and reduces the great mass of mankind to be immersed in sordid cares.”

The only just means of the distribution of property, Godwin held, would be one that ensured that every man's needs were met, and that no man was idle in plenty while another toiled in poverty.

“If justice has any meaning, nothing can be more iniquitous than for one man to possess superfluities, while there is a human being in existence that is not adequately supplied with these.

“Justice does not stop here. Every man is entitled, so far as the general stock will suffice, not only to the means of being, but of well-being. It is unjust if one man be deprived of leisure to cultivate his rational power while another man contributes not a single effort to add to the common stock. The faculties of one man are like the faculties of another man. Justice directs that each man, unless perhaps, he be employed more beneficially to the public, should contribute to the cultivation of the common harvest, of which each man consumes a share.”

Godwin, like Proudhon, looked to a society of small proprietors, linked by free contracts relating to the common functions of society. Unlike his predecessor Winstanley, he had evolved no scheme of full scale communism in production and distribution.

He looked to the dissolution of political government, “that brute engine which has been the only perennial cause of the vices of mankind”. In its place he visualised a federalist system of decentralised ad-

ministration by voluntary bodies rising spontaneously to organise in freedom any social functions that might be necessary. The revolution he imagined could be achieved peacefully by education and example. . . .

“Political Justice” had a great influence on the intellectual circles of Godwin's day and, in spite of Pitt's jibe that a three-guinea book would only be read by the well-to-do, it reached the advanced workers, who often formed groups for the express that the libertarian and anti-political character of the was due in great part to Godwin's influence. To him more than any other we must attribute the anti-authoritarian strain which, in spite of betrayals, has Owenite movements and the early Trades Unions purpose of purchasing the book. There is no doubt existed in the British labour movement down to the present day.

EDUCATION IN THE FREE SCHOOL.

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the child's understanding and pass on to simple anatomy and physiology which tells the child how his body is made and works. It speaks much for human stupidity that the importance of sex should have to be stressed at this age of 'enlightenment' and that the 'conspiracy of silence' has still to be vanquished. Speaking of the body leads naturally to general biology, with its theme of evolution and man's kinship with other animals. Then the background of the story of life has to be sketched in the geological history of the earth. The child will be fascinated by the still vaster background of planets, stars and galaxies. The poetry of nature will not be lost for him when he learns that many of those twinkling points in the heavens are stars bigger than the sun. Parallel with this pageant of the universe, the child will be informed of chemistry and physics and the instruments of mathematics and logic which men use to find out about that universe.

Turning to the humanities, the child will learn how men live in his own country and in other lands so that he may regard all men as brothers. He will learn that different men have different ideas of how society should be organised, of capitalism and socialism, while the story of mankind, from ape-man until to-day, will be told in such a way that he sees that the problems of the day can only be solved by the whole world getting together. He may, if his aptitudes lie that way, learn one or two languages. And finally, the arts will be introduced to him. Here, more than anywhere, compulsion is fatal. He will have an opportunity to dip into the world's literature, choosing what suits his particular tastes. Drama, the films, and dancing, will all claim a share of his enthusiasms. He may dabble in painting, carving, wood and metal work or discover out of the way arts for himself. And here we reach a point where in play activities he passes into a world of his own in which he prepares himself for the master art of living. It is a fitting reminder of the free school ideal that the best way of bringing up a child is to leave him alone as much as possible.

SCHOOLGIRLS EXPLOITED by FARMERS

G LASCOW AND EDINBURGH schoolgirls, who sacrificed a month of their summer holidays to work as berry pickers in Perthshire were rewarded by the following grateful treatment on the part of the Department of Agriculture, the Fruit Growers' Association and the local farmers. Owing to a typical bureaucratic error by the first-named body, seventy Edinburgh schoolgirls were sent to Perthshire a week too early for the harvest, and after having to pay a returnable deposit of £1, were left stranded without work or income. The *Glasgow Sunday Express* gave the following report of the treatment given to Glasgow girls:

"Glasgow schoolgirls back this week from berry-picking, have told their parents how they were charged 'city prices' for meals at farm canteens.

The parents say that the girls' back-to-the-land patriotism has been exploited.

'My daughter, aged 14, had to pay out for food nearly all she earned,' a Jordanhill father said to a *Scottish Sunday Express* reporter.

She was in a school party which included four teachers. The trip was organised partly by the Department of Agriculture.

They were told before going that they would eat in a canteen and to have their own mugs and cutlery.

There was no table service to justify the so-called city prices.

Some of the girls hadn't much money. All had to calculate how much they could afford to spend on each meal.

Result was that the girls had to skimp their meals, while the open-air work was giving them bigger appetites."

A comrade who was working on the harvest writes telling us that the conditions referred to applied to all the canteens, although the worst one belonged to a Plymouth Brother whose farm was flooded with schoolgirl labour. The girls were paid at the rate of 1d. a lb. for fruit picked, so that after camp expenses are deducted most of the pickers will barely have covered their expenses. And that after having had to work about 12 hours a day. The concerns marketing the fruit, on the other hand, will in all probability turn over large profits. One lesson that the girl pickers should learn from their experience, is that in order to fight against slave-labour conditions on the farms, organisation is necessary.

FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY

TRADITIONAL IDEAS die hard; old superstitions cling on, and the wistful glances of men are ever backward into the past. The past is dead, but the dead will not lie down. So in politics. Faith, Hope and Charity remain with us always. Faith in the inevitability of progress, Hope of better things to come, Charity in social reformation.

This remnant of nineteenth century romanticism; what basis has it? What justification does history show for its pathetic continuance in the mind of man? What are the standards by which we measure progress? Because to-day we read by the glare of electricity, where formerly men studied by flickering candlelight. Where formerly the slow pace of stage coach, now the whirr of rubber tyres going sixty miles an hour. Still the heavens were, save for the flight of birds, now they echo to the roar of bombing planes, to the scream of descending projectiles. What measurement is this that perceives progress in a straight line of evolution, and counts not the cost of corresponding involution?

This Hope, whence comes its justification? Hope of what? More food, less work, more play? Faith trusts the necessitous law of evolutionary change, and Hope persuades that such change will carry with it human value, as though happiness were a function of impersonal nature.

And Charity, what place within our modern world exists for compassionate feeling? Vain and idle dreaming. Man has faith in some mysterious cosmic influence in social change because he has not the WILL to direct such change as he desires. Man has hope because his strength is dissipated in belief that he is weak. Man looks lovingly on charity because he will not conquer cowardice, and take upon himself the responsibility of independence.

'Tis time O Man, to forsake these idle dreams. The world will not grow better of its own accord. Harsh rule and vicious exploitation will not fade through wishful hope in future possibilities. Get to your feet O man, and FIGHT. Cease thinking you are weak. Know yourself to be full of strength—BE STRONG. Courage and life are in the idea of strength, Fear, impotence and death in the idea of weakness.

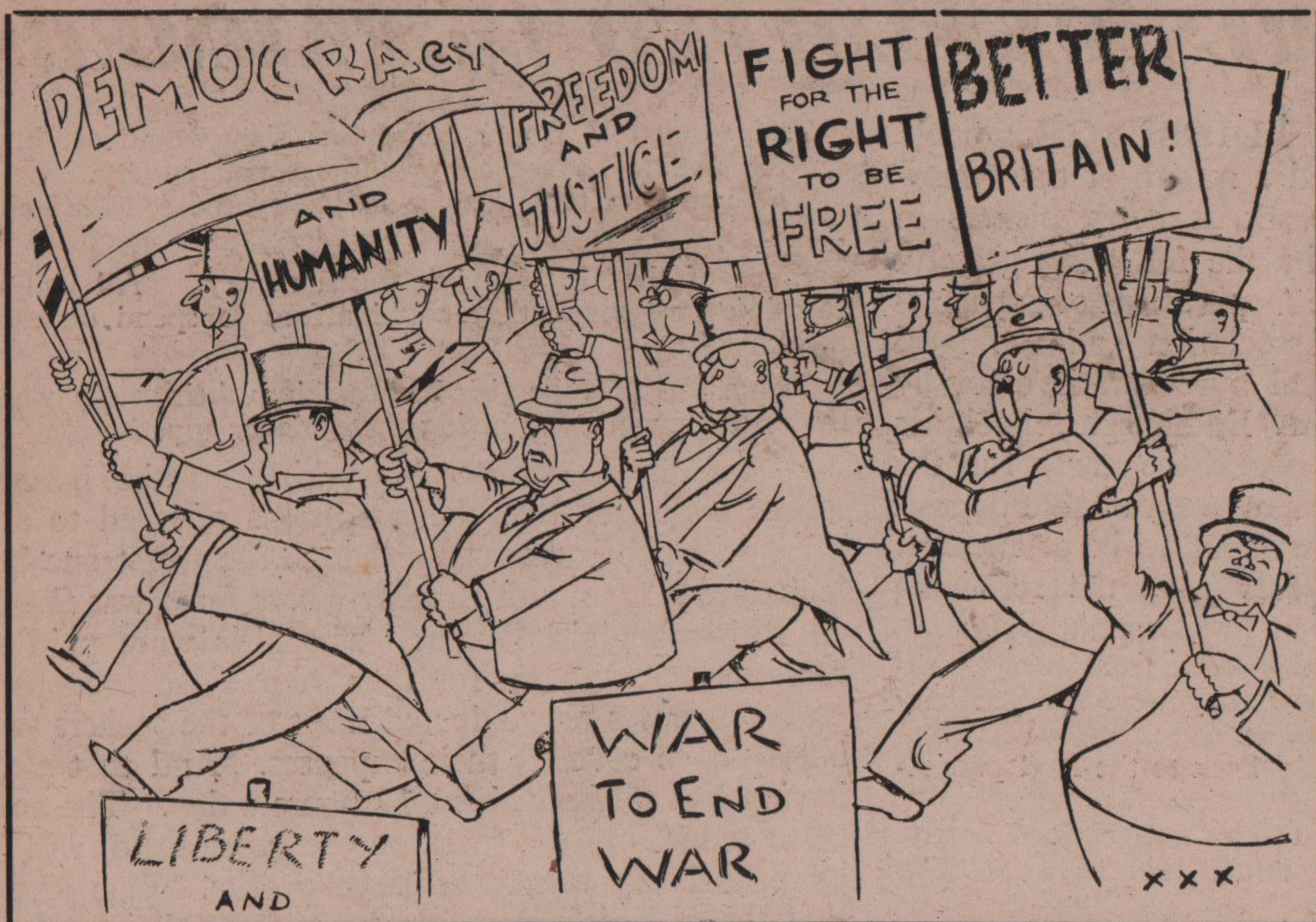
Give up faith and follow knowledge. Cast away Hope and clutch at opportunity. Renounce the sickly dependence on Charity, and take what is your Right. Instead of faith that the capitalist system will collapse—Smash it. Instead of hope in better times to come—make them now. Instead of charity in your low estate—raise yourself beyond the slight of pity. You are weak from dreaming—grow strong by action.' FREDRICK LOHR.

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BEHIND THE SLOGANS.

Mass Arrests and
Shooting in India
and Ireland.
Sacrifices for the
Workers and Big
Profits for the
Capitalists at home.

INDIAN FREEDOM RALLY

A rally, called by the Anarchist movement in support of the struggle of the Indian people against British Imperialism, was held at the Conway Hall, London, on Sunday, August 23rd. The meeting was the first public demonstration of sympathy held in London, and the speakers were enthusiastically received. Dinah Stock, speaking from her own experience, gave an address packed with facts about the condition of the Indian workers and peasants under British imperial domination, and pointed out

how all the propaganda directed by the capitalist press against the Indian struggle, was based on lies and deceit. Chris Jones, the West African seamen's organiser, who spoke on behalf of the International African Bureau, dealt with the position in India from the point of view of the oppressed coloured workers all over the world. He stressed the fact that the interests of the working-class, whatever its race, colour or creed, was everywhere the same, and he appealed to the British workers to support the struggle of the Indian people, and the coming struggle of the workers in other parts of the Empire. Bill Gape (I.W.W. and organiser of the Tramps Union), Frank Soden (London Passenger workers), and Frederick Lohr expressed solidarity with our Indian brothers and called for direct action in support of their struggle by the British workers. Mat Kavanagh was chairman.

War Commentary

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