

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The men of future generations will yet win many a liberty of which we do not even feel the want."
—MAX STIRNER

THE "UNITED NATIONS" ONLY PAY LIP-SERVICE TO— HUMAN RIGHTS

LAST month at the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, Mr. Vishinsky replied to Mr. Dean Acheson's speech decrying human-rights violations in Hungary and other Russian satellite countries, by drawing attention to a report of two Negroes who had been shot in Florida by a sheriff and concluded: "This is what human rights mean in the United States of America." The Canadian Minister of External Affairs then told Mr. Vishinsky to stop trying to make capital of the shooting. "If that report is accurate, a shocking crime has been committed. The important fact is, however, that 99.9 per cent. of the people of the United States will feel that way about it" whereas in Hungary, for instance, if anyone "so much as murmured in his sleep" about the "10,000 innocent Hungarians dragged from their homes and driven like animals to the horrors of a concentration camp" he would "join the 10,000 if, indeed he got that far". And he concluded, "Of course, Mr. Vishinsky says such reports are slanderous fabrications."

TO unravel the half-truths and wrong analogies contained in these exchanges is indeed a difficult task. What is so clearly revealed, however, by the politicians' statements is how stupid they really are! Why did Mr. Vishinsky bother to deny that thousands of Hungarians have been driven out of their homes? He could point out that Hungary is going through a period of national and social upheaval and the enemies and potential enemies of these changes must be prevented from being in a position to sabotage the "revolutionary workers'" efforts. And he could have then proceeded to point out that in times of crisis or upheavals, such as wars, for instance, all governments adopt measures which sweep aside all considerations of "human rights". And Mr. Vishinsky could have pointed an accusing finger at the United States' action after Pearl Harour when not 10,000 but 111,000 men, women and children living on the West Coast of the continental U.S. were evacuated by the U.S. Army and herded into ten vast concentration camps.* Some of the detainees were born in Japan but the majority were American born and American citizens. But, as General de Witt, put it so succinctly: "A Jap's a Jap . . . It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not . . ."

* See "American Minorities—The Japanese in America," FREEDOM, 29/9/51.

I don't want any of them . . . They are a dangerous element . . . The Jap race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japs born on U.S. soil, possessed of U.S. citizenship have become 'Americanised', the racial strains are undiluted." Or, more recently, last week in fact, the U.S. Army announced that 33,149 people were being held as civilian internees in Korea.

And British Governments are no exception to the rule. The arrest and detention of thousands of Indians without trial during the troubled years of British rule in India is past history, as also is the deportation of "Jewish terrorists" to concentration camps in central Africa. These facts are too conveniently forgotten by the politicians. But in Malaya, detention without trial, the destruction of whole villages and the eventual "resettlement" of the villagers (see FREEDOM, 17/11/51) are present-day facts. And in the canal zone in Egypt only last week, Lt-Gen. Sir George Erskine, G.O.C. British troops announced that Royal Engineers would "bulldoze several Egyptian mud houses out of the way" to drive a new safe road through to the water plant supplying the British". (News Chronicle, 8/12/51.)

"Describing the work as a military necessity, General Erskine said that Egypt had asked for one week to consider the British proposals about the road but the British had decided to go ahead in 24 hours, with or without Egyptian approval." (Reuter.)

The "human rights" of the British Army in Egypt are for the General more important than the rights of a few

Egyptian peasants; the rights of the planters and British forces more important than those of the Malaysians and Chinese in Malaya and so on through the examples we have given earlier and many more. And by this reasoning one can easily attach labels inscribed with "human rights" to the atom bombs which are being stored up for the next war.

"HUMAN rights" and politics are incompatible. "Human rights" obtained for some at the expense of the "human rights" of others should be denounced as unjust. "Human rights" which are put in cold storage in times of crisis are blatant hypocrisy. The defenders of the status quo have never believed in "human rights" except in order to make political capital. But no revolutionary movement can ever hope to succeed in building the new society without recognising the "human rights" of those who disagree with them. Indeed, the inability to recognise the rights of the minority reveals the weakness of the majority, not in its physical power to coerce, but in its positive, creative and moral influence. That is the lesson one learns from the terrorism in the satellite countries in Eastern Europe and in Russia. But it is also the lesson to be drawn from the growing dependence in the democracies on force and mental coercion, loyalty tests and the blind acceptance that "our way of life is good; all else is bad."

Along these roads lie misery and intellectual decay as far-reaching as the physical and moral horrors of war.

Continued on p. 3

AFRICAN AFFAIRS TSHEKEDI RETURNS

THE history of the case of Tshekedi and Seretse Khama was discussed very fully in our issue for 9/6/51 and 7/7/51. Since then the British Government sent its mission of observers to Bechuanaland with results which are best summed-up by the comment of the Times Review of the British Colonies, which said:

The British Government's latest plan for dealing with the entanglements of the Bamangwato has manifestly failed, and failed in such a manner as to leave the situation much worse than it was previously. . . . The Government attempted to shift the burden to the tribal kgotla, presumably in the hope that they could base the policy of exclusion on the tribe's own objection to a white consort for the chief.

When the kgotla eventually declared for their hereditary head, with his alien wife and his future half-breed heirs—a decision which now has the backing of Tshekedi himself—the Government were hoist with their own petard; and any arguments they might thereafter devise for disallowing the succession of Seretse were immeasurably weakened in advance. They have, in fact, blundered through temporary expedients from one injustice to individuals to another. . . . It is clear that everything now done will be hampered by the sullen feeling in the tribe that their native loyalties have been violated and their expressed desires set at naught by the very authority that purported to consult them.

The reports of the three observers were published on December 7th. Two of them, Mr. H. L. Bullock and Prof. W. M. Macmillan, declared firmly against Tshekedi's return, and the third, Mr. Lipson, was less emphatic. However, Lord Ismay, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations has agreed with Tshekedi on terms for his return. The Government has decided, it was stated in Parliament last week that his rights in the reserve "should not be restricted for longer than is necessary in the public interest. He has already renounced the chieftainship; and His Majesty's Government are convinced that the interests of peace in the reserve demand that he be excluded from the political life of the tribe. The sooner this exclusion is shown to be effective, and it is the Government's intention to make it so, the sooner will it be possible to allow him progressively greater freedom to look after his private interests in the reserve and ultimately, if all goes well, to let him live there as a private person."

When the carefully-avoided question of Tshekedi's nephew, Seretse Khama was raised, Mr. John Foster, the Under-Secretary replied that "the Government intends to adhere to the policy of its predecessors as given in the White Paper of March 1950." On this, the Manchester Guardian comments that, "It would not be surprising if the Government reviewed the Seretse Khama one well before his five years of exile is due to expire. One important aspect of the Seretse case, about which the last Government was silent, is the hostile attitude of the Union of South Africa. The present Government will be no less obliged, of course, to take it into account."

Seretse issued a statement which declares that "The Government's clearly expressed intention to adhere to the disastrous policy of the last Administration with regard to the chieftainship is directly contrary to the wishes of my people, who, as Mr. Foster is fully aware, are repeatedly asking—in the

strongest terms—for our return. "Meanwhile, the position in the Bamangwato Reserve is bound to deteriorate further as a direct result of the British Government's stubborn refusal to give heed to the wishes of the tribe."

He is probably right, for while the observers heard a great deal of hostility to Tshekedi (which it is declared by his supporters was due to carefully spread rumours that he wanted to be chief*), they met everywhere the demand that Seretse should return.

The Observer last September reported a meeting of over 100 leading chiefs, sub-chiefs and counsellors in the Protectorate, convened by Chief Bathoen, chairman of the Bechuanaland African Advisory Council, which passed a series of resolutions which the Observer described as a vote of no confidence in British policy and a "challenge to the entire policy in Bechuanaland."

"The chiefs say the thinly veiled policy of the Bechuanaland Administration in inciting the Bamangwato of Serowe into acts of violence against the so-called supporters of Tshekedi is nothing but a clumsy attempt to mislead the outside world that the Bamangwato as a whole are opposed to Tshekedi and his supporters."

"The meeting then passed a resolution demanding immediate rescinding of the banishment orders of Tshekedi and Seretse."

Tshekedi himself recognises that the storm over his own banishment has been used as a screen for the real issue—the marriage of Seretse and its repercussions in the Union of South Africa. As he says, "The obvious reason of racial intolerance is too delicate for any public discussion or assertion; hence individuals have been ruthlessly sacrificed for the unexplained 'public good'."

MALAN LOOKS ON

THE South African Government has made no official statement on affairs in Bechuanaland, although, says Mr. Colin Legum in the Observer, those nationalist leaders not in the Government "make no attempt to hide their satisfaction over recent developments. . . . 'South African Nationalists welcome the growth of chaos and confusion as their best hope for early incorporation, not only of Bechuanaland, but also of the

* Mr. Foster said that Tshekedi "has already renounced the chieftainship", but in fact he never expressed either a claim or a wish to be chief.

Continued on p. 3

Syndicalist Notebook

Wage Freeze to Return?

Mark my footsteps good, my Page,
Tread thou in them boldly.
Thou shalt feel the winter's rage
Freeze thy blood less coldly.

SIR Stafford Cripps' sudden departure from public life last year, makes me think of him as actually departed from this world altogether, having left his spirit behind in the House of Commons.

But is is nothing so ghastly that haunts the House and the corridors of Whitehall. The chill wind that blows through the pigeonholes is the bleak realisation that the champions of free enterprise must follow in the steps of Sir Stafford. And although the page of Good King Wenceslaus found that by putting his little feet in the footprints of his master he weathered the cold better than by treading a path of his own, our present-day servants of the Crown must find it a bitter pill to swallow, that their championship of the free market and supply and demand must yield to a planned economy on Crippsian lines.

To follow the analogy with the famous carol, however, we, the people outside the Palace, find ourselves in the position of "yonder peasant" gathering our winter fuel. BUT with the great big difference that instead of a good samaritan coming out of the palace to help us, we have to stay out in the cold, cold snow, up to our neck in a snow drift, while those inside merely look out once a year, on the feast of St. Stephen's, to see if we're still there. St. Stephen, himself, who is in there with them, doesn't even bother to look out.

Yes, kiddies, we have to be braye and face up to the fact that another freeze-up is on its way. This year, Santa Claus Butler is going to present us with another dirty big wage-freeze all of our very own, but you'll have to be good little boys and girls or you won't get it at all. And it's ever so good for you.

What's that? You don't want that for Christmas. Well, when you grow up a bit we'll tell you what to do with it. You know what to do with it already? Well, why don't you do it, then?

PORT WORKERS' LEADERS CALL OFF THE BAN

THE ban on overtime in the Port of London was called off last week, a guarantee by the employers that all suspensions which had been appealed against would be withdrawn.

This guarantee, which meant no victimisation was satisfactory enough in its way, but the union leaders seem to have led the men back with absolutely no difference having been made to the issues on which the men's action was based.

Both the original wage-claim and the more important issue of compulsory overtime have been shelved "for future consideration", and in fact Lindley and Barret, leaders of the Lightermen and the Stevedores respectively, urged the men to work a little bit extra to make up for time lost during the dispute! The men have gone back to a 10-hour day.

There is some hard thinking going on among the rank-and-file as to why their leaders suddenly changed their minds. We have our ideas, but for the moment will simply ask the rank-and-file: Why follow leaders, anyway?

THE FIREMEN

LOCAL authorities continue to take disciplinary action against firemen involved in the recent boycott.

A public meeting is being held in London to protest against these actions, and a special delegate conference of the union is being called for next Monday to settle the question of what action is to be taken.

Catholic firemen are going to pray for guidance at a special Mass at Westminster Cathedral on Sunday. They would do better to rely on themselves rather than on God. P.S.

The Secret Censorship

NOT long ago, we quoted a press report of summonses against booksellers in Newcastle for selling books and magazines alleged to be obscene, in which the police said they had been working to a Home Office list.

When the case was heard in court on December 3rd, a solicitor defending four booksellers, said that the police "are using Gestapo methods, going from shop to shop with a secret list which has been refused to the newsagents". One of the booksellers, Mr. Henry Bremner, said that he was an executive member of the Newsagents' Federation which had approached the Home Office for a directive about the sort of books they could sell.

"The reply has been that there is no such thing as a banned book in this country."

"Two years ago a bookseller had books ordered to be destroyed. I asked the police and Home Office for a list of titles and was refused."

Some of the books seized in this case had been on sale for 40, 50 and 60 years without objection. (News Chronicle, 4/12/51.)

The Times Educational Supplement, discussing the implications of the secret list, says: "No-one can be satisfied with the present system; there have been too many notable errors from Ulysses down. It is said that the Home Office list includes Decameron and many of the Canterbury Tales. As for stage censorship, a succession of worthless bedroom farces, like the latest Mary Had a Little, can satisfy the canons of the Lord Chamberlain, while serious plays are banned until they cease to be 'advanced'. The trouble with the present system is that it works and therefore appeals to the police, the bench, and the administrative view. Working arrangements are the worst enemy of law reform."

112 Days Detention for Civilian

THE case of Roy Bowers has been reported in the London Press, and has undoubtedly caused much of a stir amongst the men who—having completed their term of conscription as National Servicemen—are still called upon for Territorial Service for whatever time the State may choose to inflict. He was court-martialled at Chelsea Barracks, and made the following statement:—

"I object to the external discipline of my mind and to the State's right to command me as an individual. And I object to any course of action advocated by the State. I have, and I intend to continue, to refuse to obey the State's dictum." (Star, 6/12/51.)

From that pertinent statement it will not be difficult to see that the Chelsea court-martial were dealing with an Anarchist.

The defending officer (who is, of course, appointed by the Army) did what he no doubt thought was the best thing for his reluctant client, who repudiated his defence, as reported in the Evening News (6/12/51) which—with its customary delightful manner of picking out a statement from many others, and giving it in the headline as if it were really fact—headed their version, "Private Was Led Astray By Anarchists. (No "Says Officer" or any such whittling down for the Evening News.)

"Capt. L. H. W. Barrington, defending, told the court they were dealing with a foolish young man with high principles, who was led astray by a crowd of anarchists with nothing to lose.

"Bowers, who had pleaded guilty, said: 'I consider I was not led astray by anarchists. It is the only possible way of thought for me. They are my actual

principles, and I intend to stand by them."

The Government, has, of course, imposed the particular form of sacrifice Comrade Bowers was asked to make, primarily—for the moment—upon young men. It is obviously impossible for a veteran Anarchist of three-score-years-and-ten, with forty years propagandism behind him, to make the particular form of resistance necessary against National Service. Quite clearly, it can only be a chap of 20 years old who can make this stand, because he is the one being called upon.

The sneer of the militarist, so implicit in Capt. Barrington's defence and more particularly the Evening News version of it, is seen to be a pretty weak one. You may be sure, of course, that there would be nothing "foolish" or even "young" about Bowers if he did what the State required of him. But in point of fact he was prepared not to swim with the stream but to resist, and it is only by virtue of the fact that people like him do resist that the tentacles of the State do not reach even further in their grip.

Capt. Barrington is, of course, only a foolish young man led astray by a crowd of militarists with a great deal to lose, and it is a pity that his statement should be given prominence over the forceful statement of Roy Bowers, namely, that he is not prepared to accept the State's right to command him as an individual, which is the basis of freedom.

He is now serving 112 days' detention for his "being absent from leave from his annual camp". The State is once more mistaken if they think that this will alter the views held by a man like Roy Bowers. INTERNATIONALIST.

Communities in Relation to Society

by MARK HOLLOWAY
Author of *Heavens on Earth*

I WOULD like to begin this paper with a warning. This is, that the remarks I shall make will be largely academic. My knowledge of communities is, with one or two unimportant exceptions, second-hand; it is also limited in time and place. I know something about communities in America in the nineteenth century and I've collected a little information about a few other communities; but the impressions received from written accounts or even from hearsay very rarely give an adequate picture of reality. I expect a number of readers of FREEDOM could endorse this statement. If, as I did once or twice during the war, they read some account of a community and then visited or lived in the community in question, they will probably agree that the account and the reality often bore no more relation to one another than most advertisements do to the commodities they advertise. One community I knew, which was called in grandiose style, the So-and-so Land Scheme, raised expectations of a well-organised, efficient, up-to-date market garden. When one arrived one found a single shack in which half-a-dozen men were attempting to live—in extreme discomfort—off the produce of a ploughed-up football field. Many other examples of a similar disparity between report and actuality will occur to anyone who had experience of such matters. Sometimes report was worse than reality: malicious or disaffected members of such communities were only too ready to paint them blacker than they were. I do not wish to give the impression that all, or even most of these communities, were wholly unsatisfactory. I simply wish to establish the fact that second-hand knowledge is necessarily incomplete and can never give one the shock of actual experience.

To this general warning I would like to add an apology for the fact that I am almost wholly ignorant of the present position of communities in England, and that I know very little about contemporary communities in any country. My main interest has been in communities of the past.

What I propose to do in this paper is to examine briefly some of the characteristics of wartime communities in England, and then to consider the question of the relationship of communities in general to society. Lastly, I shall make a few tentative suggestions as to

how a community, supposing it were thought desirable to found one, might best be organised.

Most communities owed their existence either to religious or to socialist theories. People who wished for freedom from the restrictions of ordinary society so that they might test out such theories, formed themselves into small groups for the purpose. In most cases, but not all, a communistic or co-operative economy was adopted, either for practical or for ethical reasons. In the United States in the nineteenth century there was a great variety of such experiments, one or two of which still survive, while many others have succeeded them. As far as I know, at least one such community has been founded in almost every country.

In England there was barely a handful of communities until the years immediately preceding the war. There were one or two small societies of Christians who were attempting to provide living examples of the ideal of brotherhood, and these aroused a certain amount of interest among Christian pacifists; but it was not until the establishment of the Brüderhöf colony that this interest became more than superficial. The Brüderhöf, or Society of Brothers, was the first really large-scale organisation of its kind in this country. It had a membership of over 200 and was successful for three reasons. First, because its members were united by a common faith and by strict discipline; second, because it had been tried and tested in Germany before emigrating to England; and third, because its organisers were good business men and its members hard workers.

The Brüderhöf, which claimed a number of English converts, caused a great deal of discussion among pacifists, and revived memories of some earlier communities in this country, such as White-way, Clousden Hill, and even the Abode of Love. But little activity took place until the outbreak of war, when a great number of small pacifist communities gradually appeared, mainly for two reasons. A number of pacifists of all kinds had lost, or had felt bound to give up, their jobs for conscientious reasons; and an even greater number were exempted from military service on condition that they worked on the land. Many of these people were attracted by communities in which they would not

only be working among those who shared their beliefs but would also avoid—so they innocently supposed—the monotony and hardship of working for a War Agricultural Committee or a slave-driving or unsympathetic farmer. Some people also took the view that war-resistance could best be maintained by gathering pacifists together in groups

EMERSON ON WAR

SINCE the peace question has been before the public mind, those who affirm its right and expediency have naturally been met with objections more or less weighty. There are cases frequently put by the curious—moral problems, like those problems in arithmetic which in long winter evenings the rustics try the hardness of their heads in ciphering out. And chiefly, it is said: either accept this principle for better, for worse, carry it out to the end, and meet its absurd consequences; or else, if you pretend to set an arbitrary limit, a "Thus far, no further," then give up the principle, and take that limit which the common-sense of all mankind has set, and which distinguishes offensive war as criminal, defensive war as just. Otherwise, if you go for no war, then be consistent and give up self-defence in the highway, in your own house. Will you push it thus far? Will you stick to your principle of non-resistance when your strong-box is broken open, when your wife and babes are insulted and slaughtered in your sight? If you say "Yes, you only invite the robber and assassin; and a few bloody-minded desperados would soon butcher the good."

In reply to this charge of absurdity on the extreme peace doctrine, as shown in the supposed consequences, I wish to say that such deductions consider only one-half of the fact. They look only at the passive side of the friend of peace, only at his passivity; they quite omit to consider his activity. . . . If you have a nation of men who have risen to that height of moral cultivation that they will not declare war or carry arms, for they have not so much madness left in their brains, you have a nation of lovers, of benefactors, of true, great, and able men. Let me know more of that nation; I shall not find them defenceless, with idle hands springing at their sides. I shall find them men of love, honour, and truth; men of an immense industry; men whose influence is felt to the end of the earth; men whose very look and voice carry the sentence of honour and shame; and all forces yield to their energy and persuasion. Whenever we see the doctrine of peace embraced by a nation, we may be assured it will not be one that invites injury; but one, on the contrary, which has a friend in the bottom of the heart of every man, even of the violent and the base; one against which no weapon can prosper; one which is looked upon as the asylum of the human race and has the tears and the blessings of mankind.

—R. W. EMERSON, in his *Essay on War*, reprinted by the P.P.U. at 1/-.

which might be expected to afford them mutual encouragement and also enable them to engage in anti-war propaganda. Generally speaking, therefore, people were brought together in these communities not because they believed in communities as such, but because communities seemed to offer a less unpleasant means of existence than could be found elsewhere.

This, of course, was not a very good reason for joining a community, although it was natural enough in the circumstances. Fortunately for the communities concerned, it did not operate to the exclusion of enthusiasm on the part of many members. But enthusiasm by itself could not compensate for lack of experience; and most communities suffered more from this defect than from any other. Their members often had no previous knowledge of agriculture—some had never even handled a spade—and most of them had no idea of the difficulties involved in living at close quarters, and usually in uncomfortable quarters, with other people.

"If there is anyone," wrote F.A. Lea, in words that ought to be inscribed over the entrance to every community, "if there is anyone who believes that patience and public spirit are things easy to acquire, let him join a community and put his theory to the test. He will learn more about the ramifications of the Ego, the ubiquitous and protean nature of self-love in himself and others, than even Freud could have disclosed to him." Many of us, who lived even for a short time in a community, will endorse every word of this heartfelt observation. How well one remembers those personal conflicts that broke out into open quarrels which, even as one engaged in them, outraged one's feelings of self-respect and shocked one into astonishment that one could become so absurdly angered by a matter that was usually so trivial; or those factions that developed, at first secret and half-jocular, and then, feeding on some resentment or malice that was probably quite unfounded, could suddenly divide a community in two. The suspicion—or the obvious fact—that a member was not contributing his fair share of work, or was avoiding his domestic duties; the fundamental differences of temperament between the unimaginative and the imaginative members; between those who were used to manual work, and those who weren't; between married and unmarried members; between the genially sceptical temperament, the heartily optimistic, and the frankly pessimistic; between those with committee minds, who were always attempting to organise, and those who wanted as little organisation as possible; between those who thought that at least some part of one's leisure (if one ever had any) should be spent in doing 'good works', and those who didn't—all these differences were causes of strife. Strained relationships were all the more acute for being unavoidable in the close quarters in which most communities were housed. Usually there was such over-crowding that privacy was impossible not only during the day, but in many cases where dormitories existed,

even at night. Pain was concentrated and magnified in such places as it is in an aching tooth. And it was made worse by a number of contributory factors. Usually members were earning either no money at all or barely sufficient to pay for tobacco or an occasional glass of beer; often men had to cook, clean the premises and mend their own clothes in addition to doing a heavy day's work; meals, even when they were satisfying in bulk, were usually unattractive and could not usually be served in that atmosphere of relaxation which is essential for their enjoyment. And then there were the psychological strains connected with the impact of the war itself, the doubts and anxieties which were aroused by the relationship of the community to the outside world, the feeling of isolation, and the consciousness that the work one was doing was, in most cases, neither particularly useful nor particularly interesting—feelings, in fact, that were shared by any sensitive person in any sphere of life during the war, but were possibly made worse for pacifists by the fact that they usually lacked the compensation of public approval.

Such were the conditions of life in many communities. I have purposely concentrated upon the disadvantages and the miseries rather than upon the advantages and the occasional pleasures, because the former are too often overlooked by eager advocates of community life. Most of these distressing human relationships could be avoided most of the time in a properly organised community; and much of this internal friction would never have occurred if the communities in question had been even moderately prosperous. Lack of capital was one of their major difficulties, as it was in many other communities in other countries and at other times. Lack of capital, especially in a highly industrialised country such as ours, where land is so costly, means poor soil, which in its turn means poor crops and may mean wireworm, clubroot, and half a dozen other pests and diseases. Lack of capital also means poor accommodation, lack of elementary conveniences and comforts, over-crowding, and consequently the social difficulties already mentioned. It may also lead, by means of sour grapes and rationalisation, to the championing of primitive methods of farming and the cultivated disdain for machines and labour-saving devices. All these elements, combined with instability of membership, the sheltering of men on the run, and the general amateurish, impermanent air which characterised so many communities, were responsible for the understandable suspicion with which some of them were regarded by neighbours. Too many communities were like gipsy encampments; too many suffered from parasitical and irresponsible members who either did not work at all or behaved in a manner that aroused the animosity of the public. In fact, it is not surprising that communities were often regarded as a means of escape from the obligations which society imposes. Many people still look upon communities from this point of view; and this raises the question of the relationship of communities in general to the society in which we live.

(To be continued)

The American Minorities

(Continued from our last issue)

4

The Life Energy

"Looking at Akiko, for once almost ready to burst through the restraint of perfect self-control, I found myself remembering the throngs of people, all over Japan, who could be found daily and almost hourly, bowing in a group before some national shrine. Now, I thought I understood something that had puzzled me often—the feeling of electric tension that seemed to flow in waves from the bowed, silent people. Especially was this true on any occasion of national celebration, of the vast throngs bowing before the Imperial Palace, on the Yasakuni Shrine where the spirits of soldiers killed in battle were venerated. It occurred to me now that these moments of communal worship of some national symbol made the only legitimate release of emotion permitted under the Japanese Way. In Japan the love of country, either as a nature-worship or patriotism, was the only emotion that custom allowed the individual to express. And so in the million genuflections of a million bodies before some recognised symbol was released the tension of a million private emotions too long repressed, too studiously denied. A problem for the future, not only of Japan, but for the world, was concerned with what might happen if circumstances ever brought about a lowering of the controls, and if this damned-up emotion were ever released on a flood of fear and national insecurity."

—Year of the Wild Boar, by Helen Mears. (J. B. Lippincott, N.Y., 1942.)

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THE happy person, the person satisfied in his work, the complete person, the lover, has no interest in persecuting others (the lover has time for his beloved only.) The happy person desires time for his own delights. He needs a society that will leave him alone in the most personal things and in which he can rationally and joyfully participate in the more communal things. Moreover, he wants to choose his own place and area of contribution.

The sick person, the prejudiced person, lives under a trembling volcano: himself. His energies are continually frustrated and channelled into evil and aggressive acts.

If the individual is permitted to express his basic energies freely, this is

done through love and creative work: Love can be romantic-sexual, self-love, friendship, and their combinations, and includes a creative interest in individuals of different cultures.

5

Race Prejudice: A Social Biopathy

When the creative life energy of the individual is damned, it may turn two ways: inward to create physical diseases and functional insanity, or outward to create social diseases (social biopathies: hate, race prejudice, war). Class society uses this hateful energy for its own purposes. It channels hate along socially acceptable paths: against minorities, foreigners, "Communists", sex deviants, other States, intellectuals and artists, etc. As the death toll of the germ-carried diseases drops sharply, the cardiovascular and cancer diseases leap catastrophically upward. The rates of commitment to mental hospitals rises tremendously. The crime rate rises astoundingly. (We are not here concerned at all with the so-called crimes against property, but the crimes of violence against the person also leap forward. Thus: rape is increasing at the fastest rate of any category in America to-day.) Thorburn gives the following statistics for total number of crimes and misdemeanours, etc., convictions in the U.S.A. from 1920 to 1940:

1920	—	40,691
1925	—	77,202
1930	—	175,530
1935	—	363,743
1940	—	1,155,986

(International Journal of Sex Economy and Orgone Research, Vol. 1, 1942, p. 258.)

6

The Mechanics of the Channelisation of Hate

"The natural bio-energetic principle in the newborn baby is systematically smothered and ruined by the armoured parent and educator; they are backed up in their ignorance by mighty social institutions which thrive on the armoury of the human animal."

—WILHELM REICH: *Children of the Future*, Vol. 2, No. 4. *Orgone Energy Bulletin*, Oct., 1950.

MINORITY and racial discrimination is merely institutionalised hate. This hate is the socially permitted or accepted or (in Nazi Germany or any country at

Continued on p. 4

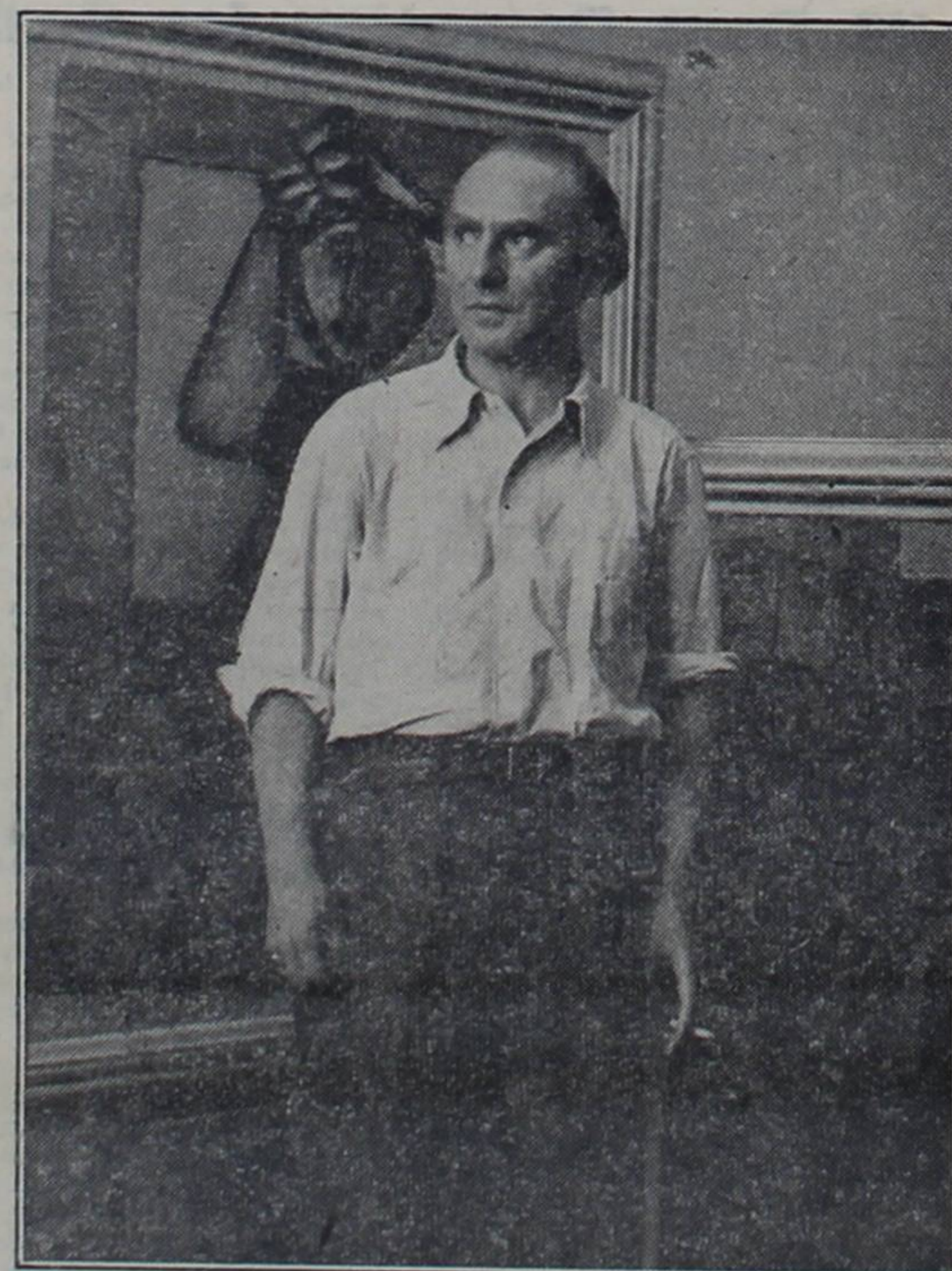
JANKEL ADLER Memorial Exhibition

A conspiracy of silence seems to surround the memorial exhibition of the work of Jankel Adler, now being held at the New Burlington Galleries under the auspices of the Arts Council. Very few reviews have appeared in the press, and when introduced sympathetically by Denis Mathews to the B.B.C. Critics, Adler received short shrift from these gentlemen, who either found his works "ugly" or "impossible to live with". In his lifetime, Jankel was always deeply disappointed at the reception of his works in this country and he still does not receive the recognition due to "a painter with a great European reputation," and whose "importance in contemporary painting can scarcely be over-emphasised."

And yet his paintings are compelling and powerful. They have a unity and carry a conviction with them that will not be ignored. Here is an artist with something definite to say and a mastery of the means of saying it.

There are those who stress the Jewish influence on his work and although his origin and early environment were the experience on which he drew, he had grown from this to much greater stature, a human being bound neither by barriers of nationality, race or religion. A close friend, writing at the time of his death, said: "He retained a strong sympathy for Judaism though he rejected its tenets and practices." When he asserted his Jewish origin, it may well have been in defence of and sympathy with the Jewish people. Just as he inscribed two of his paintings: "In commemoration of the Polish Dead," although at other times he was contemptuous of those who referred to him as Polish. And, again, he demonstrated where his sympathies lay when he dedicated another painting (not in this exhibition) "Hommage à Durruti", thus identifying himself with the cause of the Spanish people.

To return to the exhibition. It would be an impossible task to attempt to describe any of the eighty-one pictures in detail. We can only urge as many as possible of our readers to visit this collection and if they have not already done so to become acquainted with the work of this great artist.



JANKEL ADLER 1896—1949 [photo by Marie Louise Berneri]

Is The Peaceful Revolution Possible in India?

THE problem of India has always been the problem of the peasant. Indeed, control over the land that feeds all mankind is the central social and revolutionary problem of historical times. In the case of India this social and economic question has in the recent past been partly concealed, in voluntary propaganda, by the struggle against British imperial rule, and still more recently by the exposure of the nationalist illusion presented by Congress rule. Nevertheless, the anarchist analysis put forward in FREEDOM has never forgotten the land-hungry, debt-ridden peasant. And the vital rôle he plays, or should play, could not have been more terrifyingly underlined than by the famines of the last ten years.

It is easy to think of industrial capitalism as providing the extreme examples of social degradation and disintegration. But in no other country can the extremes of wealth and mass destitution be so plain as in India. Wealth is there of the most lavish and fantastic kind; while the squalor and unremitting, hopeless condition of the peasants as they wage an unending struggle against lack of equipment, lack of capital, harsh natural obstacles and debt, is something that Europeans find hard to imagine even dimly. Both the wealth and the squalor derive from the unequal ownership of land, and it is this basic inequality which anarchists stress as the fundamental economic and social issue of the revolution in India. The removal of this inequality is the pre-condition of a just social organisation.

The appearance of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, and his requests to landowners that they should give him some of their lands for redistribution to landless peasants is therefore a remarkable phenomenon. "Acharya" means "teacher", and Bhave already has achieved something of the reverence which Gandhi received.

Living in the most simple way, and sleeping in the mud huts of the poor he set out on a tour on foot of South India, beginning in Telengana. On this tour, the landowners gave him 15,000 acres. Since the beginning of September, when he set out on a 795-mile walk to Delhi, he has been given a further 20,000 acres. At New Delhi he was visited by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, who offered as much of his land holdings in Bihar as Bhave liked to take. Such a gesture can hardly be lost on landowners generally throughout India.

To Western ideas, influenced by Marx, and by the actuality of capitalist property and the class struggle, it is fantastic to see a degree of redistribution of property carried out simply by asking for it. It may be said that Bhave has achieved—so far—only 35,000 acres of the 50,000,000 he aims at, an area representing one-sixth of the total cultivable area of India. That such an amount is only a sop to stave off the day when the peasants will seize the land for themselves. Even so, 35,000 acres at the very outset of his attempt is an extraordinary achievement.

Still more significant is the method. For he is really appealing to the sense of social justice of landowners and by conceding some land for redistribution they are admitting the injustice of inequality. Such admissions, such concessions are the beginnings of a loss of belief on the part of the ruling class in the basic justice and rightness of their positions of social privilege. Such a loss of confidence is some-

thing which has always preceded the major revolutions of history.

Thus the charge of reformism may well be substantiated, and Bhave himself may have no very radical or revolutionary aim; but in his method there is something revolutionary, for it touches the ethical matters that lie at the heart of social justice.

No doubt there is no country except India where such an appeal could have been made without ridicule. Yet when all the ifs and buts have been said, we shall do well to watch this strange experiment which touches the centre of India's revolutionary problem—the land.

The Case of the Groveland Negroes

WHAT was the report of the two Negroes referred to by Mr. Vishinsky? It is known as the Groveland case and dates back to 1949 when four young Negroes were charged with raping a white woman, Norma Padgett. One, Ernest Thomas, was never tried because he was killed by a posse shortly after the alleged rape. The second, Charles Greenlee, only sixteen years old at the time is now serving a life sentence and the remaining two, Samuel Shepherd (23) and Walter Lee Irvin (23) had their conviction set aside by the unanimous opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court. The findings of this court were published in *extenso* in FREEDOM (May 19, 1951) under the heading "For the (Black) Record". The grounds on which they

reversed the lower courts decision was that the Florida Press had so inflamed opinion against the accused that it was impossible for them to have a fair trial. But they were not set free. Instead it was decided that they should be tried elsewhere—in Tavares, seat of Lake County. And last month, handcuffed together, Shepherd and Irvin set out for Tavares in a car driven by Sheriff Willis McCall. But they never reached their destination. Two miles inside the Lake County line, Shepherd was shot dead and Irvin shot in the chest, by Sheriff Willis McCall. The coroner's jury cleared Sheriff McCall after he had told the jury that he had shot the prisoners when they attempted to escape, after he had been obliged to stop to mend a puncture. The shooting took place on a road which, as one newspaperman has put it, could not have been more isolated. There were no witnesses: only Sheriff McCall and Lee Irvin, the surviving prisoner, know the truth. And in his sworn testimony, Irvin said: "The sheriff ordered him and Shepherd to get out of the car to fix the flat tyre. Shepherd was getting out, but he shot him . . . right quick he shot me. He snatched both of us and threw us on the ground and then I didn't say anything."

"I didn't say nothing, so after he snatched me he shot me again in the shoulder. I heard him say: 'I got rid of them—killed the SOB's [Sons of Bitches] but still I didn't say anything. He ran around the car and called the deputy on the radio and then I heard him say: 'Pull around here right quick; these SOB's tried to jump me, and I did a good job'."

Irvin said that Yates arrived in about ten minutes and walked over with a pistol to where he lay, handcuffed to Shepherd.

"I don't know whether it was his pistol or the sheriff's," Irvin said. ". . . The deputy . . . said to the sheriff, 'That SOB is not dead,' and then he said, 'Let's kill him'."

Irvin said that the pistol failed to fire the first time, but that Yates shot him through the neck on the second try.

But is it surprising that the jury accepted the sheriff's account of the shooting, and found that "the said shooting was justifiable by reason that McCall was acting in line of duty, and in defence of his own life." Not all Americans apparently are satisfied with this verdict and in a report published in the *New Leader* (N. York, 19/11/51), a number of significant questions are raised which suggest that the shooting might easily have been a "diabolical conspiracy". After all, as the *N.L.* reporter points out: "It is not beyond the realm of possibility that McCall did have one or more accomplices. In a county whose inhabitants have once before tried to lynch Irvin and Shepherd, who drove 400 Negroes from their homes, who burned down Negro property, who fired shots into places where Negroes congregated, and who roamed the highways for days following the alleged rape of Norma Padgett, anything is possible."

And it also appears that the State's Attorney of the Fifth Judicial District, Jess Hunter, although he originally prosecuted the accused, has, since the

shooting, virtually "run out" on Sheriff McCall and Judge Hall.

"But—continues the *N.L.* reporter—Circuit Judge Futch's ruling that there will be no grand-jury investigation indicates that the dominant forces in Lake County are determined to whitewash McCall, even if it means compounding the injustices already committed. Futch contends that the inquest was "thorough" enough. Actually, as I observed with my own eyes, it was a farce, for it never seriously questioned McCall but directed much venom at Irvin. If Lake County cannot mete out justice, let Washington step in to save the name of the U.S.A."

Justice is not a commodity which Washington can mete out. For there to be justice anywhere, a sense of justice must exist in the minds and hearts of the people in general. The Canadian Foreign Minister at the United Nations said of the Groveland shooting that if the report were accurate it is a shocking crime and "99.9 per cent. of the people of the United States will feel that way about it." If that statement were true, then such cases as the Groveland shooting would be isolated cases of injustice. Instead, as we will attempt to show in another *Commentary*, in a country riddled with corruption in business, government and the Trade Unions and in which nationalism and racialism abound, where commercialism has destroyed those values necessary for the respect of "human rights", the real conscience of the country rests with a very small minority of determined radicals, daily threatened with annihilation by that vast, ruthless machine called the American Way-of-Life.

LIBERTARIAN.

MINERAL RESOURCES

No Nation Self-Sufficient

THE nations of the world are interdependent upon one another for the many mineral resources which are used in modern industry.

This fact was recently brought out by two geologists—Dr. Kirtley Mather of Harvard and Dr. Howard Meyerhoff, secretary for the American Association for the Advancement of Science—in a nation-wide broadcast over a radio network.

The geologists cautioned that the earth's mineral stores are in the process of depletion, and that while some substances exist in such quantities that they can be counted upon to fulfil human needs for many thousands of years, available supplies of others will be exhausted with a few centuries.

Mineral resources have largely determined the scope of industrial activities of modern nations and the rôle of their leadership in world affairs. The scientists pointed out that the high-grade iron ores of Minnesota, the English Midlands and the Ruhr, combined with accessible coal deposits in these areas, enabled the United States, Great Britain and Germany to attain leadership in the world during the latter half of the 19th century.

Industrial demands for materials have become so diversified that minerals must be assembled from the far corners of the earth. No nation, with the possible exception of Russia, is self-sufficient in mineral resources, they said.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS

"It is an ironical and unpleasant fact that growing condemnation of South African racialism by people of all parties in this country, far from being reflected in the attitude of His Majesty's Government, has been accompanied by ever warmer relations between Britain and South Africa. At Lake Success the British Government supported the South African case in South-West Africa: the British delegate was one of those who voted against Michael Scott being heard. In Bechuanaland, the Minister for Commonwealth Relations bowed to White prejudice by refusing to permit Seretse and Ruth Khama to reside there. On this showing it seems doubtful even whether Britain will for much longer refuse to hand over the three High Commission Territories to South Africa."

—THE NEW STATESMAN, 3/11/51.

Continued from p. 1

two other British Protectorates, Basutoland and Swaziland. It has always been easier for the South African Government to apply political and economic pressure on Basutoland and Swaziland—which are virtually captive islands within the Union—than on Bechuanaland. South African Nationalists, however, believe that events in Bechuanaland are now running in their favour."

When Dr. Malan opened the Free State provincial congress of the Nationalist Party at Bloemfontein on Sept. 11, he said that the question of the protectorates would become an issue in the next South African general election. His opponents, the United Party, then declared that they, too, "supported the incorporation of the protectorates, but that they might attach conditions later" (*The Times*, 12/9/51).

The Government of Southern Rhodesia has told the British Government that it would regard the transfer of Bechuanaland Protectorate to South Africa "as a serious breach of promise". This is not, however, because of Sir Godfrey's concern for the people of the Protectorate—it is because Southern Rhodesia, too, claims the territory, citing agreements made in 1895 between the then Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, and Cecil Rhodes's company.

BASUTOS ALARMED

THE Basutoland National Council sent a delegation to this country in October to ask for an explicit undertaking that their Protectorate would not be handed over to South Africa without the consent of the people. They left on November 11th, having failed to get their assurances. On the day before they left, five members of the delegation issued a statement which said:—

"Since 1949, when the Basuto National Council passed a motion asking the British Government not to hand over our country to South Africa without the consent of the Basutos, we have been trying to get a pledge from the Minister of Commonwealth Relations. That pledge has not been forthcoming, and once again we leave empty-handed. "This is a very bitter issue with us. If Britain were to let us down it would be regarded as a breach of faith such

as has never before been committed in the history of Britain's rule in Africa.

"All this dilly-dallying with South Africa over the future of the Protectorates makes us extremely suspicious. Dr. Malan has asked for all the papers of the negotiations in this matter to be published. His aim is to show how nearly Britain came to handing over the Protectorates.

"This fills us with alarm. We also demand the publication of these papers so that we can know what has been going on."

★

The *New Statesman*, commenting on the duality of British policy in Africa connects it with military strategy and especially the defence of the Middle East. "The South Africans, it was said, were being asked by London to send troops to the Middle East: in return for this, London would make no difficulties over 'native policy'. Major-General du Toit, Chief of the South African General Staff, speaking in Johannesburg on October 20th, said that South Africa had now been assigned 'her part in the Middle East'. She was better prepared for a major war than at any time in her history; 'every single detail of organisation has been worked out in complete co-operation with the Allied armies.' The goodwill of White South Africans, it seems, is more important to British imperial strategy than the goodwill of the non-White peoples of Africa. . . ." But the *New Statesman* need not say this as though it were surprised. For what counts in imperial strategy is power, and the peoples of the protectorates are powerless, just as much under the benevolent indirect rule of the British through tribal chiefs as under the rule of South Africa. We want to run our own affairs," said some Basutos to Mr. Basil Davidson, when he was in Africa this year, "but we shall never learn to do that unless we are given the chance of experience."

Reader's Letter

I AM rather surprised to notice that FREEDOM has had nothing to say about the occupation of Italian factories by the workers. Though aware that the Communists have been aiding and making use of these stay-in strikes, I think that there are many interesting things about them from the point of view of anarcho-syndicalism. As to the rôle of the Communists, the following extract from an article by Giorgio Borsa on "Present Problems of Italy," in *The Listener*, 29/9/51, is enlightening:

"I was motoring one day last month with an English friend along Lake Maggiore. We were going through Sesto Calende on the southern tip of the lake, when we passed two motor lorries loaded with helmeted police, carrying Tommy-guns. We looked at each other and could not help laughing. My friend had just been telling me how changed he sensed the atmosphere of the country was since he last visited it in 1936 under the Fascists. 'Are the old days back?' he asked, pointing at the two lorries. No: I did not think they were. The old days were gone. What was happening, then? We stopped and enquired. The police were relieving a post station at Sesto Calende 'to prevent disorders'. And why were disorders expected to occur at Sesto Calende of all places? Because, we were told, the Siai-Marchetti aviation works had been wound up, and the workers, refusing to be dismissed had occupied the plant.

"I suppose the bolsies are behind it?" my friend remarked. It was not easy to answer. I did not answer then: I

Italian Factory Seizures

would like to try to do it now. Maybe he is listening somewhere. One need not be a bolsie to stick desperately to one's job in a country which has nearly 2,000,000 unemployed."

I should like also at the risk of occupying too much space to draw your attention to this very interesting cutting from last month's *Socialist Standard*:

"Recently the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Workers (which is part of the World Federation of Trade Unions) issued a pamphlet describing how the Italian steel workers refused to allow the owners to close steel factories during 1949 and 1950, and instead continued at their work without wages and without professional management, electing temporary managers from their own ranks. While the workers ran the factories themselves, they built ships, aeroplanes, furnaces; they improved efficiency; and by introducing new processes, they economised considerably on production costs—for example, at the Ilva-Bolzaneto works at Genoa, they reduced the price of a kilogram of metal from 44 to 28 lire, and, in order to economise on oil, they invented a process which saved 500 kilograms of oil in every eight hours of work.

"This episode in Italy has a number of useful lessons for all socialists. First, that workers can run the factories by themselves; and that they can not only maintain but improve efficiency. Second, that this kind of movement, which consists of industrial action alone, cannot permanently put the workers in control of the factories. As the pamphlet itself

says, 'there was no point in cherishing the illusion of stable and lasting working-class management in a capitalist régime.' Like all such experiments, this one would have ended immediately had the Government decided to employ resolutely the coercive forces at its disposal. Italy thus reinforces the lesson of Russia after 1917, where the system of worker-elected managements, which operated for a short time after the Revolution, was soon abolished by the Bolsheviks in favour of State-appointed managements when the former system was seen to be incompatible with State-capitalism.

"And the third lesson is that State-ownership of factories does not alter in the slightest the position of the workers vis-a-vis their employers. The most powerful attack of the employers, says the pamphlet, came in September and October, 1950, when in a dozen or more factories they attempted to dismiss 15,000 metal workers. And of these undertakings, 'the majority belong to the I.R.I., that is to say they are State corporations'. So in Italy, as in Britain, those workers who spent their energies forwarding the nationalisation of factories can now see how they have wasted their time."

It is, of course, not pointed out that the W.F.T.U. is a Communist-dominated organisation, and we all know that the Commies are all in favour of workers' direct action outside the countries they control. All the same, the comments I have quoted are valid and much to the point.

Tooting.

T.T.

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OVERTIME

THE recent ban in the London docks on working overtime focused attention on an aspect of working conditions which has been neglected for too long.

The steady rise in the cost of living since the war, together with the continued urges to harder work and greater effort, have made longer hours of work seem necessary and inevitable.

Before the war, there was far more consciousness about the length of the working day than there seems to be now. Which is understandable when we consider the changed conditions of the labour market since the nineteen-thirties.

Then, when there were never less than a million unemployed—the peak figure in 1931 was over three million—the unions were conscious of the fact that a reduction in the working day could have meant the provision of more jobs.

Many were the arguments then put forward showing how peak efficiency could not be maintained for too many hours. Tests and experiments were carried out, and statistics proved that a shorter working day would often result, not in a drop in output, but in an actual increase.

The knowledge that they were working for less hours would bring forth greater effort from the workers than when they knew they had to stay at the job longer. In many tedious and monotonous jobs, the converse was also found to be true; the extension of hours of work did not produce an increase in output relative to the extra time put in.

It is astonishing, when one looks back, to see how slow has been the progress in the reduction of the working day. It was in 1886 that workers in America were echoing the agitation of European workers for the eight-hour day. The Anarchists who became the Chicago Martyrs after the bomb incident in the Haymarket, Chicago, were taking part

in what was almost a world-wide movement of the time.

That was 1886, and the target was a maximum of eight hours work a day. How many times has production multiplied since then? How much more does a worker produce to-day than he produced in the same industry in 1886? In those 65 years, the productive capacity of every industrial country has multiplied over and over again.

The Americans claimed that U.S. productive capacity doubled itself during the last war. In this country, we are told that productivity has increased by 40% since 1946 alone. And yet, to-day, 65 years after, the average working man spends longer at the job than the workers regarded at a maximum in 1886!

Somehow or other, in spite of a period of unparalleled technical expansion, no greater leisure has been won by the working class. In time of depression and of boom, the circumstances seem to have worked against them. In a de-

pression the worker has been too glad to have a job to be prepared to risk it by demands for a shorter day. In the few times of prosperity we have known, there has been plenty of work to be done and plenty of money to be made while the going was good. In the ten years of the two world wars, all the arguments have been for more production to back up "our boys at the front"; Labour shortages have been answered by longer working hours.

And since the last war we have had variations of Morrison's "We Work or Want!" in all the various exhortations to close dollar gaps, export or die, meet the economic crises, face up to our commitments and, of course, now the rearmament drive.

Although circumstances have changed, therefore, time and time again, there have always been reasons why no movement to shorten the hours of work has grown up among the workers.

And, of course, one of the main reasons has always been that very same technical expansion which was once heralded as a means to more leisure. As technical knowledge has increased, whole new industries have been created.

Since 1886, for example, aircraft, motor-cars, radio, telephones, television, electronics, electric railways, road trans-

port, cinemas, and a thousand other activities have developed. There is so much more for people to work at to-day. But then, because of the increase in population, there are many more people to do the work!

But the apparent paradox—that for all the speed-up in productive processes and for all the labour-saving devices, we are working as long to-day as 60 years ago—is only a part of a lunatic world of paradox—part of a system which breeds contradictions and absurdity and within which the answers are as barmy as the questions.

Within the capitalist system of market economy there is just no hope that the possibilities which we undoubtedly have for reducing the working day and making full use of the technical resources at our disposal, will in fact be used for that end.

The newest headache our masters have to contend with—and which they will pass on to us eventually—is the "problem" of the revival of German and Japanese competition in world markets.

In the same economy the development of productive capacity in other countries would be regarded as something to be pleased about. But the capitalists fear it, just as they fear abundance in the production of anything except war

materials. The weapons of war are the only industrial products to-day which can be consumed as quickly as they are produced. That is why a war economy is becoming such a permanent feature of capitalism in every country.

It is fruitless, then, to look for more leisure while capitalism lasts. Free enterprise capitalism is merging into State capitalism, this is merging into totalitarianism, and leisure—time to think—is dangerous to the 20th century slave State.

The tendency in this country at this moment is towards the longer working day. The dockers have just realised their position—they are committed to work periods their bosses think "reasonable"—and the miners are now working every Saturday morning, having given up their long-fought-for five-day week. The staggering of hours to relieve the loads on power stations is another form of the same thing.

The fact that overtime is paid for at higher rates than day-rate is small consolation. Rising costs of living are forcing many workers to seek or to accept overtime in order to make enough to live. But taxation also plays its part in reducing the reward for the extra hours.

The answer is not to be found in that direction at all. For society to make full use of the means of production at its disposal, it must create that economic organisation which will administer production for need, instead of for the profit of the owner or the glory of the State.

Then—and only then—will a reduction of the working day become possible.

The workers in control of industry would obviously not work longer than necessary. In the free society of Anarchism, the release from useless and unnecessary labour of the millions who to-day serve the capitalist and State machines would provide a labour force which in itself could greatly reduce the hours spent on productive work by each individual.

There is no short cut to this end. The creating of an Anarchist influence and a syndicalist organisation are the first steps. Until they get under way, the bosses will remain virtually unopposed and the workers will continue to labour in the interests of their masters instead of in their own. P.S.

THE AMERICAN MINORITIES

Continued from p. 1

war—as in the case of the Japanese in U.S.A.) the socially glorified hate. And this itself is a substitute for personal hate. In a mass society even hate is massified—depersonalised. And so is love: for flag, for "country", for "Mom", for "fellow man" (but not the man next to you) or beneath this: so-called love for fellow man (as in the Soviet Union); the practice of the most barbaric hatred or indifference: total-ling in the end in a grand numbing of feeling and discrimination and finally of individuality itself.

All this is a product of deprivation: economic and/or emotional. So the most deprived nation of Europe: Germany becomes the most bestial. So the most deprived individual can become the most vicious, i.e., parts of the so-called lumpen-proletariat. (However, the word itself represents an easy attempt of Marxist thinkers to solve an involved problem [See Prunier's article in FREEDOM on the gigolos of Barcelona] and is

but another slightly more subtle example of mass thinking.)

The happy individual will tend to be unprejudiced towards minorities, and women and children: that is he will not want to exert his authoritarian will over them. The frustrate individual on the other hand, having to control himself authoritatively will also try to control others this way: i.e., minorities, women and children, and even the man next door (especially his sex life) and even the worker on the bench next to his: especially if he has radical economic ideas. He links himself economically and politically with the powers that be (the authoritarian father). This is why it is so easy for such a person to switch ideas from one day to the next. He likes to be a vicarious winner. Yesterday a fascist, to-day a Stalinist. What he really admires is the power itself. (Thus Stalinists find no great psychological adjustments necessary in their own welcoming of yesterday's reactionary in their fold . . . as long as he plays ball . . . i.e., remains obedient. If not, there is always the firing squad or the labour camp.)

Thus the bigot's life energies are consumed in a lifetime of hate, persecution, and dissolution in the mass destructive energy of a nation, a party, an ideology. Thus race prejudice and war are simply institutionalised socially-approved sadism. One of the most frightening things in the world is to hear a group of young men discuss arms (mostly aeroplanes) or war, as if it were the same thing as tiling a roof. Or to see the conniving, meant to be gentle, smiles of a sales girl and a proud father buying his six-year-old a mounted toy mortar that shoots twelve projectiles at once while moving.

Why try to create or love when the whole world is against you? Destroy! Hate! Hate and the world hates with you, love and you love alone.

The opposite spoke on the wheel of the mass individual (opposite to the persecution of the minority) is, of course, the chosen people or master-race idea. Is there any people (or even individual) which has not at one time or another thought or spoken of itself as a chosen people (or person)? If there are, certainly these are the least warlike peoples, and the most comfortable, probably the happiest individuals.

What determines whether the aggressive energy is turned inward or outward (or in what combination of the two)? Outside of the factor of threat of punishment from outside (i.e., non-prejudiced)

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Our friends of the RETORT PRESS (New York) inform us that we shall be receiving a small supply of calendars, produced and printed by them, in the course of the next few days. Price 2/6 each. Orders should be sent to FREEDOM BOOKSHOP as soon as possible.

authorities (although these same non-prejudiced authorities may be willing to slaughter Huns or Crooks or Reds) we come to the domain of the development of types of personality and here we must lay down our arms.

But granted an externally aggressive hatred then: political and class structures and needs will in general determine if the socially approved hatred is to be directed against internal minorities, external states, witches, Communists, or perhaps even people with red hair (as among some savage tribes). Sometimes, unfortunately, for the vulgar economic determinists (I once heard a young Marxist seriously attempt to explain crates of Jewish bars of soap, turned up in Greece, as a result of the fat shortage in occupied Europe! However, even his comrades greeted him with raised eyebrows), sometimes and latterly more and more, utter hate and irrationality takes command. (Not that economic exploitation should be dignified by the term "rational".) But Hitler tied up vast supplies of crucially needed rolling stock on the Death Camps. He destroyed vast amounts of usable labour power. He exterminated not only Jews but started mass exterminations of different Slavic nationalities (Russians, Poles, etc.), all according to his race theories.

He was systematically exterminating gypsies, "hopelessly insane" people, circus people. And as Hannah Arendt has documented in her *Origins of Totalitarianism*: He and his doctors had developed plans to X-ray every inhabitant of Germany. Those with heart or lung disease were to be exterminated. Then, at the next stage (presuming a hereditary taint) their families were to be exterminated!

This is not Marxist economics. This is (to put it mildly): the "emotional plague".

Now, what determines the singling out of a particular group?

- (1) Historic tradition (It's the custom).
- (2) Weakness of group.
- (3) Recognisability.
- (4) The iota of "truth": i.e., the parallel envy of the minorities' success in the deprived group's area of aspiration: economics, sex, happiness, general well-being.

Bettelheim and Janowitz in *Dynamics of Prejudice*, a 1950 study of a group of Chicago veterans (after finding the correlates of prejudice to be: (1) subjective deprivation; (2) downward social mobility; (3) anxiety and (4) the absence of adequate internal control of hostile discharge against minorities), go on to demonstrate that in America the prime clusters of anger, focusing around deprivation of power (economics and sex (love) have been directed in two main directions. Economic frustrations choose Jews as an explanation and scapegoat. Sex frustrations choose the Negro. In Germany where the sex and economic frustration were both catharted through the Jew-hatred, the combined effect was catastrophic.

In the three years since May 1948 there have been in the City of New York alone, over 15,000 arrests for sex violations of all kinds!

That Sex and Race Prejudice are intimately connected, is a repressed bio-social fact. For instance, who realises that the White-Negro intermarriage is prohibited by law in 30 out of the 48 States of the U.S.? 16 States ban White-Oriental marriages. 5 States bar marriages between Whites and American Indians. Some of the prohibitive phraseology from different States reads: No marriage shall be permitted to be contracted between White and: "Negro; the descendant of any Negro; Hindu; Malay; Mongolian; mulatto; member of the Malay race; one-eighth Mongolian blood; one-eighth or more Negro blood; mestizo; persons of colour; Indian; African; half-breed and [Seoul papers, please copy]: Korean (South Dakota). Certain States are so pure they prohibit marriage between Negroes and "members of the Malay Race" (Maryland, for instance.)

(To be concluded)

EDDIE SHAW IN BRADFORD

(from a correspondent)

BRADFORD, November. WHEN our Glasgow comrade, Eddie Shaw spoke in Bradford on the 19th November, his audience numbered about fifty-five, including comrades from Leeds, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Sheffield and Rochdale. This was perhaps a smaller audience than might have been hoped for, as it was his second visit to the town, and on his first visit an audience of fifty, including reporters, had received him very well. What the audience lacked in number, however, it it made up in enthusiasm.

Comrade Shaw established the continuity and sincerity of the anarchist attitude towards war by describing the struggles of some anarchists during the last war. Communists, he said, had tried to incite a Hyde Park crowd to knock him off his platform in 1942, as his speaking against war proved him a fascist. It was they who, advocating war or peace as it suited Russian foreign policy had given people the idea that everybody advocating peace was a liar.

He spoke of the folly of modern war, the folly of the Clydeside workers who spent four years building two battleships, which the Japanese navy sank in half the time; of the supreme folly, these days, of building the battleship *Vanguard*, which, according to eminent naval authority, will melt if a hydrogen bomb drops within forty miles of it! And (the only part of Eddie's speech mentioned in the local press report), the folly of Churchill in resurrecting the Home Guard, which, since these are not the days of Dunkirk, can serve no purpose other than to provide an excuse for those afraid to tell their wives they are going to the pub.

He compared the generals conferring in Korea to warring kings in the Middle Ages, killing time to find out how the battle goes before signing an armistice. And from this he developed the theme of the hypocrisy of governments and others, who think the war will not touch them, and of the apathy of the workers, who make munitions and do whatever else they are told to help the bosses' war, without troubling to realise that it is in their power to prevent war, and bosses, too.

Eddie's talk was, as always, decorated with magnificent flashes of humour, which served to emphasise the seriousness of his main theme. It was a pity that there was, to quote the chairman, "nobody in the audience to answer this apparently simple case". There was, in fact, no real opposition. But there were some lively and provocative questions, and the audience, as evidence that they had been impressed, bought a quantity of literature.

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