

declared that he looked forward to the day when passports and visas and all the other impediments to free travel would be done away with and a man might go where he wished when he wished. Such was the situation before the first world war, when passports were issued to V.I.P.'s in order, as their name implies, to facilitate travel by by-passing some of the frontier formalities instead of increasing them.

little anxious knots, speaking in low tones of these unhappy events, too wakeful to remember the hour of siesta. And in remote Finland, are the maidens who act as attendants at the Finnish baths standing idly by, fingering their birch twigs for lack of distraught customers?

paper hinted at sexual perversion, so it seems impossible that they will simply return from a holiday-there would be too many libel actions pending.

clerk.

The day Bevin looked forward to (did he do anything concrete to hasten its coming?) is clearly far off. It is a capital offence to leave the Soviet Union. And the American State Department has already refused to endorse the passports of certain individuals-Paul Robeson, for example-so that they cannot leave the United States. It is said that if Charlie Chaplin, still a British subject, were to leave America, a re-entry visa would not be issued to him, so that he also is effectively prevented from going abroad.

Britain Also ?

The Public's Opinion

What is the feeling of the British public on these grave events? If it had not been for that public spirited newspaper, the Daily Express, which published a report and so compelled the government to come into the open, the man in Britain's streets would not have had an opinion, and would never have heard of Mr. Maclean or Mr. Burgess. How much we owe to the watch dogs of our free press! (Well, how much?)

One is forced to gauge the importance of the affair, not so much from what officials say, but from the way they say it. At the time of going to press, we attach most significance to the extraordinary insulting comment of a pseudonymous columnist in the Observer (10/6/51). This speaks of "nervous and unstable characters"; of an "exuberant and rather exhibitionist personality"; of "the

In short, it is apparent that the papers and the government know well enough where they are and why. At all events, this knowledge seems to have permitted the press, at all events, to be perfectly reckless in defaming their characters by implication.

No charge has been brought by the Crown against them. But if it is only a matter of time, and if the press knows this, it becomes morally indefensible to blacken their characters beforehand and so prejudice any case well in advance. Such methods smack of the Iron Curtain.

All this, however, is mere speculation. The fact remains that a mountain has been made out of a molehill. And a molehill it remains even if it transpires that they have indeed escaped to Prague or other Russian territory. Our guess is that despite "wide anxiety", wages will be collected on Friday, beer will still be consumed, and working men and women will still be mainly preoccupied with the problems arising from the endless struggle of wages to catch up with the cost of living.

ANARCHIST.

dispute rather than semi-hysterical condemnation.

point of view of the men involved, we

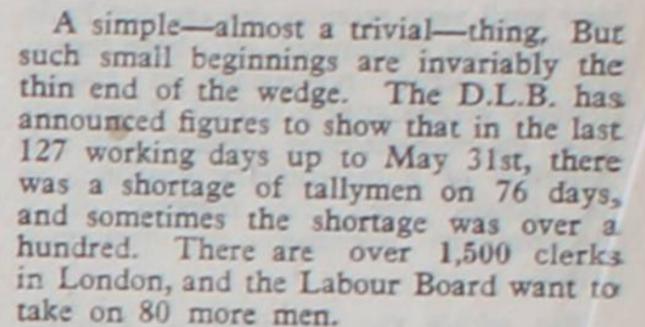
might be given a clearer picture of the

Like many another dispute, this one started in a small way, but had larger implications, and was originally touched-off by official action by the Dock Labour Board.

The tally clerks are the men who check cargoes in and out of ships while the dockers load or unload, and of course they are keymen. Because more dockers have been taken on to deal with increased traffic in the London docks, the D.L.B. now want to engage more tallymen. But the tallymen say this is not necessary, although they are prepared to discuss the matter.

High-handed Authority

But just as an old and respected custom was over-ridden in Manchester in the face of opposition from the men and caused the recent lengthy strike there (see last week's Freedom), so the authorities in London have high-handedly introduced their decision without discussing the issues with the men. We do not say they have not discussed with the unions, we only say they have not sought the opinions



Now, the above figures also show that on 51 working days in the period quoted there were enough tally clerks to do the work. Had these extra men been employed then, at least that extra number-80-would have been out of a job. And the figures quoted did not show on how many days the number of tallymen required was less than 80. If we assume the number varied from none to a hundred, an average figure would show that on four-fifths of the number of days when there was a shortage of men, the number required was less than 80. Therefore, there would have been about 60. more days when all the tallymen were not required, making a possible total of 111 days out of the 127 when some men. would have been "left on the stones" as they call it in dockland.

So looked at like this, the men's strike action in reply to the introduction of more labour does not seem so unjustified, does it? The bosses are looking after their own interests-and the tallymen are simply defending theirs. That's fair enough, surely. Admittedly, more gangs of dockers are being created, and the proportion of tallymen to dockers is about 1 to 18. But the men themselves remain unconvinced of the necessity for more clerks at the moment.

At the time of going to press, there is quite an uproar going on about two Foreign Office officials who went to France and disappeared. Of course, we have no means of knowing the details or even the main issues involved in this affair: but the reports suggest an almost ludicrous inflation. Mr. Anthony Eden, for example, asked Herbert Morrison, the Foreign Secretary, if "in view of the wide anxiety outside Britain about the unhappy events", he would keep the House informed of developments?

One pictures the anxious French nation moodily toying with their croissants, too upset to go to the bicycle races or buy tickets in the National Lottery. One imagines the

(From our Special Correspondent) W/ITH a levity in the use of words which hardly helps to shed light on the true facts, the Left press, in the present calm electoral campaign, refers to General de Gaulle as "Fascist".

There are perhaps propaganda reasons for this which an analysis of the facts would not justify, but without confusing the whole issue, it is difficult to speak of Gaullisme as of a fascist movement. It is quite simply a reactionary movement.

For many years, fascism has been considered as the political expression of large capitalist interests, especially in Germany and Italy. Whatever may be one's opinion of this definition, it does not apply to de Gaulle. For instance, in the division of Lille, the "longest General in the World" was obliged to withdraw his proposed candidature as a result of a joint campaign by the large industrialists allied to the socialists. In fact, Bertrand Motte, unchallenged leader of the employers'

circles in the textile industry, has succeeded in achieving the alliance of the S.F.I.O. (Socialists) and the Centre parties, and of even capturing one of the star candidates of the R.P.F. (de Gaulliste). And the object of all this is to forestall both the Communists and de Gaulle.

De Gaulle and the French Elections

If-and we express here our opinionfascism is a movement which unconsciously attempts to resolve the contradictions of private capitalism by installing a State capitalism whilst using all the old driving forces, such as patriotism, and basing itself on a certain number of archetypes such as the chief. warrior, etc. . . . then de Gaulle's Rassemblement does not fit that definition of fascism either.

Undoubtedly de Gaulle is the only person able to bring together into one movement essentially divergent interests and ferociously contradictory aspirations. But his favourite references are to Joan of Arc and Richelieu; his surroundings are Catholic and vieille France and his best support comes from the traditional malcontents among the lower middle-class.

Such curious personalities as André Malraux and Jacques Soustelle, and the very few working-class militants who

anana

have been drawn in, might lead one to believe that a non-capitalist basis, common to the national-socialist and nationalcommunist movements might exist in the R.P.F. But the nature of the crowds who acclaim the General or who will vote for R.P.F. dispel such an impression. They are average Frenchmen, always attracted towards caesarism forever regretting the "good old days"; frogs thirsting for a king.

The absence of unemployment in France, and of soldiers on leave; the multiplicity of Trade Unions and political parties claiming to represent the workingclass are factors which render impossible the birth and development of a real fascist movement.

Let us also remember that de Gaulle can see himself being opposed in the electoral field by the Independents, the M.R.P. (Social Christians) and the Church. Nor does he receive support either from the industralists or from the Americans.

For the moment, at any rate, he can only rely on the blind malcontents, living in the past. He will collect many votes, but he will not release a tidal wave. S. PARANE.

In Defence of Hard Work

On the other hand, it must be said how ridiculous it is that men have to go on strike to defend their jobs. Mechanisation is a similar issue to this, and disputes have arisen in the docks over the introduction of labour-saving machinery. Men have felt their jobs threatened by mechanical loaders, for instance, and have fought to retain the old, hard way of doing the work. This is a direct result of the wage system and of the bossworker relationship. Workers have to have work in order to live, and anything which reduces the number of jobs available is a threat to their livelihood. Workers can only feel secure while there are more jobs than workers, and the experience of the dockers has already (as. Harry Constable pointed out in Freedom a fortnight ago) shown them that the employers and the unions are quite prepared to declare dockers redundant in the interests of "efficiency" and "economic." organisation.

The answer to these "restrictive" practices by workers is to abolish the wage system.* Then workers will be only too happy to cut down their hours of work, to mechanise for easier working, to share their work with whoever wants todo it. But that cannot be done within capitalism, or the "socialism" of the T.U.-Labour partnership.

More Dollars for Franco

TOT content with having authority to deal directly with been responsible for getting Congress to approve a \$62,500,000 loan to Franco, Senator Pat McCarran is now planning to ask Congress to grant a further 100 million dollars loan.

high Spanish officials.

Coinciding with Senator Mc Carran's statement is one by one of America's military chiefs, Gen. Omar Bradley on his arrival in Paris last week for Western defence talks, in which he is reported as saying that "from a military point of view" the Atlantic Pact would be strengthened by including Spain. He added, in answer to the suggestion that not only Spain but also Greece and Turkey, should be admitted: "It's my belief that we ought to have as many together as possible to build up the collective defense. The more of us who can be put together, the better we are going to be."

"The people of Spain are sympathetic to us. They are now going through trying times. The nation must be built up internally so the Spanish people can come to our aid in time of trouble," he said.

Administration sources said if **Congress** approves an additional grant, President Truman probably will accept it because of the international situation and Spain's military importance to the non-Communist world.

But these sources said the Administration will insist that the loan be administered in a way similar to grants to Atlanticpact and other nations. This would entail sending an ECA mission to Madrid and giving it mans" in the old formula!

The General appears to have learned nothing from the last war when an ally was defined as anyone willing to kill Germans. Six years later we are choosing our allies in a similar way, substituting "Russians" for "Ger-

Japanese exports to communist China Quadrupled

REPORT from Washington, dated June 10th, to the New York Herald Tribune states that, "Japan's exports to Communist China quadrupled during the first six months of the Korean war."

The report continues: "Although restrictions have recently been placed on the export of strategic items, normal peace-time channels of trade between Japan and China are being kept open and the value of Japan's exports to Red China has continued to increase.

"It has not been considered practicable by the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers in Tokyo to apply to Japanese trade with China the flat embargo laid down in December on American traffic with the Chinese Communists.

"Statistics compiled by the economic and scientific section, SCAP, while still under the authority of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, show that Japanese exports to Red China skyrocketed after the outbreak of the Korean war.

"In the last six months of 1950 these exports totalled \$45,000,000. The statistics show that, despite some restrictions, this trade included items the Joint Chiefs of Staff specified, as early as the fall, were "essential to China's war economy".

"Japanese exports to China of whole categories of secondary strategic materials were banned in December, when allied prospects in Korea looked blackest. Trade was permitted in many items, however, despite the decision in Washington to embargo all American trade with China and to urge other allied nations to follow suit."

We need 1,000 New **Readers** this year. you introducing Are FREEDOM to your friends?

P.S.

* See page 4: THE WAGE SYSTEM.

NEW PORTWORKERS* PAPER.

W/E have pleasure in drawing our readers' attention to a new portworkers' paper Portworkers' Clarion. It is published by the Merseyside Port Workers' Committee, representing a rankand-file point of view in opposition to the official unions and employers, and to the Communist influence among the dockers.

The first number has just appeared, produced with all the birth-pangs which usually accompany working-class journals, and it is hoped it will become established as a twopenny monthly. Copies will be available from Freedom Bookshop or direct from:

D. Brandon, 42, Briardale Road, Prenton, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

MINORITIES AMERICAN ARTICLES ON SERIES OF FIRST IN THE A Internal Imperialism in the United States I. The Negro

Thirty-seven convicts of the Louisiana State Penitentiary chanted the Heel String Boogie and slashed their heels in a protest against the brutalities of their guards last month. The men cut their Achilles tendons with razors. Ten of the men who took part in the original demonstration on February 17th mulilated their other heel on the 26th. -Catholic Worker (New York), May, 1951.

THE peculiar nature of American imperialism has often been remarked. A tremendous continental power, as large and rich as almost all Europe combined; an inland empire carved by bowie knife and broken whiskey glass from a fabulous primaeval territory over-abounding in the riches of the earth . . .

The internal American market has been so profitable, and the power of the external foreign dollar so great, that American military adventures abroad have until very recently (except for Latin America, the Phillipines, etc.) been minor, and her actual possessions of foreign territory comparatively trivial. There was never the overwhelming concern with raw materials of a mid-century England, or the fanatic drive for markets of Hohenzollern Germany or Jim-crack Japan.

this pariah class of Negro workers, seemingly doomed within the shackles of an economically and spiritually slave society.

Every morning the magnificent subways of New York pour into cautiously stirring Harlem a mercenary and uneasy legion of policemen, school teachers, social workers, clinic physicians, lawyers, insurance agents, salesmen and merchants. In the last analysis no more than colonial officials, they pour into taut and bursting Negro Harlem; bounded on the East by the poverty of Puerto Rican Harlem and the cheap and nervous East River; on the North and West by the squat satisfied middle-class Bronx and the cosmopolitan impenetrability of the new Central-European Jewish immigration, and on the South, stopped short by the green and stubbled pastures of Central Park. The coloured people suddenly stop living south or west of certain blocks as special hospital sections have been set up for the treatment of these "fallen youth".

What is the young Negro so bent on escaping from? First from the terrible realities of his life.

Negroes in America, 12,865,518 (1940 figures) constitute 9.8% of the population. Whites number 118,214,870, 89.8%; and other non-Whites 588,887, or 0.4%. Seventy-five per cent. of the Negro population still lived in the South, but immigration northwards was the dominant population trend.

(1) The average expectation of life at birth for Whites is: males, 62.81; females, 67.29. For Negroes it is: males, 52.26; females 55.56. It costs the average Negro in the U.S. ten years of his life to be born black.

(2) The rate of deaths under 1 year

(4) Over 42% of the inmates of prisons or reformatories were non-Whites.

(5) Over 50% of the inmates of local jails or workhouses were non-Whites.

(6) "In ten Southern States for varying periods, 975 Negroes and 464 Whites were sentenced to death. The Negroes constitute less than 30% of the population of these States, but have more than twice as many death sentences imposed. Actual executions make the racial differential still greater, for 60.9% of the Negro death sentences were carried out as compared with 48.7% of the White. The figures for life termers, by race, who actually die in prison are not available, but would most probably show the same race bias. For the Negro is given a more stern sentence and for the same reason is the less likely to have his sentence reduced." (Arthur Raper, Race and Class Pressures" -unpublished manuscript.)

(7) Average number of years spent at school in the United States, for persons 25 years old: Native White, 8.8; Foreignborn White, 7.3; Negro, 5.7; other races,

ripping up the pillows, breaking the china, burning furniture. Finally one of them grabs the grandmother of the household and starts to rip her clothes off. The grandson, a strapping young man can restrain himself no longer. He rushes up to the German and starts tearing at him. "Nein, nein mein Kind," says the grandmother, "a pogrom is a pogrom."

The real economic base for Negro discrimination has often been discussed, but the sexual, or to use Reich's term, the 'emotional plague' aspect of it has not received enough attention. Do European readers know that in Los Angeles there is a special cemetery for Negro dogs and one for White dogs? There are separate drinking fountains and toilets all over the South. Separate dining cars and restaurants, and 'buzzard roosts', or Negro balconies in theatres.

Negro men in the South are forbidden to touch a White woman. However, the obverse is not true and the amount of White admixture in the Negro people is very large. Since the male theoretically controls the act and is the master of the situation, White male-Negro female intercourse is tolerated. But when the races are reversed, what the White interprets as symbolical surrender cannot be tolerated. This is, of course, also surrender to sex itself. This perhaps is the most basic core of the disturbance : the rigid White cannot really surrender to his feelings.)

But within the vast fable of America lies a vast rot. Almost the first English gentlemen to land here, not wishing to soil their hands with earth and not deeming it practical to subdue the independent and resourcefully fighting Indians, brought with them: Black Slaves from Africa (bought by the gross, was it?)

Thus, if America would not go to Africa, Africa could certainly be dragged to America. The Indians, Africans and indentured English servants were the first to know the inward blessings of this mighty land. For although the machine was to turn this wasteland into a nitrated paradise flowing with homogenized milk and pateurised honey, still cows had to be milked and hives broken into. The honour of playing this rôle has fallen like a dull game of leapfrog on various nationalities in dreary succession: Negros, Irish, Germans, Jews, Italians, Puerto Ricans, etc. And among these nations, groups and individuals have risen, but there is still plenty of room at the bottom.

Just as the seeming promise of the machine has not borne its expected fruit, so certain groups have not been permitted to serve their apprenticeship like the Germans or the Scandinavians or the Irish to some degree, and leave for the heights of capitalist society. Some like the Jews (as a group) have left, but look more and more anxious the higher they climb-looking back and remembering other ladders of other lands. Some like the Negroes (as a group) have never got out and remain still to-day a proletariat among the nations.

if by magic . . . white magic, to be sure.

This is Negro Harlem, the black ghetto of a quarter of a million Negroes of New York who do most of the dirtiest and lowliest, filthiest and hardest, backbreaking, dullest, tiring, boring, cheapest paid work in the whole damn town. They live in housing that would make even a Russian blush. I have seen 17 people living in four rooms, Apartment after apartment of four or five rooms leased out by a new type of parasite: the tenantlandlord who sublets to three or four families, sometimes as many as five people living in a single medium-sized room. All the miseries of poverty and degradation are here. Violence, hunger, ragged homeless men, prostitution, police rackets and brutality, instalment buying, gang fighting between kids, higher rents and retail prices than anywhere in the city. Crowding and more crowding. Second-rate food stores and half-clean restaurants. An elephantiasis victim begging from passersby in front of the Relief Centre. Everywhere Negro blind. Exploiters of the race-Negro candy store owners with posters in their windows: "Buy Black". Sharp zoot-suit boys on every corner, angry and afraid "in a world they never made". And pathetic, mean 125th Street. Hot dogs and Coca-cola. The big-front white merchants with their enchanted wares, and everywhere, out of a hundred doorways: Bop. For if the jazz of twenty years ago was a music of the deep vitality, hope, strength and joy and tenderness of the Negro people, to-day's frenetic Bop is the screaming music of Negro convulsion and despair. (And I have seen the chronic convulsions of hospitalised Negroes so desperate to get away that they have drunk shoe polish, hair tonic and God knows what else.)

of age per 1,000 live births is: Whites, 36.9; non-Whites, 60.3.

(3) The ratio of non-White to White mortality rates for selected causes of death (1929-1931) is as follows (White = 1.00): Pellagra, 14.22; Syphilis, 8.18; Homicide, 7.10; Pneumonia, 3.50; Tuberculosis, 3.47; Puerpetual Fever, 2.68; Whooping Cough, 2.41; Influenza, 2.35; Nephritis, 2.19; Diarrhoea and Enteritis, 1.96.

PHILOSOPHER'S A LAST WORD

TO-DAY, thinks Santayana, both the U.S. and Russia "aspire to be universal; and under either of them, if absolutely dominant, mankind might become safe, law-abiding, sporting, and uniform". And under either, the individual soul attempting to follow its "native bent" might find itself in a spiritual concentration camp.

On propaganda: "The gret fertilizer, for artificial convictions, is the appeal to irrelevant interests. You must maintain religion, because it is good for morality and for commerce; you must keep up sports to avoid dissipation and ill-health; you must raise armies to avoid war. But if really good only for such purposes, you would have only a sham army, sham sports, and a sham religion . . ." On the degradation of the modern spirit: "Our one preoccupation is to be safe. We don't know what we love, or if we do we don't dare mention it. We are willing to become anything, to be turned into any sort of worm, by the will of the majority. We are afraid of starving, of standing alone; above all we are afraid of having to fight. And when nevertheless we are forced to fight, we do so without chivalry. We do not talk of justice, but of interests."

(8) Unemployment among employable workers in United States in March 1940: White, males 15%, females 12%; Negro, males 36%, females 35%.

(9) A comparison of average incomes in selected towns in 1935-6 showed that the Negro family income was about half that of the White family in the North and about a third in the South.

(10) "Both the Consumer Purchases Study and the National Health Survey indicate that, in the middle of the 'thirties, roughly one-half of the Negro families in the urban north were on relief. This usually was three to four times more than the corresponding proportion of Whites."

(11) 17.1% of White workers in the U.S. were classed as unskilled or servant in the census of 1940. 54.2% of Negro workers were so classified.

(12) A survey of over-crowding made in 1935-36 showed that in the East 3.7% of White families had more than "1.5 persons per room" to 8.0% Negro; in Central U.S. 5.0% White to 12.9% Negro; in the South 8.3% White to 21.6% Negro.

[These statistics are drawn from: Statistical Abstract of the U.S. 1947 (Supt. of Documents, Washington, D.C.); Gunnar Myrdal: An American Dilemma (Harper, 1944); St. Clair Drake and H. R. Cayton: Black Metropolis (Harcourt Brace, 1945).]

The South holds to this code scrupulously, holding out death to its violators or alleged violators-the death for rape of the Martinsville Seven. (No White man was ever sentenced to death for rape in that State.) Willie McGee is the latest victim of this sexual terror. The Negro, the man of colour, and the oriental, even the Jew, the 'stranger' (the strange is dangerous but perhaps delectable: the strange contains your own hidden imaginings). Violence and sadism comes to plug up the anxiety of the healthy urge of sexuality in the unhealthy organism. The Negro pays for the White man's inhibited lust.

I hope it will not be taken amiss when I say that it seems also that the Negro is also freer sexually, in the highest (and the Reichian) sense than the White. He seems to get more joy out of life. He seems more alive. He has rhythm. He has a certain energy. Of course I am generalising here but I think that the White man subconsciously envies the Negro his real or imagined sexual freedom and not daring to be really free himself he takes it out on him in envy.

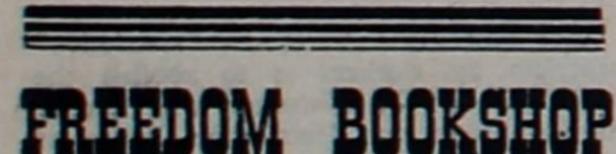
For over and above and within the economically exploited proletariat stands

If Gilbey's gin was once the quickest way out of Newcastle, to-day the only way many Negroes find, out of New York, is bop, clothes, reefers and cocaine. Drugtaking among the young in New York City (white and coloured) has reached the proportions of a minor scandal and

BOOK REVIEWS

THE BRIGAND, by Giuseppe Berto. (Secker & Warburg, 9/6d.)

WHEN Michele returns to his povertystricken village in Calabria from the war in Africa, he quarrels with a wealthy man, and when the man is shot Michele is found guilty of his murder. He escapes from the jail, joins the partisans fighting in the north and later goes back to his village. The peasants seize



the idle acres of the big estate and the landowners dig up the old charge against Michele because of his part in the occupation of the land. He becomes an outlaw in the mountains, seeking to throw off from the peasants the resignation which "had grown upon them through centuries of slavery and seemed to attend them even in revolt."

The tragic story is simply and sensitively told, and like Giuseppe Berto's previous novel, The Sky is Red, enlarges our understanding of his countrymen.

THE CINEMA 1951. Edited by Roger Manvell. (Penguin, 2/6d.)

On democracy: "The domination of politicians . . . sometimes idle gentlemen and sometimes idle workmen; but more often small lawyers and busybodies looking for a job."

On mass culture: "The effect of social reformers to supply intellectual as well as material luxuries to the poor fails for want of roots in primary human nature ... To dump into the poor man's mind the products of a decadent aristocratic culture will perhaps accelerate their decomposition, but it will not sow the seed of anything better."

As a philosopher, George Santayana stands as a paradoxical contradiction to his time. In an age of the splintered mind, he asserts the old Greek genius for wholeness. In an age of prosaic utility, he rates beauty first. In an age of ideological choices, he affirms "the free uses to be made of life." In an age of the fast answer, he asks the puzzling, fundamental questions about man's nature and

3

Well, would you want one of them to marry your sister?

Which reminds me of an old Jewish joke. A group of Germans (Cossacks, etc.) are going through a Russian village staging a pogrom. They come into a Jewish merchant's house and line the whole family against the wall-they start

-COMMENT

I am black but comely O ye daughters of Jerusalem! And I adjure you by the roes and by the hinds of the field That you do not stir up nor awaken love until it please.

(Continued on page 3)

Enchanted Garden

WHILE the music from the Fun Fair almost conical neck of the horse, the floats over the bird-laden trees, and arms that stretch forward to the horse's the sun shines down, we may wander mane and the two upward-tilted heads, over the grass of the riverside park at make an exciting and expressive com-Battersea and enjoy the sight of sculptures bination of forms.

among the bushes and trees. Even though you are not interested in sculpture the sculptures, even to the London and may not intend to be-you may even County Council, were not uninterrupted hate the stuff-this exhibition is enjoy- by guffaws, by the raising of eyebrows, able for the grass, the flowers, the nor by yawns, but Battersea is no place trembling leaves, and the coloured pin- to be high-falutin' or super-critical. It nacles and gilded balls of the Pleasure is a place to be happy, and the sculpture Gardens, which can be seen through is happy, too, released from the galleries them. After our desert of stone and where it is usually imprisoned. Even concrete we seem to have discovered a the over-civilised, over-intellectual, sterigreen oasis. The black presence of the lised and emotionless constructions looked gasworks looms over us still, but it takes a little more human on this green island, on a monumental grandeur seen beyond and who knows, after a few years, if the Giacometti figure, while against only they could stand out of doors per-Battersea power-station, a twentieth manently they might grow a little moss century cathedral to the glory of science, here and there, the surfaces would pouring hygienic white smoke into an un- weather and crack a little, and possibly fathomable sky, we can see Fritz families of birds might build nests in Wotruba's Human Cathedral, an angular them? architectural figure in limestone. Lehmbruck's bronze kneeling girl is a exhibition, the earliest are Meunier's gothically elongated, rhymical and lovely Docker (1884), and Rodin's Orpheus, work. She is alive and mysterious and both considered as "revolutionary" in their not to be dismissed with the word day as some of the pieces of the last few lyrical. The standing ceramic figure by years are now. Barlach is a presence not to be ignored, With a feeling of exhilaration we can with her windblown hair and cloak, her go and drink tea at a table under the widening form reaching up from tiny trees, and splash about in a boat in the feet to the large ecstatic head, she is lake, or taste the joys of the Pleasure a saintly and inspired figure and calls Gardens and the Fun Fair nearby, or forth a gasp of wonder as you come upon simply watch the water, the steamboats, her round the trees.

Our hymns of praise to the greenery, There are forty-four pieces in this the old paper bags and the dead dogs float under Chelsea Bridge before leaving the In the middle of the garden, Epstein's enchanted island and embarking on an Lazarus is stirring into life, loosening overloaded and groaning bus back into A.B.

Ethics Peter Kropotkin 12/6 "No better history of ethics has ever been written."-HERBERT READ.

The Good Soldier Schweik

Jaroslav Hasek 2/6 "An extraordinary fusion of 20th-century craftsmanship and a tradition which goes back to the folk-tales and fables of the literature of popular protest and revolt." - Times Literary Supplement.

The Islandman Tomás O'Crohan 12/6 New edition of the autobiography of an islander from the Great Blasket. A fascinating story of the hardships and adventures of a community living on the edge of poverty.

Round London with the Unicorn

G. W. Stonier 10/6 Illustrated essays, prose poems and Cockney idylls as the Unicorn strolls through London tilting his horn at the habits of the natives.

The Life of Francis Place

Graham Wallas 16/-Political thought and action in the early 19th century.

. . . Obtainable from

27 red lion st, london, W.C.1

THIS is the second annual volume re-

placing The Penguin Film Review. A long article of very great interest is "Nought for Behaviour", a study by Henri Storck and P. E. Sales-Gomes of the making of Jean Vigo's film "Zéro de Conduite", finished in 1933, the year before Vigo's last film "L'Atalante". The film's theme is the revolt of the boys at a horrible French boarding school, and if ever there was an anarchist film it was this, and it is interesting to learn from a footnote that Vigo's father Miguel Almercyda (1883-1917) was a "politically active journalist, contributor to the anarchist weekly Le Libertaire, and editor of Gustave Herve's La Guerre Sociale, which united socialists, anarchists and syndicalists in the anti-military and revolutionary struggle, founder and director of the leftwing republican daily evening paper Le Bonnet Rouge.

There is also an account of the film by Roger Manvell to assist readers who have not seen it. In London it was shown at the Academy soon after the war, and readers in places where the commercial cinemas won't touch it should join their local film society (or start one), if they want to get hold of the film.

Among the other articles in The Cinema 1951 (which also contains 125 photographs is Herbert Read's "Towards a Film Aesthetic".

destiny, the good life and how to live it. There is no neat and easy label for him, though "rational anarchist" comes close.

> -Time U.S.A.), 7/5/51, reviewing Santayana's Dominations & Powers (New York: Scribners).

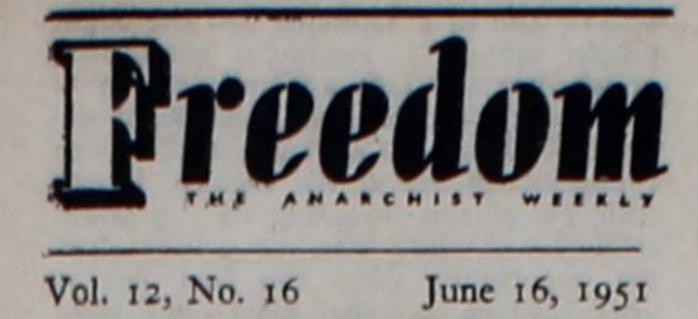
GODWIN'S NOVELS

A MONG the contents of the June issue of World Review (1/6) is a study by Angus Wilson of "The Novels of William Godwin". Mr. Wilson says: "It is, I believe, the conflicts and themes of the novels, their remarkable, if obsessionist, psychological insight, and their strange moral ambivalence that fill in the gaps in Godwin's political views, that refute the charge of naiveté, and reveal him not only as a courageous opponent of the cruelties and injustices that scarred the surface of eighteenth-century order and decency, but also as a man peculiarly sensitive to the spiritual terrors and despairs that lay beneath its intellectual composure and certainty."

The most celebrated of Godwin's novels, Caleb Williams, was discussed in a broadcast talk this week by Walter Allen.

the shroud that bound him and now falls the frozen sea of stone. in an intricate criss-cross pattern around his resurrected limbs.

Marini's horseman yearns fiercely to The L.C.C. Second International Open the sky. Rounded and simplified forms, Air Sculpture Exhibition is open from 10 the horse's and the man's legs echoing till dusk daily until September. (The first each other as they widen upwards, the exhibition was described in an illustrated stocky bodies of man and beast, the feature in "Freedom" 20/5/48.)



PSYCHIATRY AND THE LAW

THERE are a variety of ways in which an attempt can be made to understand conduct. In some periods and places where the influence of religion has been strong, what men do has been measured against a fixed yardstick of "right" and "wrong"; conformity means "righteousness", non-conformity, "wickedness". Exponents of this type of "explanation" -and it has not lacked eminent ones, Dr. Samuel Johnson, for one-are wont to add: "And there's an end of the matter." The social outlook behind such ideas is summed-up in the religious idea of original sin-that men are naturally wicked and are only made to act righteously by precept or fear. In fairness to religion in general, it is, however, well to remember that the founder of the Christian religion does not appear to have subscribed to this viewpoint.

It requires no deeper analysis to see that society did not play a very sympathetic or understanding or intelligent or moral rôle in this case. It is also clear that society does not accept its responsibility. The general verdict will undoubtedly be that he was "a wrong 'un". If he had not killed himself, society, through the law, would have hanged him.

But, despite Lord Goddard, one must not see solely a conflict between the progressive force of psychiatry and the reactionary force of law. The law has progressed to the grudging admittance of psychiatry up to a point. But psychiatry is heavily infected by the old attitudes also. Few sciences deal as clearly with the conflicts between individual men and women and their social environment. Yet few sciences are so reactionary in the struggle for progress. In this conflict the remedy of psychiatryand it applies equally to the more radical psychoanalysis-is not to change society, but to "adjust" the individual to society. Indeed, for them the conflict is often simply termed "maladjustment".

Take Nothing for Granted!

VERY often a small news item, tucked away in some out of the way part of a newspaper, can start a long train of thought which may make us review many ideas we had taken for granted, but which we now find were based on false assumptions.

Here, for instance, is one such item, an A.P. report from Johannesburg (7/6/51) where a 46-year-old Transvaal farmer was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for "allowing the 106 labourers on his farm to be lashed and beaten". In this country imagine what kind of an outcry there would be if it were revealed that say, somewhere in Norfolk, farm labourers were being treated in this way. Why, of course, such an occurrence would seem quite impossible; indeed, the idea of flogging even socalled criminals is fast dying out, and only finds vocal support among a few sadistic judges and ex-public school, ex-Indian Civil Service pucka-wallas. The idea of inflicting corporal punishment on children is also fast disappearing. Then suddenly you are confronted with the fact that in a civilised country adult workers, who are probably earning starvation wages, are still being treated as slaves, punished, at the instigation of their master, with the whip! The writer of this column it not so naïve as to have lived in a dream world until he read the news item quoted above. Yet somehow such specific cases shake one-or should.

At the Asian regional conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, for instance, the subcommittee on plantation workers pointed out that workers under the plantation system had been deprived of many basic economic and civil rights, and lived under conditions of semi-slavery. Such economy, says the report, was widespread in Asia and was controlled by a private group of producers enjoying enormous profits.

SLAVE ARMIES

A T the MacArthur Inquiry still sitting in Washington (by June 1st the Senate Committee had already accumulated one million and sixty thousand words of testimony!) one senator called for an investigation into what he described as a corrupt band of crooks who used United States aid to Nationalist China to enrich themselves. He said that United States gold worth \$200,000,000 No-one seems to deny these charges. In fact it seems to be common knowledge that Chiang's Government consisted of a "band of crooks". This does not deter American politicians from pressing for more aid for Chiang to build up an army to oppose the Communists (£6 million has been recently allocated to his Air Force), any more than it has not deterred them from sponsoring a new loan to Franco who is also surrounded by a bunch of crooks.

But then, the whole philosophy of America in this cold "ideological war" can be summed-up in the words of Senator Taft, who termed "nonsence" what he called Mr. Truman's suggestion that cutting down expenditure was "in some way inconsistent with a more aggressive war".

"It is cheaper to fight a war with the soldiers of foreign nations, even if we have to equip them, than with American boys, and there is much less loss of American life," he said. "The sooner we can end the Korean war by aggressive measures, the fewer lives we will lose and the less money we will spend."

In the past 150 years the idea has been gaining ground that men are by nature "good", that is to say, social. Such a view rejects original sin, and is on the whole rationalist in outlook. From it has sprung the science of psychology—the study of men's motives and thought processes.

This latter conception is, of course, much more complex than the original sin idea. It requires sympathy, understanding, and a recognition that the relationships of individuals to society and society to individuals is a powerful determinant of conduct. It recognises that society itself has certain duties and must accept responsibility in part for what its component individuals do. Such a standpoint is repugnant to the legal mind, for the law represents society as the impartial punisher, not as the sympathetic and understanding friend. Significantly enough, however, the law has had to bend and admit of the existence of psychology and psychiatry. How uneasily it accepts the facts of science and of humane progress is shown by the recent petulant outburst of the Lord Chief Justice against psychiatry and in favour of such substitutes for understanding as "a good thrashing" -whatever that may be. Now this dispute between law and reason is of interest to anarchists. We-and, of course, not we alonesee all around us the malign influence which an imperfect social environment exerts on human character. If we are honest about the dreadfulness of our society we shall be astonished at the resistance which individuals put up. The situation has been summcd-up by a modern theologian in the phrase "moral man in immoral society".

No doubt, the needs of short-term treatment require such an attitude, but it can only be justified if it went hand in hand with a long term attempt to reform and improve society. In answer to Lord Goddard, we do not demand more psychiatry but a better, more humane, altogether more radical psychiatry.

It may be argued that such cases are rare, and the punishment has been severe (five years' imprisonment). We doubt it. (£71,000,000) was handed to China under the aid programme. The Senator added:

"The clique round Chiang Kai-shek made huge profits from this transaction. We should investigate this corrupt transaction to determine whether this money has come back into this country for the purpose of influencing public opinion. The United States taxpavers have been robbed by this corrupt band of crooks in China."

Senator McMahon said the clique made huge profits by buying Chinese National Bank notes backed by the United States gold. We thought that it was illegal to buy and sell men—even with democratic dollars. But it's amazing what you can get away with these days by saying that you are doing it to preserve freedom from the Communist aggressor. Just as, of course, behind the Iron Curtain every kind of human atrocity can be committed in the name of the workers and for socialist emulation against wicked capitalist imperialist aggression!

"U.S. Business Outlook" Seen by a Canadian Journalist A YANK AT OXFORD

"WHOA, whoa, whoa," whoed Alice. She was breathless. But still the man kept running, heedless of her calls. The chase was futile. Alice stopped, rested, and rejoined the group.

"You should have let me go after him," said the Mad Hatter. "I'd have got him." "You wouldn't either," declared the Carpenter. He's an American. He's used to running. He runs either to catch up with somebody or to keep somebody from catching up with him." "More refrigerators," suggested Alice. "But I thought every American had a refrigerator. Does he want two?" The White Queen was getting puzzleder and puzzleder.

"He'd be able to make automobiles faster, too," suggested the Carpenter.

"But they already go 70, 80 and 90 miles an hour in America," said the White Queen hopelessly. "What I'd like to know is why Americans are always so busy producing so much of what they "Then why are they always rushing to save it?" The White Queen wasn't to be put off.

"So they can race against it," replied the Red Queen.

"And what does that get the United States?" asked the Mad Hatter.

"Ahead;" said Alice.

"And what does it get Great Britain, France, the other Benelux countries, and the rest of the nations in western Europe?" pursued the Mad Hatter.

CYNICISM OF POLITICIANS

The cynicism of politcians knows no bounds. Feelings of humanity play no part in successful politics. When you are in opposition you expect no quarter; but when you are in power you give no quarter. How much the politicians in those countries which were part of colonial empires relied on the support of all the political and nationalist movements to oust the imperialists and to prepare for the building up of their country once freed from the blood-sucking imperialist powers. The definition was a correct one, But as anarchists have always pointed out, one set of blood-sucking exploiters takes the place of the former masters, and

An outstanding and tragic example of all this was given recently by the youth of nineteen, with many convictions behind him already, who shot, a policeman and then killed himself during a gunning siege like any gangster film. This boy has been execrated by the press as a worthless delinquent who saw himself as a gangster. Yet the very same press provide a picture of a background which it makes no attempt to understand. The boy's father, according to the Daily Express, received "the D.C.M. for silencing a German machine-gun at Ypres and the M.M. for bayoneting back an attack on the Somme". From his earliest years therefore he knew that society honoured shooting and knifing in some circumstances. Such lessons are unlikely to have been erased by the second world war in which he spent his adolescence. His father favoured a thrashing: the law alternately, probation and prison. The lesson the boy learnt was that "nobody wants me".

"That's the trouble with the world," said Alice dejectedly. "Americans! They never slow down to enjoy the birds, the bees, the flowers—life."

"They're afraid to let life catch up with them," said the Carpenter consolingly.

"Why was he in such a hurry?" the Mad Hatter wanted to know.

"He only had a day," replied Alice, "and he was in a rush to use it."

"If I only had a day," declared the White Queen, "I'd be slow to use it." "He had to catch a train for Oxford," amplified Alice.

"How charming," said the White Queen. "I hope he enjoys the buildings. When a college is six or seven hundred years old it doesn't need ivy to be revered and respected."

"What prattle!" The Red Queen could be silent no longer. "A genuine American wouldn't go to Oxford to look at architecture!"

"Good gracious, no," agreed Alice, "he was going to look at a plant."

"A nature lover," said the White Queen. "That's just as nice."

"No," said Alice, "not flowers. A factory. He was going to visit the Pressed Steel Co., which was founded years ago by the Budd Co., of Philadelphia. They make refrigerators and automobile bodies. And he wanted to see if the British produced faster than Americans."

"If they did, would he be angry?" asked the White Queen. "He'd be extremely pleased," said Alice. "That would give him a reason to copy British methods, catch up with them and then get ahead of them." "That's not the British way," said the Carpenter. "We get annoyed at change." "Suppose he did find a better method, what would that get him?" asked the Red Queen. already have too much of."

"Do Americans ever enjoy what they have?" supplemented the Red Queen. "Oh, no, seldom ever," answered Alice. "They can't find the time. If ever an American stopped, to find time, another American would get ahead of him."

"Well, then, what do they do with the abundance they're too busy to enjoy?"

"They sell it to some country that doesn't have the dollars to pay for it," said Alice. "That's America's postwar economics."

The White Queen thought that over. "You mean the British and French have no time to enjoy gadgets but have no gadgets and the Americans have too many gadgets and no time, so they swap." Her face was lit up like Piccadilly Circus. She'd solved a world problem!

"Prattle," shouted the Red Queen. "Americans won't swap gadgets for time. When they have time on their hands, they're lost."

V. I. P.

Thrteen IRA extremists were lodged in Crumlin Jail last Sunday as a security measure during the Royal visit.

But James McIlvenny, the fourteenth suspect and said to be the most dangerous, escaped.

To-day, McIlvenny, thick-set and sallow, said: "I went on the run early last Sunday because I was warned that the police would pull me in. They always do when anyone important comes to Belfast. Five times I have been held like that. "Marshall Aid," responded Alice.

"Now we understand," said the two Queens in chorus, "why modern American economics is like Alice in Wonderland. The faster Americans produce, the farther they get ahead of the rest of the world. The farther ahead they get, the more they have to give away. That's the same as running faster and faster in order to stay in the same place!" And with that observation, the Queens picked up their trains and walked away. J. A. LIVINGSTON.

(Toronto Telegram.)

AMERICAN MINORITIES (Continued from page 2) 4

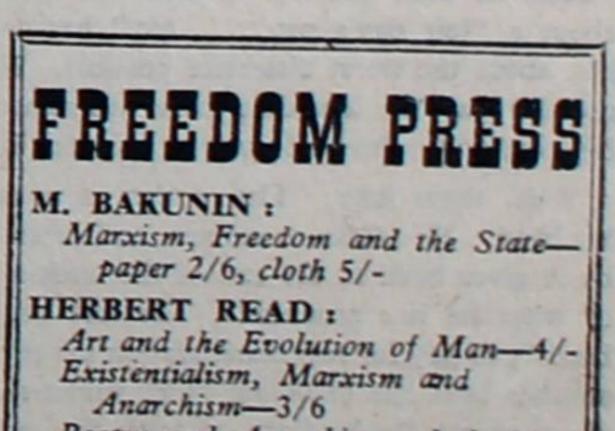
The Negro seems caught in a trap. Always hounded by the thought of falling still lower again when society gets into trouble. There have been about 3,833 lynchings in the U.S. since 1889. Onefifth were Whites. Taunted during periods of prosperity by visions of partial opportunities toward middle-class status (many Negroes do reach it and find it tastes like ashes); and caught like everyone else in the general maelstrom of the threatening war; split between a decadent rural South, the cradle of his Jazz, the ancestral roots of his culture, and a tinplated North of bleak and dirty industrial cities (as his only chance of economic survival), the Negro pours northward, "seeking a city". Here his life and music turn sour. He meets the culture of the White North, and his jazz, full of feeling of throbbing life combines with Northern shallowness to create-"swing" in the 'thirties, a noxious pastiche of sentiment that collapses in the frantic forties into schizoid "bop". Yet lately a new music is heard out of those same store-front churches where weddings and funerals also marked the beginnings of jazz. From the depths of his new-old misery comes the new Jazz-Spiritual. Although they are definitely spiritual (in the higher sense) they are not the old-time religion. There is something both earthly and exultant about them. They are tough and sweet at the same time. They express the common Negro's determination to triumph, to struggle over himself and all his obstacles; to have the spirit move him; to love. They are frowned upon by the upperclass Negroes and are practically unknown to the Whites. Many of these records have been banned from the air as sacrilegious. The Negro's struggle, like his art, is unending.

for the poor peasant or worker things change but little.

Think back on the prolonged struggle by the Indonesian people against the Dutch in connection with the following A.P. report from that country (6/6/51): "Indonesia to-day released 950 political prisoners, including some Dutchmen, to ease the financial burden placed on the government by a total of 70,500 political detainees and to give them a chance to assist in the reconstruction of the country."

What can match for cynicism the reasons given for releasing one-seventieth of the total number of political prisoners than that it was "to ease the financial burden placed on the government"? And how many of those 70,500 must have been in the Resistance movement against the Dutch!

LIBERTARIAN.



"On New Year's Day I was paraded for ten hours so that every policeman in Belfast would know my face." —Daily Herald, 4/6/51.

NO PRIVATE JAILS IN S. AFRICA ?

THE South African Department of Prisons had not received sufficient funds for the building of jails to cope with the increased admissions, says Mr. J. Kachelhoffer, Director of Prisons in his annual report for 1949 just published. The report explains the establishment of outstations "in order to remove certain erroneous impressions which appear to have gained currency in uninformed quarters", and states that there are no "private jails" in the Union.

During 1947 favourable consideration was given to a proposal that a prison outstation should be erected by "private interests" and placed under the Department's control. "As the experiment proved satisfactory, the system was extended. This step enabled the Department to relieve congestion at some penal institutions in the large urban areas by transferring prisoners with sentences of from six months to two years' hard labour to the outstations."

Mr. Kachelhoffer says "it will thus be apparent that allegations to the effect that it is mainly Natives who have been convicted under the pass and tax laws only who are sent to these outstations, are wholly devoid of truth".

His report concludes by stating that during the year hired-out prison labour earned £126,291. (The next article will deal with the Jews in America.)

Poetry and Anarchism, cloth 5/-, paper 2/6 The Philosophy of Anarchismboards 2/6, paper 1/-The Education of Free Men-1/-GEORGE WOODCOCK : Anarchy or Chaos-2/6, cloth 4/6 New Life to the Land-6d. Railways and Society-3d. Homes or Hovels?-6d. What is Anarchism?-1d. The Basis of Communal Living-1/-**ALEXANDER BERKMAN:** A.B.C. of Anarchism-1/-**JOHN HEWETSON:** Ill-health, Poverty and the Statecloth 2/6, paper 1/-PETER KROPOTKIN : The State: Its Historic Rôle-1/-The Wage System-3d. Revolutionary Government-3d. Organised Vengeance Called Justice -2d. M. L. BERNERI : Workers in Stalin's Russia-1/-27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.I.

FREEDOM

Rise and Fall of the Labour The From Keir Hardie to Steven Hardie

THE rise and fall of the British labour movement may be a subject of interest to historians of the future, and it is even more pressing a subject of interest to the worker of to-day, particularly to the militant who may perhaps rejoice at the end of the farce of political Labourism but who does not want to empty the baby out with the bathwater and wishes to retain the positive assets which he has achieved for himself within the labour movement.

Political labourism began in what seemed to many to be an integral part of the labour movement-the representation of the workers by conscious socialistswith bluff, honest Keir Hardie in his cloth cap (as the journalists insisted on) entering the top-hatted assembly of the Tories and Liberals with a belief in their divine right to govern. It ends in Steven Hardie-no doubt equally honest according to his own lights, but how different are the lights of the self-made millionaire to those of the miners' champion!throwing a cocktail party at the Dorchester to steel and trade union bosses, to celebrate his taking over the iron and steel monopoly, nationalised by the Labour Party which he at some time joined.

times by Marxism, sometimes by Trade Unionism-or even all at the same time) worked fervently for the new dawn that they believed would come. The old Robert Blatchford school comes to mind. Blatchford knew nothing of socialism, of course, but he was of the working-classes and understood them, and out of that early pioneer period came the Lansburys who gained the affection of the workers and remained close to them in spite of high office. Out of that time, too, came the MacDonalds. Naturally, the Labour Party (until it took part in the Coalition of 1940, at least) reviled the name of MacDonald and to this day his is synonymous with Judas Iscariot in many miners' lodges, and yet MacDonald will forever be indelibly associated with the Labour Party (as distinct from the labour movement in general)-he is the typical socialist politician, with all the tricks of the trade, and the Labour Party has been cast in his mould. When the MacDonalds and Snowdens left it, there had to be another to carry on. The man has been

Hardie.

ioned the old Tory Party. Likewise in the imperialist fashion and likewise by casting aside the movement that built it up. Just as the Tory leader used the old landed gentry and aristocracy to get into power, and then fashioned the party into the most formidable weapon of the rising class of capitalists (up to that time associated only with the Whigs), so Morrison has used the labour movement to fashion his new style party. It is a party to further the interests of bureaucrats and lawyers, which may well (as its leaders would claim) stand for reforms and Empire and the whole bag of promises as well, but it is no longer the workers' party, no longer the heir of Keir Hardie, its more typical representative is Steven

We need hardly go into the faults of the movement fashioned by Keir Hardie. As Anarchists we always believed political socialism would lead to this, and that is the greatest condemnation of their achievement. But now that Labour has obtained power, we can see-without any great degree of consolation in the factthat it has justified our expectations. In parliamentary democracy organised labour must sooner or later form the government, hence the belief of the older socialists in political action; all they did not foresee was that in the process "organised labour" would turn into a mere Tammany machine.

Movement

idea to bring even their most beneficial ideas into being. The main outstanding feature of socialist administration has been the evolution of a new ruling class, the bureaucracy of nationalised industry, which indeed is also recruited from trade union levels (in the same way that the American party machine gives jobs to all its functionaries on a lower level, once the party attains office, naturally recognising that there is no other incentive to support Tweedledum against Tweedledee), but which also is the old rulingclass in new suits. Steven Hardie, even with a fully paid up membership card, is still a millionaire boss whether the Left

READERS' LETTERS THE R.C. CHURCH

DEAR FRIENDS,

I hope I will not tax your patience by attempting an answer to the questions you ask in your comment on my letter. You state "a member of the Roman Catholic Church who accepts the authority of the Church must, by the fact of his membership, lend his support to every form of intolerance that the Church instigates". This would be true if all Catholics accepted a party line in political and social matters. But they don'tand, such being the case, is it not more accurate to take that into account and to condemn the attitude of specific officials or laypeople in the Church rather than Catholicism as such? The Bishops and priests (particularly in the Basque region) who opposed Franco, some at the loss of their lives, were as much part of the Church as was Cardinal Goma. So also were the anti-Franco Catholics as represented by such as Jacques Maritain and George Bernanos. From these, and similar instances, I should think it would be apparent that Catholics do not regard such matters as within the scope of the Church's infallibility.

attacks him as a capitalist and the Right praises him as a successful enterpriser, or whether the Left applauds him as a public-spirited official and the Right denounces him as a bureaucrat. The Conservatives are at the moment having their bit of fun attacking the "Socialist millionaires"-and who can grudge them the opportunity when the boot has so often been on the other foot?-but, however slow they may be to realise it (and the Liberals' failure to appreciate economic changes last century led to their political extinction), the modern totalitarian society demands a new type of capitalist, and the State is being transformed accordingly. The wiser elements of the ruling-class make haste to secure their places-and, of course, the aristocracy has not been slow this time in securing the plums of State jobs (particularly the Civil Service-above all, the diplomatic service- so essential in times of perpetual war) to which its record of international intrigue entitle it, as much as the trade union leaders' record of bamboozling the workers on all major issues entitle them to seats at the board-A.M. room. (To be concluded)

The old labour movement was more than the Labour Party, it was a movement of socialists of many shades, who had in common a belief in a new society and who (however muddled some of their thinking was, sometimes clouded by Anglicanism and Noncomformity, some-

found in Herbert Morrison (likewise a product of the old labour movement). Morrison has completed, without fuss, the work MacDonald might have done had the trade unions followed him in 1931, and if the Tories can hold a Primrose Day in aid of Disraeli, the 'Socialists' of the future might well throw a few herbs at Morrison's grave.

Labour Party, in the way Disraeli fash-

The representatives of labour in the House of Commons, being mostly law-Morrison has fashioned the new yers, have naturally produced a great deal of legislation, but it needed no socialist

NEXT STEP-5 SYNDICALISM - THE WORKERS' THE WAGE SYSTEM

THE driving force behind industry in capitalist society is the profit motive. Those who own or control the means of production do so for the purpose of extracting profit from them by exploiting the labour of those who have "nothing to sell but their labour power". Human needs are not the first consideration; profit is, and perfectly useless articles will be produced by the million if people can be persuaded to buy them, while necessities will be destroyed if profit economy demands it.

Examples of this are too well known to need stressing here. The systematic destruction of food-wheat, coffee, potatoes, fish, vegetables-is a regular feature of the capitalist world, and goes on while millions of people throughout the world have not enough to eat. They have not enough because they can't afford to buy what is there, and since it would be "unprofitable" to lower the price to a level where they would be able to buy, the food has to be destroyed in order to keep the price up. It would be fatally easy at this point to launch into a complicated explanation of the workings of capitalist economy, but I have no wish to do that. Nor, in fact, is it necessary to do so. The average worker is quite content to agree with William Morris when he says:

through currency exchange, interest and all the business of banking. Money has no relationship whatsoever to real wealth, which is the material product of man's labour applied to the raw materials of the earth.

It was Oscar Wilde who once described somebody as "knowing the price of everything and the value of nothing" and through money, wages and salaries, capitalist society puts a price on everybody's labour. But it is a purely artificial figure, for what cannot be expressed in money terms is the value of labour. Or are we really to believe that a crooner earning £2,000 a week at the Palladium is worth as much to society as the two hundred skilled miners whose wage bill might come to that? If an agricultural labourer is worth £4 10s. 0d. a week, is a Barrister really worth £400? Or a Cabinet Minister £100. Or a black marketeer-whatever he makes.

And that is why my reference to the French Revolution may sound odd to you but not to an informed Catholic who realises that the Church could reverse her position on that score precisely because there was no matter of essential principle involved. One would not, for example, find the Church reversing herself on the doctrine of the Assumption-but it would not surprise me at all, should anarchism ever be realised, to find th Church reconcile herself to it. I do not mean, as you seem to suggest, that "the day before the 'Proper adjustments' were made, Catholics accepted the authority of the Church in believing one thing, but altered their opinions next day in obedience to authority." As you must know there were Catholics, clerical and lay, who supported the French Revolution from the beginning and in spite of the opposition of many of the hierarchy. And so (speaking for myself) I now accept a viewpoint that is unpopular with most of the hierarchy, I am not waiting for a fait accompli to change the hierarchy. Those of us who think this way hope to influence our fellow Catholics in this direction and eventually the clergy.



June 1st to June 9th :

Hessle: K.T. 6d.: Houghton le Spring: A.B. 3/-: Cambridge: C.L.D.* 5/-; Glasgow: A.Mc.D.* 4/-: London: L.G.W.* 5/-: Madras: K.S.R. 1/-: Los Angeles Man Group: per J.S. £11/13/0; London: B.M. 1/6: New Brunswick: W.S. 7/2: Romiley: P.H.B. 2/6: Manchester: G.G. 2/6: London: F.E.D.* 5/-: London: Anon 6d.; New York: N.E. 7/-: London: A.M. 5/-: Wooler: J.R.* 2/7: London: G.T. 5/-: Dovercourt: L.C.W.* 10/-; Gosport: F.G.* 5/-; New York: S.G. £1/8/0; London: J.P.B.* 5/-.

Total Previously acknowledged	 16	18	37
I SALLY THE DESIDENT OF A STATE	 	7	5
Gift of Books : C.W.			-

"It is enough political economy for me to know that the idle class is rich and the working class is poor, and that the rich are rich because they rob the poor."

Although, I must admit, there are many workers who not only do not see that they are robbed, but will strenuously deny it. This is understandable, of course, for nobody likes to admit that he is being cheated every day of his life. It makes him feel a bit of a fool. So he will mumble something about getting a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, and about how it's only right the boss should get more because he put money into the factory, and takes more responsibility-and so on.

But, in fact, whoever it was who first coined that phrase about a "fair day's pay . . . etc." has done the working-class just about the worst disservice possible. For it established in a popular way the idea that there was something fair in working for somebody else and getting paid for it.

Well, there isn't. The worker is a man with a pistol at his head. He works or starves, and when he works for a boss, he is given back at the end of the week a fraction of the value of what he has produced. The rest goes to "meet the overheads", to pay for raw materials (on the production side of which another boss has exploited other workers), to pay for the boss' plant, to pay the landlord, to cover the costs of the unproductive employees, to keep the boss and his family and the shareholders and their families and-of course-to pay taxes to the government to protect the boss' property. All this and many things I expect I have left out-have to be paid for by the productive workers. And by giving him a wage, the employer deceives him that he is getting a fair return for his labour! Syndicalists are completely opposed to the wage system, and are not interested in continually fighting for extra fractions when it is obvious that a worker's wage can never represent even the money value of what he produces, let alone the social value. And the usefulness of the gains the unions are so proud of winning for their members are shown-in the present inflationary period, blatantly-to be purely temporary and ineffective. A wage increase this week is nullified by increased prices next week, and it is a stupid waste of energy to continually chase that will-o'-the-wisp, a living wage.

Of course not, and yet the peculiar thing about the money system is that the more useful you are to society, the less money are you likely to get for your efforts. Agricultural workers produce our food, miners our source of power, light and heat, building workers our shelter, clothing workers our clothes, sewage workers prevent disease, transport workers distribute the things we need-all these (and others) supply the absolute necessities of life but are among the lowest paid members of the community. They do the hardest, dirtiest work, and get the least reward.

There are many and various theories put forward to deal with this problem. At best reformist and at worst absurd, they nearly all cling to the idea that some form of money is desirable. There is the system of labour tickets, whereby tickets are given to the worker according to the number of "socially useful" labour hours he has spent in making his product. The tickets can be exchanged, at certain rates, for the goods he needs.

Anarchists and Syndicalists, however, think that there is only one thing to do with the wage and money system-abolish it. There is no just way of assessing the socially useful labour of one against another, and with the abolition of money, millions of people would be released from unproductive occupations in offices and banks who could play their part in useful production and at one and the same time help to create the abundance that is possible and shorten the working hours necessary to do it.

Should we then return to barter? No, not even that. Most production to-day is social production. And everybody to a greater or lesser extent, depends on everybody else. Our knowledge, our skill, our environment, are the heritage of countless men and women of the past from whom we have learned, and it is quite impossible to say truthfully what is mine and what is thine, so how can any of us claim the right to barter a certain amount of one product for a certain amount of another. All we can do is to give to society the best that we are able, and take from it that which we need. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need" is the only basis for social equality. All our needs may be different, but we can have the same opportunity to satisfy them. All our abilities may be unequal, but no man can do more than his best.

As for the question of birth control, you suggest I ask my parish priest. During my time here I have spoken with many priests on the subject. Some of them agree with my attitude and some do not-and that's about all I could say to that. All of us must oppose the attempt of any group, Catholic or non-Catholic, to legislate morality. Where I differ with you is that I do not think one has to leave the Church to engage in this fight-I prefer, what to you must seem an impossible task, of working for a libertarian mentality in the Church.

Catholicism should be accepted freely or not at all. This is the teaching of her best theologians, and, if this is adhered to, it should not be a threat to anyone's freedom. Where it is such a threat it is because it has been mixed up with

ANNOUNCEMENTS and an and the second of the second sec LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP **OPEN-AIR MEETINGS** at HYDE PARK Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m. INDOOR MEETINGS Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at the PORCUPINE (corner Charing Cross Road at Gt. Newport Stree:, next Leicester Sq. Underground Stn.) JUNE 17-Tony Gibson on YOUTH FOR FREEDOM (Film Show and Lecture) NORTH-EAST LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM Every alternate Tuesday at 7.30 Enquiries c/o Freedom Press

JUNE 26-Harold Gilbert on SYNDICALISM

SOUTH LONDON

Fortnightly meetings, sponsored by the S. London Anarchist Group, are held on alternate Tuesdays, at 7.30 p.m. at the KENTISH DROVERS Public House, Peckham (corner of High Street and Rye Lane) HINE 10 John Hawatson on

As a radio comedienne recently put it: "Just when you think you will manage to make both ends meet, somebody moves the ends!"

Money, itself, is an artificial economic invention. At one time based upon something which was considered precious (gold), it is now not even that. The argument that it is merely a convenient means of exchange, now no longer holds water, since money is a commodity to be bought and sold and profited upon

The institutions of the State and private property absorb the energies of millions of conscientious, hard-working folk, bribed into monotonous, boring and useless toil. To break the shackles of money and the State would release such a tremendous social initiative that all the petty arguments about "What will you do with the lazy man?" and "Who would do the dirty work?" would fade into the insignificance they merit. When people are free and equal, they can be really constructive and social beings.

PHILIP SANSOM.

Next Week: THE MEANS OF STRUGGLE.

This series, which will consist of about eleven articles, will be reprinted this summer as a pamphlet.

political and social elements not essential to the Faith and in no wise binding on the Catholic. And while I do not expect or desire that you should cease attacking reactionary Catholics 'I do wish you would see that there are Catholics who agree with your criticism of them and who are with you in your desire for a free society in which no-one's liberty is infringed. New York. Sincerely, ROBERT LUDLOW.	JUNE 19—John Hewetson on THE FRENCH TERRORISTS ANI PROPAGANDA OF THE DEED GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS af MAXWELL STREET Every Sunday at 7 p.m. With John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Jimmy Raeside, Eddie Shaw
[Yes, we do feel that Robert Ludlow has set himself "an impossible task". As to a "party line in political and social matters", see the article on the Irish General Elections (Freedom, 2/6/51).—EDS.] HOW, INDEED ! The governmentalists claim that govern- ment is necessary because people are in- capable of governing themselves, but if people are incapable of governing them- selves, how is it they are capable of choosing others to govern them? If people are capable of governing them- selves—then why have governments? London. S. E. PARKER.	FREEDOM The Anarchist Weekly Postal Subscription Rates 12 months 17/- (U.S.A. \$3.00) 6 months 8/6 (U.S.A. \$3.00) 6 months 8/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50) 3 months 4/6 (U.S.A. \$0.75) Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies 12 months 27/- (U.S.A. \$4.50) 6 months 13/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25) Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers. FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers. FREEDOM PRESS 27 Red Lion Street London, W.C.1 England Tel.: Chancery 8364

Express Printers, London, E.1, Published by Prosdom Press, 27 Red Lien Street, London, W.O.I. Printed by