

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The human mind is like an umbrella. It functions best when open."

—WALTER GROPIUS

SOME THOUGHTS ON BEVINISM

Reg. 1305 and After

THE withdrawal of Regulation 1305 is an interesting commentary on the recent trial of the dockers on a charge of breaking it. It is an effective reply to those cautious workers who hang back on strikes, the people who say that it's no use taking action, that "they" are too strong, "they" can do this to you, "they" won't stand for that, etc. . . . The fact is that "they" were compelled to retract and take away the serflike clause which was determined to prevent strikes.

Needless to say another regulation has been made to replace it, but whatever loopholes the lawyers may later find in it, however wide the State feels it can prosecute its powers, the fact that 1305 had to be withdrawn is a little landmark both to those who try to stem the flood of unofficial strikes and those who say "they" can always get you for it . . .

The Ministry of Labour is still committed to the Bevinite policy, however. This is a small token of resistance, but the avowed industrial policy of the Government is still the same. The whole doctrine must be clearly examined and understood and when it is exposed this will not be the only bridle to be discarded.

Bevinism In Perspective

Ernest Bevin was a major disaster to the labour movement. His last days spent at the Foreign Office tend to obscure the long history of Bevinism in the industrial field. If his foreign policy was disastrous, it was, after all, nothing novel: it was only remarkable insofar as it displayed so clearly that a Labour Government would always be relied on to pursue the same imperialist foreign policy as a Conservative Government. They relied on the same advice, in deference to the same interests, and if it had not been that the rival imperialism was one with so many unpaid press agents in every country, Bevin's policy would have been more clearly seen. As it was, the Muscovites' denunciation of Bevin tended to obscure reasonable criticism.

In industrial relations, however, Bevinism is not identical with Toryism. The classical Tory relationship to the working-class is patronage; the only solution they have ever offered to industrial exploitation (when they have got round to admitting it existed) is seen in the idea of relief: the whole problem of pre-war unemployment they thought could be solved with "relief for the distressed". By the time the dead hand of Whitehall had got to work on the relief the very name stank.

The basic idea of Toryism is repression of the working-classes. They have become in opposition forced to kowtow a little to public opinion (how they must hate it) but the same old Tory is seen when you read every day the continual jokes and jeers about trade unionism, and then note the moral storm which blows up when a Cabinet Minister makes one small jocular reference to the Stock Exchange. . . .

Bevin, however, incorporated trade unions in the Government machinery. It does so happen that this has been taking place under a Labour Government, but it was in 1940, under Churchill, that the process first began. The socialistic idea of State control and the private interests of the trade union bosses went well together . . . you could get the social-democratic "revolution" not only as Blatchford envisaged it "without the loss of a day's work or a day's pay" but with the old disciples getting a very profitable day's work and a day's pay . . .

The result of trade union participation in the Government has been that the State has since 1940 had an active interest not only in "peaceful industrial relations" but also in what were under the Tories internal affairs of trade unionism. For instance, breakaway unionism. But the biggest problem trade union leaders have to face is that once they have consolidated themselves in office, on the base, perhaps of their militancy forty years ago, they have to face the new generation of militants as well as the rank-and-file of the old militants, who if they cannot get better through union machinery will get it unofficially. Hence these regulations and restrictions, and why you get 1305's which are sometimes so restrictive that they prove to be quite unworkable, and so unjust that even when by the letter of

the law people are practically found guilty, juries find themselves reluctant to make themselves party to the vendetta made law.

The most typical industrial laws in the Bevinite tradition are of course the laws which tend to make the worker in an essential job a thing apart. First of all Bevin tried to sweep the whole country into one industrial net—and conscript all and sundry for the mines. The "Bevin Boy" period was so discreditable a failure that one stands amazed at the party system which protects our statesmen so ably. Wholesale direction having failed, and in the post-war period Bevin's successors being unable to put forward any plan to bring outside labour into the mines by force, we get special laws to keep the miners in the mines, as well as, for instance, laws that prevented an engineering worker from leaving his job but obviously did not affect a stock-Governmental posts dealing with industry in the hands of the "socialists" and posts dealing with business and the armed forces in the hands of the Tories.

broker or even a City clerk. In the old days of patronage it is doubtful if any Tory would have dared to do it. With the certain opposition of the unions he could never have carried it through. But the Bevinites felt, perhaps sincerely, that the worker was their private property. "They're our lads" they told the successive Premiers proudly, and the only real adroitness Churchill showed during the war, outside his publicity, was to get the

Should the Tories return to power the major aim of Bevin's successors in the trade union movement will be to keep as much of their industrial relations machinery intact as possible. And why should the Tories, except from stupidity, seek to destroy it? It is their shield against another 1926. The "enlightened" Tories (that is to say, those connected with business and the ownership of industry) know it; the "backward" Tories (deriving their wealth from hereditary land-owning, from agriculture or the armed forces) may refuse to see it, but can the City afford the luxury of letting the latter have the power?

There is thus no real chance of the major effects of Bevinism being mitigated by a swing of the political pendulum either way. The extent of the unrest and discontent with which the whole policy affects the factories, workshops and mines is the extent by which it will be abolished by whittling down. Regulation 1305 is only a minor issue compared with all the other powers they either have in reserve or can vote themselves if need be. So long as they terrify they are useful, but when they lose their power and cause irritation even a Cabinet Minister can tell they are useless.

The answer lies in revolutionary syndicalism; in a break from the idea of industrial relations, trade union officials in the State, political participation, workers' organisation by arrangement with the authorities; and a swing to the idea of voluntary organisation from below, free local association in industry, workers' control and not State control. The very existence of these ideas amongst the workers will sweep away a hundred more restrictions and regulations. When they are put into effect they will sweep away the whole edifice of capitalism and the State.

A.M.

PECKHAM HEALTH CENTRE

The Experiment Ends

THE directors of the Pioneer Health Centre, Peckham issued a report last week on the closing down of the Centre last year, through lack of funds, and the unsuccessful attempts to find financial backing which finally led to the land, building and equipment being sold to the London County Council in May.

When at the end of the war the directors were "faced with a clamour from the original member families for the Centre to be re-opened and with their spontaneous proposal for the doubling of their weekly family subscription to meet the rising costs of maintenance", they still had no assurance of money to meet the cost of repainting and re-equipping the building which had been used as a factory during the war. But, "whereas caution dictated no action until a financial future could be foreseen to guarantee continuity of the work, faith and need urged immediate action". With a 3-year grant from the Halley Stewart Trust, they did re-open, although "the financial strain from the moment of re-opening was an acute one". Their difficulties were very great, for example they could not give security of employment to the research staff, nor guarantee that the work they started on would ever be concluded. "One scientific instrument ordered the first month after re-opening, was actually delivered two weeks after we were forced to shut."

But there were enormously encouraging factors. "Of the 875 families (roughly 3,000 individuals) in continuous membership when war broke out, 550 original families (2,000 individuals) rejoined immediately and presented themselves at once for health overhaul", and there were many new member families. There was no repetition of the confusion which followed the opening of the centre in 1935; original member-families walked in and took up their old associations and activities "as though they had only left the night before."

In particular, the directors noticed that the original members were more anxious to have their health overhaul and family

consultation again even than to resume the centre's social activities and that many young married couples used both the consulting and social services with a greater understanding and ease than their parents had done. Children born during the war, whose parents were members before the war, displayed a far greater confidence and familiarity with the conditions of the club than children of new post-war members.

Within six months of re-opening, the member families had asked for their own centre school for their children, which was opened in 1947 with upwards of forty children. Since the centre was closed, the members have hired a local hall and are carrying on the school themselves without outside assistance in its direction, staffing or finance.

For although the centre had become a source of interest and inspiration all over the world, ("during the last 15 months of the Centre's work, we received at Peckham no less than 12,000 visitors, one-third of whom came from abroad"), its post-war financial difficulties worsened.

It was unable to raise money by public appeal or from foundations for the promoting of scientific research. When the director of one of the largest foundations was approached he said that, much as it would like to do so, the foundation could not help the centre lest, in his words, this "might be contrary to the undefined policy of the Government." The report observes that this appears to have been the general attitude of all the foundations whom it approached.

The Halley Stewart Trust "on their own initiative" then assembled a small impartial committee to report on the possibility of including the Centre's activities within the terms of the National Health Act. "With the results of this Committee's findings, the Trust proceeded to approach the Ministry of Health. It appeared, however, that Peckham in principle was deemed to be contrary to the policy of that Ministry. We have it on the highest authority—the Ministry of Health through the London County Council as Regional administrators of the Health Act—that Peckham could not receive their support because it could not be fitted into the existing administrative (regional) scheme. Its administrative irregularities are the following:— (1) It is concerned exclusively with the study and cultivation of Health; not with the treatment of disease. (2) It is based exclusively on the integrated family, not the individual. (3) It is based exclusively on a 'locality': it has no 'open' door. (4) Its basis is contributory (2/- per week per family): not free. (5) It is based on autonomous administration and so does not conform to the lines of administration laid down by the Ministry. To these must be added that Peckham arose out of an original conception which extends into a region beyond the ambit of present-day Medicine and Hygiene, and therefore it is not eligible to receive the enabling stamp of Authority."

The member-families were themselves instrumental in bringing the centre's difficulties to the notice of Parliament, and (Continued on page 2)

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

WHEN THINKING IS A CRIME

AMONG the many pious things Mr. Morrison said in his message to the Russian people is that "truth can only be arrived at if there is freedom to hear different points of view; only then can people sift them and determine for themselves what they consider to be the truth". We cannot quarrel with such sentiments. In practise however, it never works, not even in the "democracies"!

The position to-day is that in some countries there is still the "freedom to hear different views" but for one reason or another the "different views" do not get published, whilst in others—and not only behind the Iron Curtain—that freedom does not exist at all. And we must add that the general trend is towards a suppression of all freedom to hear different views. We can already hear our critics condemning us for such "sweeping statements". "After all you are allowed to publish *Freedom* which you wouldn't be able to do if you lived in Russia". We have never had illusions about the Russian system, and *Pravda's* reply to Morrison confirms it.

"In the U.S.S.R. freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of organisations does not exist for enemies of the people, for the landlords and capitalists overthrown by the revolution. Nor does it exist for incorrigible thieves, for subversive agents, terrorists and assassins sent in by foreign secret services, etc., etc. . . . The prisons and labour camps exist for these gentlemen and for them only". And the argument is developed along these lines: that since during the past fifty years the Russian people have tried all kinds of political parties and have found the Communist the only "anti-capitalist" party, they are "naturally" giving it "their whole-hearted support". "What can Mr. Morrison put forward against this historical fact?" asks *Pravda*. "Does Mr. Morrison think that, for the sake of a dubitable rigmarole with an Opposition, the wheel of history should be turned back and these long-deceased parties brought back to life?" The implication is that there is nothing better for the Russian people than to be governed by the Communist Party, so why waste time discussing ideas. And of course it is the Communist Party that decides such questions!

Now my reason for quoting this is to point to the fact that the trend in the "democratic" countries is the same. In their case they say "the democratic way is the only way and we shall defend it to the last man whether you like it or not". And just as Stalin finds the "potential aggressors from the West" a very useful argument for consolidating his régime through fear, so the motley collection of "democrats" are gradually stifling all progressive ideas in their own countries by pointing to the Communist menace as the only alternative to the existing political structure.

THE CAPACITY TO THINK

WHAT use then is freedom to hear different points of view when the capacity "to sift them, etc. . . ." has been, by a subtle psychological process based on fear, taken away? This is not an exaggeration. There are, for instance, millions of fervent Catholics in the world to-day who without any threat of physical violence, of torture or imprisonment, voluntarily shut their minds to any discussion on the validity of their belief. They do not live behind the Iron Curtain, but in the so-called democracies where they are "free to hear different points of view" and "sift them, etc. . . ." Yet they don't.

From this we must conclude that "freedom to hear different viewpoints, etc. . . ." is far from being a guarantee that in countries where such conditions exist the people must therefore be free, though it is obviously a necessary condition for freedom.

How to free people's minds is a subject outside the scope of this commentary. But a statement made many years ago by the present Pope's predecessor comes to mind, and I think is worth quoting because it can be applied to politics, nationalism and all the other brakes on mental freedom, and more than hints at the real problem. He said: "The [Catholic] schools are more important in some ways than the Churches. If we do not save our children's Faith in the schools, there would be no congregations in the Churches." (*Universe*, 27/11/1936).

In America, in particular, though in this country, France and Italy too, it would seem that democracy versus Com-

munist has for a large section of the community become a question on which there is no discussion. The only alternative to democracy is Communism. Therefore anyone who attacks "democracy" must be a Communist, an enemy, a subversive agent and "the prisons and labour camps exist for these gentlemen". What is the difference between their attitude and that of the de-brained Russian worker who laps up the vitriolic demagoguery of *Pravda* without a critical thought passing through his head?

PERMANENT STATES OF "EMERGENCY"

BUT what is the position for that minority of people in the "democracies" who want, in Mr. Morrison's words "to draw independent conclusions for themselves". Have they access to all the views and news which, he insists, is so necessary for the Russians if they are to know what is going on in the world.

The answer is that it depends where you live, the colour of your skin and, a most important consideration, whether there is an Emergency. Because when there is an Emergency it goes without saying that every patriotic citizen will be solidly behind his country's Government in their efforts to confound the enemy, and those who are not do not deserve "freedom" if they are not prepared to die for it when their government tells them it is in danger. Such is the vicious circle created by the politicians to maintain themselves in power and to stifle any real opposition or independent thinking. And the 1938 Emergency created by "the Hitler menace" has been with us ever since.

In Italy, for instance, de Gasperi remains in power because of the Red bogey which he naturally exploits up to the hilt. He now feels strong enough to declare when presenting his new Cabinet to the Senate last week that not only had he refused passports to seventy delegates to the East Berlin youth rally but that "from now on we shall seek to prevent this [Italian Communist] Senators and deputies who used foreign radio stations to attack Italian foreign policy and the Italian parliament] and we shall examine each

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STEEL FAMINE AND HOUSING

IN the same East London borough as the Festival exhibition of architecture at Lansbury, the Poplar council has stopped work on new flats whose foundations had been built, because of lack of steel.

This is not an isolated case, for we learn from the *South London Press* (13/7/51) that:

"The shortage of steel for civilian use, caused by the rearmament drive, is severely slowing down rehousing in London, despite the Government's assurance in the Economic Survey that the homes programme will not be touched. Latest casualties of the steel crisis are two big Camberwell housing schemes—the Lordship-lane estate of 186 dwellings and the 104 flats and eight shops to be built on the Denmark-hill site. The sites have been cleared and prepared, but now the work will probably have to be stopped for between 18 months and two years until sufficient steel becomes available."

ANARCHIST ASPECTS OF THE PECKHAM EXPERIMENT

'A SORT OF ANARCHY'

"As one of our colleagues remarked—It seems that a 'sort of anarchy' is the first condition in any experiment in human applied biology. This condition is also that to which our members most readily respond . . ."

"In the Centre the question is often asked by visitors—'Is it the personality of one or other of the staff or the staff as a whole that gives this atmosphere a sort of desirable order? Or is it the thing called 'atmosphere of the Centre', which again may be a compound of the personality of the staff and the members themselves? Or again, is it some more fundamental subjective condition inherent in the human organisms (e.g. altruism or its antithesis egoism) which creates this autonomous order and of which the so-called atmosphere is but the objective symbol?"

"Clearly these are very pertinent questions, the answers to which must come by direct inquiry and experiment. For this seeming anarchy demanded by our members is the operation of something contained in the material and worthy of analysis. Further, any imposed action or activity becomes a study of authority, discipline or instruction and not the study of free agents plus their self-created environment."(d)

John Burroughs has stated that experimental study of animals in captivity is absolutely useless. Their character, their habits, their appetites undergo a complete transformation when torn from their soil in field and forest. With human nature caged in a narrow space, whipped daily into submission, how can we speak of its potentialities? Freedom, expansion, opportunity, and above all, peace and repose, alone can teach us the real dominant factors of human nature and all its wonderful possibilities.

—Emma Goldman.

SPONTANEITY & ORDER

"The reader will recall that 'anarchy'—literally, no rule—is the rule of the Peckham Centre. You come and go when you like, and in the time between you do what you like. Spontaneity is the only guide.(b)

For us there is no contradiction between spontaneity and order. On the contrary we anticipate order as the result of free growth . . .(e)

Liberty, the mother, not the daughter of order —P. J. Proudhon.

Freedom is the highest form of order. —Elisée Reclus.

Order is the free equilibrium of all forces that operate on the same point. —Kropotkin.

THE FEAR OF FREEDOM

"They came: they saw: and they didn't quite know what to do! Something of the same sort happens to a wild bird or animal which has been caged for a long time. It becomes conditioned to captivity. When the cage is opened, when freedom is there for the taking, the captive hangs back. Full function is never achieved at the wave of a wand. It is sometimes even necessary to shoo your captive out of the cage into the freedom. For it may have come to feel that the bars of its prison are protecting it from the uncertainty and insecurity of the world outside rather than keeping it from that visible freedom."(b)

Man, like all living beings, adapts and habituates himself to the conditions in which he lives, and transmits by inheritance his acquired habits. Thus being born and having lived in bondage, being the descendant of a long line of slaves,

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

The Peckham Experiment Innes Pearse & Lucy Crocker 5/-

"It is a great experiment, with far-reaching consequences in politics and sociology, and it is a moving experience to read such an adequate account of it."

—HERBERT READ.

"This book is so full of meat and so brilliant, both analytically and synthetically, that subtle and thought-stimulating quotations might be taken from every page . . . among the most important sociological work . . . that has appeared in the last decade."

—TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

"Will undoubtedly be regarded as a classic in those future days when the biological conception of human society is more fully appreciated."

—GLASGOW HERALD.

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

THE Pioneer Health Centre at Peckham was not a health centre in the usual confused meaning of the term, nor in the meaning given to it by the National Health Act. "In Britain we assemble in one building, clinics for the early detection and treatment of tuberculosis, venereal disease, extraction of tonsils, for de-infestation, for infant welfare and antenatal care, add to it a mortuary for the housing of the dead pending burial, and call the institution a Health Centre." (A)

man, when he began to think, believed that slavery was an essential condition of life, and liberty seemed to him an impossible thing . . . In the same way, a man who had had his limbs bound from his birth, but had nevertheless found out how to hobble about, might attribute to the very bands that bound him his ability to move, while on the contrary, they would be diminishing and paralysing the muscular energy of his limbs.

—Errico Malatesta: "Anarchy".

EDUCATION

"In circumstances where they are not starved of action, it is only necessary to place before them [children] the chance or possibility of doing things in an orderly manner for them to grasp it; they do not need, indeed they resent being either herded, coaxed or guided into action."(c)

It is our wisdom to incite men to act for themselves, not to retain them in a state of perpetual pupillage.

—William Godwin.

It seeks the most complete development of individuality combined with the highest development of voluntary association in all its aspects, in all possible degrees, for all imaginable aims; ever changing, ever modified associations which carry in themselves the elements of their durability and constantly assume new forms, which answer best to the multiple aspirations of all. A society to which pre-established forms, crystallized by laws, are repugnant; which looks for harmony in an ever-changing and fugitive equilibrium between a multitude of varied forces and influences of every kind, following their own course. . . .

—Peter Kropotkin.

In fact, what is called a health centre is usually a disease centre. The doctors and biologists at Peckham on the other hand did not seek to study disease, nor even the absence of disease. "Its purpose was to study function in healthy Man, and thereby to deduce laws both of function and of health." (B) By function they meant "the behaviour of the living organism as a unity in an ever changing and free environment." (C) Here we have the key to the extraordinary importance of the Peckham Experiment for anarchists, for "Function demands an entirely free environment for its full expression. Full function without full freedom is impossible."(B). To illustrate this specific aspect of the Pioneer Health Centre we publish below a series of quotations and notes from books and reports on the Centre, and from anarchist theoreticians. We recommend you to read *The Peckham Experiment: A Study of the Living Structure of Society* in order to get a picture of the overall significance of the Centre and its activities. (Articles on Peckham appeared in *Freedom* for 23/3/1946, 4/1/1947, and 18/3/1950).

his humanity (that is, of his human rights) in the consciousness of his brothers. —Michael Bakunin.

In society the interests of individuals are intermixed with each other, and cannot be separated. —William Godwin.

NO DOGMA, NO TRAINING

" . . . It is the very antithesis of the action that results from training, yet training has come to be accepted as synonymous with 'education'. Training, by whatever system, can only create co-ordinations for special purposes by an objective conditioning of certain reflexes. This may, in given circumstances, enhance physiological efficiency, but it is not conducive to functional efficiency."(c)

" . . . the experimental circumstances created must be such that the unit under observation is free to act voluntarily rather than in conformity with any pre-determined conduct, in pursuit of any ideal or in response to any external discipline."(c)

"Here equipment—musical instruments, billiard tables, theatre 'props' and the thousand and one other things—are not planted by a benevolent directorate. They are provided on demand and reflect the present needs of this growing society. Visitors notice, not so much that these people have freedom, and that they know how to use freedom. Out of freedom a poised, orderly and adventurous society is clearly evolving itself."(f)

" . . . training is hostile to spontaneity. The child is trained to reach a standard set by others, and not necessarily his own."(b)

The boy, like the man, studies because he desires it. He proceeds upon a plan of his own invention, or which by adopting, he has made his own.

—William Godwin.

" . . . doctrine kills the life, the living spontaneity of action." —Michael Bakunin.

In short, freedom is, for each and all things of the universe, to follow their natural tendencies—and to fulfil their own virtues, qualities and capacities. —Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Freedom in Society

"In the gymnasium itself he sees many figures, boys and girls moving in every direction at varying speeds, swinging on ropes suspended from the ceiling, running after balls and each other, climbing, sliding, jumping—all this activity proceeding without bumps or crashes, each child moving with unerring accuracy according to its own subjective purpose, without collision, deliberate avoidance or retreat.

" . . . The boy who swings from rope to horse, leaping back again to the swinging rope, is learning by his eyes, muscles, joints and by every sense organ he has, to judge, to estimate, to know. The other twenty-nine boys and girls in the gymnasium are all as active as he, some of them in his immediate vicinity. But as he swings he does not avoid. He swings

where there is space—a very important distinction—and in so doing he threads his way among the twenty-nine fellows. Using all his faculties, he is aware of the total situation in that gymnasium—of his own swinging and of his fellows' actions. He does not shout to the others to stop, to wait or to move from him—not that there is silence, for running conversations across the hall are kept up as he speeds through the air.

"But this 'education' in the live use of all his senses can only come if his twenty-nine fellows are also free and active. If the room were cleared and twenty-nine boys sat at the side silent while he swung, we should in effect be saying to him—to his legs, body, eyes—"You give all your attention to swinging, we'll keep the rest of the world away"—in fact—"Be as egotistical as you like". By so reducing the diversity in the environment we should be preventing his learning to apprehend and to move in a complex situation. We should in effect be saying 'Only this and this do; you can't be expected to do more'. Is it any wonder that he comes to behave as though it is all he can do? By the existing methods of teaching we are in fact inducing the child's inco-ordination in society."(c)

Nothing is of worse effect in our treatment either of the young or the old, than a continual anxiety and an ever-eager interference with their conduct.

—William Godwin.

The question then which anarchism puts to itself may be stated thus: "What forms of social life assure to a given society, and then to mankind generally, the greatest amount of happiness, and hence also the greatest amount of vitality?" "What forms of social life are most likely to allow this amount of happiness to grow and to develop, quantitatively as well as qualitatively—that is to become more complete and more varied?"

—PETER KROPOTKIN. 1903

No Authority

"It will be noted that the rule of ad hoc initiation and control of activities is an extension of the principle of individual freedom which we have already seen to be inherent in self-service. It is a common experience in any committee for the complaint to be voiced by its members that their service to their fellows interferes with their own individual action and is unrequited. The inevitable corollary is that the club members' action is limited and that they are ordered about by those in authority is all too well known."(c)

"In the social environment of Peckham there are no guiding planners, no cliques, no closed doors, no intimidating hierarchies."(f)

" . . . the attempted promotion of any sort of stereotyped organisation based on leadership was early discarded . . . the reader will find a notable absence of deference to the modern clamour for leadership."(c)

"Accustomed as is this age to artificial leadership—witness the white-gloved leader of Community singing, the cheerleader at a football match, the leader of rambling parties—it is difficult for it to realize the truth that leaders require no training or appointing, but emerge spontaneously when conditions require them. Studying their members in the free-for-all of the Peckham Centre, the observing scientists saw over and over again how one member instinctively became, and was instinctively but not officially recognised as, leader to meet the needs of some particular moment. Such leaders appeared and disappeared as the flux of the Centre required. Because they were not consciously appointed, neither (when they had fulfilled their purpose) were they consciously overthrown. Nor was any particular gratitude shown by members to a leader, either at the time of his services or after services rendered. They followed his guidance just as long as his guidance was helpful and what they wanted. They melted away from him without regrets when some widening of experience beckoned them on to some fresh adventure, which would in turn throw up its spontaneous leader, or when their self-confidence was such that any form of continued leadership would have been a restraint to them. A society, therefore, if left to itself in suitable circumstances to express itself spontaneously works out its own salvation and achieves

a harmony of action which superimposed leadership cannot emulate."(b)

"I was the only person with authority, and I used it to stop anyone exerting any authority!"—Dr. Scott Williamson, in a lecture to the London Anarchist Group, 10/3/46.

I receive and I give—such is human life. Each directs and is directed in his turn. Therefore there is no fixed and constant authority, but a continual exchange of mutual, temporary, and, above all, voluntary authority and subordination.

—Michael Bakunin.

UNFORTUNATELY, paternal governments have left the masses to wallow in an ignorance so profound that it will be necessary to establish schools not only for the people's children, but for the people themselves. From these schools will be absolutely eliminated the smallest applications or manifestations of the principle of authority. They will be schools no longer; they will be popular academies in which neither pupils nor masters will be known, where the people will come freely to get, if they need it, free instruction, and in which, rich in their own experience, they will teach in their turn many things to the professors who shall bring them knowledge which they lack.

—MICHAEL BAKUNIN. 1871

Next Week's FREEDOM will include the following features: Kicks and Ha'pence by HERBERT READ The Mexican Americans by JACK GALLEGO Autumn Readings Forthcoming Books—2

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"PAROLES D'UN REVOLTE"; "ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY & ITS IDEAL"; "MODERN SCIENCE & ANARCHISM", Peter Kropotkin, (1842-1921).
"ANARCHY", Errico Malatesta, (1853-1932).
"ANARCHISM: WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR", Emma Goldman (1869-1940).
"LETTERS", Bartolomeo Vanzetti, (1888-1927).

END OF AN EXPERIMENT

(Continued from page 1)

later petitioned Mr. Morrison, then Lord President of the Council, for the centre's continuance as a field of research. This suggestion, says the report, "appears never to have been seriously considered." The directors later proposed to the Medical Research Council that the centre should be handed over as a gift to the council, so that other scientists might use the unique material which it presented and take advantage of the continuity which still existed between the pre-war and post-war families with whom the centre worked. The answer to both proposals was that nothing could be considered while negotiations were going on between the centre and the London County Council. These negotiations, which had begun as consultations to find ways of supporting the centre, "ran uninterruptedly into negotiations by the L.C.C.," says the report, "to buy the centre." The directors, Drs. G. Scott Williamson and Innes H. Pearse conclude their report with these words: "We must warn our supporters that they must not expect that the London County Council intend—as and when possible—to carry on the same work or to promote similar researches to those initiated by the Pioneer Health Centre in spite of the re-

cently published statement of the Chairman of the Health Committee of the London County Council that 'the basis of the family centre was research into the family health. It is a matter of national prestige to re-create it'. The Council's published plans are to expend, as and when possible, on conversion of the building to suit their purpose, an estimated sum of £125,000. Seeing that the building was specially designed for and in our experience found to be in every way admirably suited to its purpose of a true Health Centre, any such radical conversion can only indicate that a complete change of function is envisaged for its future. "The sequence of events which have led up to the ending of the Peckham Experiment makes it impossible to escape the observation that a 'Welfare State' must be the sole arbiter of its Nation's destiny. To maintain its integrity it can brook no influence that comes from outside its own programme of compelling 'care'. It stands upon the ground of cure and prevention of disease, disorder and vice. It is not yet ready to consider the possibility that the cultivation or order, ease and virtue in Society, might prove an even greater power for the welfare of the people than the abiding 'care' of the administrator."

BEYOND PECKHAM

"Of what use is freedom of thought, if it will not produce freedom of actions?" —Swift.

IN illustrating the parallel between the conclusions of the Peckham biologists and those reached, through emotional conviction, thought and social observation, by the classical anarchist writers, we do not exhaust the significance of their findings, (nor do we suggest that they "prove" anarchism, though they do show how practical anarchy is). The criticism of our society that emerges from their reports is so extensive, that it must lead readers, except those so bemused by governmentalism that they think the sickness of society can be cured by act of parliament, to conclude that revolutionary changes are needed in our social and economic life.

"We had found by experience," said Drs. Williamson and Pearse in their statement last week, "that seven out of every ten uncomplaining members of the public entering our doors had not even the negative attributes of health—freedom from diagnosable disorder. Still less had they the positive attributes—vitality, initiative, and a competence and 'willingness' for living." They also found how far the elaborate machinery of production and distribution falls short of satisfying human needs. When they equipped the Centre, (itself revolutionary in its planning), they found that suitable furniture, fittings and even crockery, were not in the market and had to be specially designed. When they tried to get milk and vegetables of a suitable quality for their nursing mothers, they discovered that none were obtainable in the district and it was necessary to buy a farm in order to supply them.

When as a step beyond Peckham, the Family Health Club at Coventry sought to build their own community of homes as well as a health centre, they bought a farm for the same purpose and found the soil to be so deficient in fertility, that several years' work was necessary before healthy food could be produced.

Mention of the Coventry venture leads to a consideration of the inevitable limitation of these two experiments. Dr. K. E. Barlow of Coventry, writing in *Freedom* (28/6/47), says:

"The recent reform by Parliament of medicine and schooling offers to the common man no reasonable prospect of either health or maturity. He is therefore driven outside the plan. He is compelled to improvise experiments such as those at Peckham and Coventry in order to create about him a community which will permit of his growing to his full stature and becoming mature in his manhood."

But "the common man" spends half his waking hours at work. Can it be conceived that when his home life and his social life "permit of his growing to his full stature" he will tolerate conditions of irresponsible servitude in his economic life; that when consciously controlling his social environment, he will submit any longer to being controlled by others in what he produces, how he produces it and for whom it is to be produced?

The "Peckham Experiment" of industry has already been made. It was made in 1936 by those workers and peasants in parts of Spain who, for a brief period seized their factories and farms and operated them successfully for themselves.* The Spanish experiment was defeated not by Franco but by the Republican authorities who would not tolerate a genuine revolution in their midst. The Peckham experiment, though ended, will only have been defeated if the public looks on it as a defunct super-clinic and not as the pilot-light to a revolution, for those willing to learn and act... for themselves.

* See our penny pamphlet *Collectives in Spain*.

Another "Yellow Peril"

I BELIEVE the late Sun Yat Sen once mentioned to newspapermen asking him about the "Yellow Peril" that he would prefer to talk about it when Chinese warships were anchored off London and New York... The "Yellow Peril" has changed owners many times since then. Once it was the "heathen Chinese" in the days when Japan was "the little England of the East" and the "land of happy smiling faces". That lasted a long time, and then all of a sudden the mysterious Chinese became gallant allies and democrats and that great Christian Chiang Kai Shek became one of the Big Four, while the sinister, treacherous Nipponese suddenly sank to something lower than the animal world... Ah, but that is over long ago, and now that the Chinese, who are not really much more mysterious than the newspapermen, are becoming the Yellow Peril again, the Japanese have regained their former status. Or not quite... perhaps they are now the little New England of the West, the 49th State, or the 50th (if we preceded them)... but they are definitely not at all what you thought they were when Chiang was a great Christian war leader...

In the next war Japan will be our ally once more, and those people who scorned you when you happened to bring up the old refrain "We're off to fight for the freedom and might, of dear old Japan", may even be bawling it out lustily in Workers' Playtime in the next war. China, you may be sure, will be the enemy.

But what happened to our great Christian? After all, he may have lost China but there wasn't any need to lose Christ as well—that was being positively careless. Well, it seems that Chiang wasn't at all what you thought him (and as a matter of fact, he wasn't the only one of the war leaders by a long chalk... the memoirs will all be out soon and you'll know what they thought of each other while the unbribed stooges of the Press gang were telling us how smooth it all ran). You remember all that about the People's Democracy of China, when the Commies went so crazy about Chiang and lifted him to the place in their affections held by Churchill and Roosevelt (if not that of Holy Joe)? No, it wasn't altogether true... Bribery, the black market, corruption, graft, riddled the Kuomintang. When we said that once, we were all wicked saboteurs, but now Chiang has lost his place there's none so low to do him honour and every dog must have his yelp at the rottenness of the Kuomintang which once was supposed to be transforming China.

And now Mao Tse Tung is the warlord of China it will be in the opposite camp and Japan is in ours and you can

expect the wicked Nipponese to be angels and the virtuous Chinese to be devils, which is all very easy in countries like America and Australia, where they hate the guts of anyone not born into the pinkish-white race and out of pure expediency support one or the other to keep the other side down...

In the meantime, while all this absolute rubbish goes on (and it is the most vile and ridiculous nonsense that is pumped out about Japan and China), what of the people themselves? They do not really change, and China goes on tilling the soil. It is barely affected by the political changes, and accepts poverty and the fantastic devastation of war with resignation. It may yet defeat Mao Tse Tung who will not find it so easy to rule the Chinese, for the fundamental truth about China is that it does not want to be ruled, and though they may talk of Nationalist China and Communist China there is down there at the bottom of it all one true China, with eternal values and stubborn resistance, and it has lasted out better men than Czar Joseph.

It is not the enemy of Japan, nor have the Japanese people themselves any quarrel with anyone else. Imperialist politics have led to the present situation. We have allowed our rulers to send warships there, to land on their coasts and demand unthinkable concessions by Western stan-

dards, long before they ever penetrated anywhere else. By means of war unthinkable atrocities have been perpetrated on them, during peace we could never leave them alone, every City speculator has had a go at Japan, every old maid in the country has been determined to save China. And during the war the villainy we taught came back on us, and—alas for those who suffered in Japanese prisons!—it came back with heavy interest, and was served on the wrong persons...

Strong U.S.—Australian propaganda made the Japanese hated in this country, which did not realise that this propaganda was not based so much on what happened in the war, but reasons that had nothing to do with it (Japanese labour in the U.S.A., determination not to have it in Australia). The same propaganda switches over readily enough to the Chinese, for the same reasons. Korea has shown that there will be plenty of opportunity to garnish the picture. But when we are able to say that the Japanese or the Chinese are interfering as much with us in this country as we have been with them over there, we shall be able to talk about aggression. Even in that remote time, however, the Chinese peasant and the Japanese worker will still be farther away in thought from his rulers than we are from them in space.

INTERNATIONALIST.

U.S. Imposes Idiotic Security Ban

IT is probably always a mistake to consider the actions of a government merely foolish, however often they may appear to be no other than that. Consider, for example, the decision of the United States Post Office (following an order from the Department of Commerce) to refuse to mail the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* to addresses behind the Iron Curtain. The *Bulletin* is an independent magazine which discusses the general problems of atomic scientists, chiefly in their relationship to society. It is a popular journal and contains no

advanced technical material. Nevertheless, its dispatch to the Russian sphere has been forbidden under a general ban on technical publications.

Now such a ban suffers at the outset from being quite futile. If the Russians want to consult American technical journals all they have to do is to get a member of the embassy staff, or an agent, to buy one and send it through the diplomatic mails. In the case of a magazine like the *Bulletin*, the situation is even worse. Its independent and critical outlook is a credit to western social organisation and as such must be regarded as good propaganda to the Iron Curtain. The ban, however, merely ensures that only Russian governmental agencies (which are, presumably, propaganda-proof) are exposed to its democratic propaganda.

A HEAD CASE

A young Norwegian, who refused to do his military service, told the tribunal that his motives were neither political nor religious. He was simply convinced that military service was senseless and could lead to no good.

The tribunal ordered him to be mentally examined. —Peace News, 3/8/51.

One can only assume, therefore, that the purpose of such a ban is to silence carping critics at home. If so, it is yet another example of the idiocies which the over-riding need to catch votes imposes.

AUTUMN READING

Notes on Forthcoming Books—1

THE revival of interest in William Godwin continues to occasion new books. In their series "Life, Literature and Thought", Harraps will be publishing *Godwin and the Age of Transition*, by A. E. Rodway.

Admirers of Simone Weil (see note in *Freedom* recently), will welcome the two translations of her books from Routledge & Kegan Paul. They are *The Need For Roots (L'Enracinement)*, translated by Arthur Wills, and *Waiting for God (Attente de Dieu)*, translated by Emma Crawford. A recent book, *The Mysticism of Simone Weil*, by Marie-Magdeleine Davy, (Rockliffe, 5/6), says: "The authority of the Church shocked Simone Weil. It seemed to her both anti-social and anti-spiritual to want to direct anyone". The use to which this "authority of the Church" is put is revealed in a new and completely re-written edition of Joseph McCabe's famous pamphlet *The Papacy in Politics To-day*, (Watts, 2/6).

By an ironical coincidence two books, one on life in Soviet concentration camps, and one on Nazi concentration camps, are to be published under the same title. They are *A World Apart*, by Gustav Herling (Heinemann, 15/-), and *A World Apart* by David Rousset (Secker & Warburg, 9/6), the latter a translation of *L'Univers Concentrationné*.

The second volume of E. H. Carr's *The Bolshevik Revolution* is due in October. (Macmillan, 30/-). It covers the years 1917-1923 and examines "the economic politics and predicaments of the first years of the Soviet régime". The same author's recent series of broadcast talks, *The New Society*, will be published by Macmillan at 7/6.

A good many books have appeared in the last few years on world population in relation to natural resources, and more are to come this autumn. From *Gollancz* there will be *Human Fertility: The Modern Dilemma*, by Robert C. Cook, with an introduction by Julian Huxley, and *The Geography of Hunger*, by Josue de Castro, with a foreword by Lord Boyd Orr. Mr. Kenneth Smith has written *The Malthusian Controversy*, "a study of the contemporary critics of Malthus, bearing upon the problems of world population". (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 30/-). An important practical book is to be *Reclaiming Land for Agriculture*, a symposium introduced by Sir R. G. Stapledon, in which Moses Griffiths writes on Hills and Moorlands, Mr. J. F. H. Thomas on Chalk Uplands, and Mr. R.

Line on Fens and Silts. (Crosby Lockwood, 12/6).

Readers who were fascinated, or repelled by the extracts they may have read from Alfred Jarry's *Ubu Roi*, in *Message from Nowhere*, *Free Unions*, and *World Review* will be interested, or at least curious, to learn that the entire play, in a translation by Barbara Wright, has been published by Gaberocchus Press at 30/-. Students of Henry Miller should note that his *The Books in My Life* is to appear from Peter Owen at 15/-.

A sequel to the volume of pamphlets published a few years ago and edited by Reginald Reynolds and George Orwell, will be published in October, (Allan Wingate, 18/-). *British Pamphleteers, Vol. 2*, by Reginald Reynolds and A. J. P. Taylor, will contain pamphlets from the French Revolution to the present day and will have contemporary illustrations. *British Working-Class History, 1789-1875: Select Documents*, edited by Prof. G. H. D. Cole and A. W. Filson is to appear in September at 50/-.

Raymond Postgate's *The Life of George Lansbury* will be published by Longmans, (probably 18/-). Few readers of the novel *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist* will forget its picture of the jobbing building and decorating trade, which it described with extraordinary fidelity and realism. Mr. F. C. Ball has spent a long time gathering material on the life of its house-painter author 'Robert Tressell' who died in 1911, three years before the first publication of his book. The biography *Tressell of Musborough* is to be published in the autumn by Lawrence and Wishart. Jack Common has written *Kiddar's Luck*, a description of his childhood in Newcastle (Turnstile Press, 9/6). The same publishers have announced a new edition of the memoirs of Alexander Somerville, *The Autobiography of a Working Man*, at 10/6, edited by John Carswell. Somerville was the author of *Letters to the People on the Economy of Revolution*, with *Warnings on Street Warfare*, and his autobiography tells of his early life in rural Scotland, and his evolution from the Scots Greys to Chartist agitation, by way of a court-martial and a flogging.

Peter Quennell has already edited his volumes of selections from Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*, the fascinating pioneer volume of social investigation, which was published in 1851. His third selection, *Mayhew's Characters* (William Kimber, 21/-) will consist of some of the street autobiogra-

phies recorded by Mayhew "from the lips of the people themselves", and will have some of the original prints of the people interviewed.

In *Beethoven: Letters, Journals and Conversation*, (Michael Joseph, 21/-), Michael Hamburger has translated and edited extracts from Beethoven's diaries and correspondence and from the memoirs of his friends. The biographer of Cezanne and Toulouse-Lautrec, Mr. Gerstle Mack has written the first full-length life of the painter and Communard, *Gustav Courbet*, to be published with 60 illustrations, by Rupert Hart-Davis at 42/-. Courbet was a friend of Proudhon, the subject of one of his best portraits, and it was he who led Proudhon to write his book on *The Principle of Art and Its Social Purpose*. Our prize for the best book-title of the Autumn must go to *Memoirs of a Sword Swallower*, an autobiography by Dan Mannix, (Hamish Hamilton, 12/6).

The Italian novelist Giuseppe Marotta, whose *Neapolitan Gold* was published last year, has gone back to his native city after twenty years, and tells us all about it in *Return to Naples*, to be published soon.

Gerald Brenan, the author of *The Spanish Labyrinth* and *The Face of Spain* has written *The Literature of the Spanish People*. The period it covers is from Roman times till to-day and the book is to appear from Cambridge University Press at about 30/-.

Book prices are so high now that Penguins are doubly welcomed. The new ones just issued include George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1/6) which needs no description, John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, the famous novel of the American "dust bowl" (2/6), and a new Penguin Classic, Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, (3/6), translated into modern English by Nevill Coghill. A new Penguin venture which will eventually run into fifty or so volumes on *The Buildings of England*, edited by Nikolaus Pevsner, has begun with *Cornwall and Nottinghamshire* at 3/6 each. Each book has over sixty pages of photographs and surveys in detail "the architectural features of all ecclesiastical, public and domestic buildings of interest". An admirable series. An Autumn Pelican will be *Contemporary British Art* by Herbert Read which will survey painting and sculpture up to the mid-century. It will be the first ordinary Pelican book to have coloured plates.

(To be continued)

Soviet-Zone Education

SINCE the publication in *Freedom* for 4/8/51 of a letter from Germany on education in Eastern Germany, we have seen an article on the same subject in *The Times Educational Supplement* (3/8/51) which says:

"Shcherbov is the pedagogical Lysenko; he and his followers find no words too hard for the Arbeitsschule and group work, the 'capricious and irresponsible' 'freedom' of teachers and children, a solution that corresponds to the disintegrating tendencies of the crumbling and rotting monopoly capitalist society."

"All talk about freedom and personality," says an article in *Die Neue Schule*, "is empty prattle; through the stress laid on individualistic forces the oppressed are split up and isolated, their strength dissipated, and they are thereby easier for the ruling class to tame." "In their demand for independent activity for the school-children," says Shcherbov, "the opponents of class-teaching denigrate the role and authority of the teacher."

The Solidarity of the Poor Mutual Aid in Austria

(From our Correspondent)

A VIENNA organisation called the SOS Community for Immediate Help sends out, as part of its work, appeals for help in the case of Austrians who are in urgently dire circumstances. These appeals are printed in the daily paper, *Die Presse*, and in its issue of the 22nd July the paper in question gave the following interesting analysis of the past month's results. 39 appeals were sent out, more than 58,000 schillings (about £800) in cash and 280 parcels of clothing and food were received and distributed. But perhaps the most significant sentences in the report are these: "The majority of givers belong to the economically weakest strata of the populace. Anonymous letters from donors who are obviously poor themselves indicate an attitude which if it were general, would do away with a great deal of the distress of our times."

While this kind of assistance in individual cases is clearly not in itself a solution to the problem of poverty, yet we would agree that the spirit of solidarity, of mutual aid among the unfortunate which is so evident here is in itself the most potent of constructive forces in the development of a responsible and humane society.

WHEN THINKING IS A CRIME

FROM PAGE ONE

request for passports, case by case and we shall consider the public impeachment of culprits who offend Italian parliamentary decisions abroad". Further, the revival of the Fascist party is to be the subject of "rapid and immediate legislation". Its press, congresses and rallies will not be allowed. To which a Communist member shouted: "It is their turn to-day, it will be our turn to-morrow". And the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent adds "which does in fact represent the turn which events in Italy now seem to be taking".

The day Mr. Morrison's message was published, the new press regulation in Singapore came into force. It gives the Government the power during the Emergency to ban any Singapore newspaper without specifying a reason. Nor will such a newspaper have a right of appeal to the Courts. Already last year's Section 3 of the Emergency Regulations gave the Singapore Colonial Secretary wide powers such as that of closing down any newspaper for publishing matter prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the emergency measures" or for "fomenting opposition to the prosecution to a successful issue of any warlike operation engaged in by Britain".

Only recently, in India, Mr. Nehru introduced a Bill giving him very wide powers to restrain the Press in an Emergency. And in countries like Spain (new allies), Portugal (our "oldest allies"), and Argentina there is no opposition Press at all, and in the other countries the National Press is a vehicle for the expression of the proprietors' opinions and for the publication of some facts and the mutilation or suppression of others.

There are the exceptions of course, and they prove what we have written earlier; for though these journals are available to all, their readership is only a mere fraction of that of the gutter Press.

Which brings us back to the beginning. But now I want to draw my readers' attention to the 'catch' in Mr. Morrison's message. He tells the Russian people that we in the "democracies" have access to views and news and that in this country no restrictions are imposed and "so the people can make up their own minds for themselves. Their views are neither made for them nor dictated to them". But what he didn't say was that having abandoned oneself to an orgy of fact- and heart-searching, and finding oneself opposed to the government's views, the government then turns round and quotes Regulation so-and-so, or one of the 16,000 Statutory Rules or Orders in force, to oblige one to do just what it wants; or else...

Do you see, reader, what the Anarchists mean when they refer to all politicians as rascals: for at their best they are opportunistic word-spinners; at their worst, power-drunk maniacs. LIBERTARIAN.

A New World Through Education ?

THERE are so many controversies following closely on one another in the field of education that it is to be wondered how the people carrying on the business of education can continue to do so with peace of mind and a clear vision of the purpose of their work. They certainly have to be admired for sticking to their job under such adverse circumstances, but our sympathy goes not so much to the teachers as to the educational legislators from whom the teachers receive orders and guidance. It is the educational legislators and executives whose brains are most strained by the present controversies, it is their peace of mind that is disturbed, and their clarity of vision that is obviously obscured. We must admire their perspicacity in detecting the difficulties of the present system, their honesty in admitting the dangers besetting it on all sides, and their courage and determination to continue and perfect the momentous reform of the Education Act of 1944. To venture a word of criticism on the work they have done or on the plans they are drafting and discussing seems to us both irreverent and ungrateful. Not being entrusted by the people with the awful responsibility of bringing up their children, nor being harassed by the thousand and one practical considerations on which a choice must be made, say between the tripartite system and the comprehensive school, we feel that if we speak it will only be with a cantankerous voice of the incompetent, irresponsible and unwanted doctrinaire.

Doctrinaires or not, however, we also belong to the people and have to send our children to such schools as the State provides. We can't help worrying about education, and the more constantly and attentively we listen to our legislators the more we are confirmed in the belief that none of them has any idea on what education in general is about, and what theirs in particular will bring about. If they have any idea they seem to do their best to confuse it by the exposition of ideas they haven't.

The workers who brought Labour into power seem perfectly satisfied in principle with the present educational system, and the more enlightened of them consider it

their greatest triumph. We look at it instead with dark forebodings, with an uneasiness bordering on dismay. Even supposing that the Labour government will eventually so dilute and dissipate the capitalist class that they will end one form of economical oppression they are laying the foundations in our schools of a new stratification of society perhaps even more odious than the one we are called to watch ecstatically in the process of disappearing. It is now a recognized fact that the more intelligent pupils will get the better jobs, most of them government jobs, which even if not always the best paid give command and control on the jobs of others. Not only is it a recognized fact but the average worker approves it wholeheartedly, and says that it is how it should be, hardly realizing that the new class that is being trained to form the government hierarchy can be one day just as oppressive and as brutal as the capitalist ever was. The more intelligent, so-labelled, will be given the right to regulate the lives and activities of the less intelligent, tell them what to do and what not to do, force them to do what they think it is best for them to do. The new oppressed class on the other hand, which will inevitably coincide with the labouring class, will find itself as it were decapitated while under capitalist exploitation it was still possible and fairly frequent to find a man with intelligence, character and will-power to be devoted to the interests of the oppressed class, under the present educational dispensation the latter will systematically be robbed of anyone capable of voicing their grievances, of any one with the courage and ability to press them to revolt. To make things doubly sure each boy and girl who at the age of eleven is not promoted to a Grammar School will undergo four more years of so-called education in order to be trained to belong, resignedly if not cheerfully, to the 'intelligent' class.

This very probable result in a new stratification of society should be sufficient to set a-thinking all intelligent men and women not yet severed from the cause of the oppressed. But the people at large don't see any need for thinking for the simple reason that they have no criteria of inspiration and judgment other than those drawn upon and operated by their rulers. Very roughly these criteria are: that equality of opportunity exhausts all the possibilities of fairness and justice, that a rational system is always to be preferred to one that is permeable to intuitions, feelings and ideas, and finally that the main thing to be found out about a child is whether it is better fitted to grow up to rule or to be ruled. The ideological and psychological tripe regularly dished out by educationalists and educators, however pompous or seemingly good-natured, should never succeed in hiding even from the unintelligent that on the part of society or, rather, its representatives, there is no real understanding, love or care for the child as it is. All they ask from it is sacrifice, the sacrifice of its most precious possession, that very personality whose development they want

READERS' VIEWPOINTS

to monopolise. When all is said and done, education as practiced at present simply demands and enforces in many a tortuous way the total adaptation of the child to society. You have then the acme of this tortuous process when the child is made to believe that all its happiness depends on its successful adaptation to society's demands.

We don't want to state here the claims of the individual against society. We only want to call attention to the fact that the society to which the child is asked to adapt itself is not the brotherhood of mankind, but one particular, historical and class society, whose structure is a little more each day impinged upon and suffocated by the State. It is obvious that this adaptation can be perfectly achieved only when all individual creativeness is killed, when no-one dares cherish in his dreams and heart the love and image of society as it should be over and against society as it is.

It is only natural that our Labour government and society should try to pose themselves as ideal, and that by all the means at their disposal and education in particular they should endeavour to prolong their own life and possibly achieve a stability or stagnation that will appear the more perfect the longer it lasts. It is only natural, in other words, that Labour should be conservative. But when all education practically falls under the control of one government, when it is thoroughly centralised and made as uniform as it can be, there remains very little hope for anyone to lay the seeds of a future society, brighter, more serene, more human, less anguished and less frustrated, less futile and more interesting than the present one. May it be a warning to those who care more for man than government, more for mankind than Labour England, a warning to those who have feelings for the oppressed whether they are intelligent or not, and hate for the oppressors, whether they are workers or not.

JOHN GILL.

Special Appeal

July 29th to July 31st

Gosport: F.G.* 5/-; London: L.G.W.* 5/-; London: W.E.D.* 6/6; Hope, R.I.: A.C.F. £1/12/4; Freeport: F.S. 19/-; Singapore: L.J. 6/6; Glasgow: A. McD.* 4/-; Dovercourt: L.C.W. £1/0/0; Anon* 2/6; Mitcham: F.H. 10/-; London: Pat 9/-; Chicago: Free Society Group £7/0/0; Wooler: J.R. 2/-; Coventry: L.R. 4/-; Cambridge C.L.D.* 5/-.

Total	13 10 5
Previously acknowledged	284 7 10
1951 TOTAL TO DATE	£297 18 3

GIFTS OF BOOKS:

Leeds: F.T.; Stroud: M.K.

A SUGGESTION FROM AMERICA

DEAR COMRADES,

I need not say that your conversion to a weekly publication is very gratifying.

I wish that I could help more in gaining support for *Freedom* but my free time is limited as also friends and contacts. Perhaps something could yet be done.

Perhaps it would be possible to organise a club—a Friends of Freedom Club here in New York. We could in this way pool finances and efforts of comrades and friends more effectively. We might possibly take advertising spaces in likely publications asking for subs and offering to send sample copies. We might be able to dispose of bundle orders of *Freedom*.

The job of propagating *Freedom* boils down to getting attention of likely readers and sympathisers in the most likely places and I think my proposal is as good a one as any.

Fraternally,

Bronx, N.York.

M.K.

[We welcome our American comrade's letter as it offers us an opportunity to say a few words about *Freedom's*

THE ECONOMICS OF REARMAMENT

DEAR SIR,

I said that you cannot conclude from a slump in the stock market that capitalists prefer war for its profits.

To this *Libertarian* answers:

- (a) that profits have been made during the year of fighting in Korea;
- (b) that an economic decline has set in during the year of fighting in Korea (and before any "peace prospects" appeared).

And his conclusion is that capitalists produce armaments not in order to fight the war but in order to check the economic slump.

He also suggests that when armaments are being produced, then that is war anyway, whether there is fighting or not.

And this shows that when fighting does break out, it is because capitalists need it.

I am grateful to *Libertarian* for making this clear.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Swansea, July 29.

TOM TEMPLE.

P.S.—When *Libertarian* speaks of the morality or humanity of an economy, he leaves more to our imagination. But his meaning is plain. It is like this.

When wheat is scarce, and people offer higher prices for it, that's inhuman.

In a humane economy the wheat would go where it was needed. What would make it go where it was needed? Why, the humanity of the economy.

In this idea there is the germ of a great tyranny. But when it is humanity that suffocates you, it would be inhuman to object.

We cannot say just how a humane economy would react to peace prospects, because we do not know just what it sounds like when an economy sighs with relief. But it would certainly do nothing so inhuman as to hesitate to buy stocks.

[*Libertarian* writes: Mr. Temple makes, in my opinion, a very feeble attempt to summarise what I wrote on *The Economics of Rearmament*, and to show readers that it was a lot of rubbish. I suggest that anyone wanting to know what I said should read my article.

Mr. Temple's postscript I find difficult to understand. One can surely talk of an inhuman system just as one can talk of a silly letter. The latter, to any ordinary person, is a reflection on the person who wrote it just as the former is a reflection on those who operate it.]

problems. Our appeal for £600 and 1,000 new readers this year is not just a kind of meaningless slogan. It was based on hard economic facts. During the past six months these facts have become even more obvious. The price of newsprint has been twice increased, and it is announced that from July 30 the price will be raised still further, while postage has increased by 50%. Consequently our estimates of six months ago are already out of date. But, the hard fact we must face is that we have not reached our original target. Our American friends, we feel, could help us along the lines suggested by our Correspondent. In undertaking to publish and distribute *Freedom* in our spare time our small group has undertaken as much as it can tackle. To increase the circulation of *Freedom* we need the assistance of those comrades and readers who are its supporters. Such work can be dealt with by group activity or even by individuals sending out to friends their own copy or by subscribing to a second copy (at the special low rates offered). This surely does not take up much time or money. On the other hand if the reality we have to face is that there are not amongst our readers a sufficient number for whom *Freedom* is something more than just another minority journal, then we must all face the hard truth that *Freedom* will not be able to carry on its publications, at any rate, as a weekly, for much longer.

We have readers scattered throughout the United States. Is it not possible for them to find us 500 new readers quickly? (Incidentally the offer of a free copy of 100 *Years of Revolution*. Edited by George Woodcock to all yearly subscribers to *Freedom* still stands). The future of *Freedom* literally depends on their response—EDITORS.]

Ernst Kristal, a small farmer at Kose, Estonia, had owed some money to a State-owned bank. In payment of this old loan his only cow had been taken from him and handed over to a neighbouring kolkhoz. Kristal had not submitted but gone and fetched back his cow from the kolkhoz. The animal was soon discovered in his stable and the man was sentenced to eight years of "correctional labour camp", i.e., Siberia for the theft of his own cow. *Rahva Hääl*, the organ of the Estonian C.P., remarks that "persons belonging to the destroyed classes" like Kristal, are those who are trying to undermine the economic basis of the Soviet Union and rob kolkhoz property.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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 St. Newport Street, next Leicester Sq. Underground Stn.)
These Meetings are suspended for the Summer months. They will re-commence in SEPTEMBER.
Watch this column for future Announcements.

NORTH-EAST LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM

at 7.30
AUG. 21—Eric Maple
"POWER"
Enquiries c/o *Freedom Press*

SOUTH LONDON

Meetings suspended for the time being. Readers interested in possible future activities, please contact S. E. Parker, c/o *Freedom Press*.

GLASGOW

OUTDOOR MEETINGS at MAXWELL STREET
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.
With John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Jimmy Raeside, Eddie Shaw
KINGSTON
Any Comrades interested in forming a Group in the KINGSTON area, are invited to write to *Freedom Press*.

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27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

Fate of Anarchists in East Germany

Our correspondent in Germany writes: AT the moment at an international Court of Justice in Brussels the Bolshevik system of concentration camps is being described as criminal. Doubtless this trial will end with a condemnation of the Bolsheviks. But since the defendants in this trial, the Soviet Union and its satellite states do not appear at the bar of the court, and since they would only sneer at such a condemnation, this court of justice is merely a farcical performance.

Such mock-trials are not of any benefit to the prisoners in the concentration camps, these prisoners need real help, and their families too.

Our prisoners in the concentration camps of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Zone of Germany have extra heavy blows to face. In the year 1945 they were freed from the concentration camps of the Nazis, and in the year 1948 they were arrested and thrown into a Bolshevik camp.

Everybody who dares to express in any form his dislike for the ruling Bolsheviks is sentenced to heavy punishments. The small anarchist movement in the Russian Zone of Germany is entirely dissolved.

We have no knowledge of the fate of our comrades, they simply disappeared. Seven comrades were "sentenced" to 25 years hard labour, one of them succumbed to the inhuman treatment in November 1950, 3 others were infected in the camp, and are suffering now from T.B. The rooms and all the furniture of one of our most active comrades were "seized" and his family chased into the street.

This, in a few words, is the fate of our comrades.

It is obvious that we cannot tell the names of our comrades, their families are continually under the surveillance of the Bolsheviks, and by the publication of their connection with the West the families would have to suffer the consequences and the prisoners too.

We have connections with the families in an indirect way, and through the help of the families, with the prisoners.

We have no hope that our arrested

comrades will receive any help by the above-mentioned International Court of Justice in Brussels. We can only help our comrades and their families if we aid them materially, and at the same time attempt to help the growth of our movement.

The comrades of the small anarchist movement in Germany have helped already very much, writes our correspondent.

The Anarchist movement is international, and mutual-aid is one of its principles, and here is an opportunity to put that into practice.

Our correspondent asks that those who can express their solidarity should write to: Wilhelm Huppertz, Winkhauserweg 64, Mülheim/Ruhr, British Zone, Germany.

Glasgow Anarchist Group THE SIXTH ANNUAL ANARCHIST SUMMER SCHOOL

will be held at the WORKERS OPEN FORUM
50, Renfrew Street, Glasgow, C.2
on August 25th and 26th

Saturday, 25th August :
Lectures and Discussions at 11 a.m. and 3 p.m.

Sunday, 26th August :
Lectures and Discussions at 11 a.m. and 3 p.m., and Public Meeting in the Central Halls, Bath Street, at 7 p.m. (speakers will be announced later)

Cost :
Bed and Breakfast can be arranged at 12/6 a night, and there will be charge of 12/6 for catering and lectures.

The Rest of the Week :
During the week following the Summer School, there will be camping at Garelochhead. The only equipment campers need bring is a sleeping bag or blankets. Electric and gas cooking equipment and feeding utensils laid on.

Intending visitors to the Summer School should write at once to John Gaffney, 18, Finnieston Street, Glasgow, C.3.