

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Food is not produced in government ministries. Only the people who farm the land and fish the waters can produce more food. It is in their hands that the giant power of modern technology must be placed."

—NORRIS DODD  
(Director-General, U.N. Food and Agriculture Organisation)

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Threepence

## United Nations Condone Violence and Murder in their

# S. Korea P.O.W. Camps

THERE are 170,000 Chinese and N. Korean war prisoners and internees on the island of Koje. According to a United Press on the spot report: "Riots, torture and murder have woven a pattern of terror in daily prisoner life here since the first boatload of captives arrived a year ago."

"Eight camp commanders in 12 months have been working behind a wall of official silence to create order in the barbed-wire compounds. They have failed so far to solve what officials call the thorniest prison-administration problem of modern times."

"Each compound seethes with intrigue, half the prisoners figuring ways to escape and the rest pressure groups fighting each other," Lt-Col. John Moran, of Bayonne, N.J., camp executive officer, said. "Killing? Plenty of them."

"Evidence of the struggle between anti-Reds and 'hard core' Communists is more than 30 murders and scores of beatings and riots that have occurred in the enclosures."

"In the four days of rioting last September, 15 North Koreans received death sentences from Communist kangaroo courts meeting secretly at night. The victims were then beaten to death, their cries drowned by their Red execu-

tioners singing Communist marching songs.

"On the afternoon of Sept. 17th, rioters dragged one victim to the edge of the barbed-wire enclosure, cut out his tongue with steel shears and threw it in the faces of onlooking guards. The riot was quelled at bayonet point only after guards hurled concussion grenades in the midst of the screaming prisoners."

"Officials have not disclosed the number killed in riots or escape attempts."

"Most of the riots," Col. Moran said, "are the result of personality clashes or struggles for power within the compounds as well as fights over political differences."

Petitions from prisoners show that 21,000 have protested against being re-

turned to the Communist dominated part of Korea. But no attempt is made to reduce the violence in the camps to a minimum by some kind of segregation. Col. Moran said camp policy prohibited separation of prisoners along political lines. Indeed, he went so far as to say that "We don't want to." The theory is that the prisoners can be better controlled if a small number of trouble-makers is placed among a large number of peaceful prisoners."

The Americans have taken a leaf out of British Imperialism's book of divide and rule. What does the Red Cross say or do about this appalling state of affairs in this democratic P.O.W. camp, which presumably is open to inspection by their representatives?

## MILITARISM IN MALAYA

### Capitalist Economies Defeats Social Programme

THE creation of a unified military, police and social command in Malaya with the appointment of General Templer, was interpreted as a sinister sign some weeks ago in FREEDOM. The problem of Malaya is gradually becoming clearer and the resort to military methods more understandable. General Templer has declared that: "I could win this war in three months if I could get two-thirds of the people on my side."

He went on to insist that it is not a military problem, but a political war. "The basic problem is the people. Therefore emphasis must be placed on economic, social and cultural development of the people. It is typical of our age that it requires a serious military position to make these things seem desirable, and a General to emphasize them as tactical aids."

With all these fine words, General Templer nevertheless also showed the soldier politician's outlook when

he declared that "he would welcome discussion of his problems during the planning stage: but once his plan was complete it had to be carried out to the letter. In that respect the Civil Service must emulate the Army. Orders had to be obeyed instantly and without questioning." (Our italics.)

In his task, General Templer is fully supported by the Church. The Archbishop of York, Dr. Garbett, on his return from Australia and the Pacific, declared: "It is very important that we should not look on the fighting in Malaya as a kind of sideshow. It is a vital section of the long line which civilisation has to defend against the assault of an aggressive Communism. If the Communists succeed in undermining the defences of Malaya, they would soon sweep over Burma and India." Thus the Church militant here on Earth.

### Malayan Economies

What are the prospects of General Templer getting two-thirds of the people on his side? The observations of the economists are not very encouraging in this respect.

Malaya is pre-eminently a rubber-economy. At present the chief market is the American armament programme, and there is an economic boom. Last year's trade amounted to £1,250 millions, an increase of 66 per cent. on 1950. The result is that the rubber planters have made vastly increased profits, whereas the rice growers remain the same. But the rubber boom has sent prices up, so that the standard of living of less prosperous activities has gone down. The *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent writes: "One railway labourer, with four young children, to whom I recently spoke, was earning just under £8 a month. He spends over half of this wage on rice alone. His monthly expenditure (which includes almost a pound in school fees) is over twice his wage, and is achieved by evening and weekend work as a gardener, sometimes up till one o'clock in the morning. The rest of his story was told in a thick wad of pawnshop tickets, representing all his wife's trinkets except her ear-rings."

Malayan economy is still more insecure because the rubber planters, remembering the depression of the thirties, and expecting the American market to disappear (with saturation and from increasing synthetic production—already 40 per cent. of America's needs are produced synthetically) are naturally not going in for capital investment, not even by replacing trees which are obsolescent. Government attempts to make the setting aside of some profits for capital development compulsory are being resisted.

### Rice Imported and Services Neglected

Meanwhile, the Government works on the theory that Malayan exports of rubber allows her to afford to import rice. Home production of rice does not expect to increase enough to make for self-sufficiency, especially since the population is increasing by 100,000 a year. As we have seen the rubber boom has lowered the standards of the rice-growers.

In addition, the Malayan Six-Year Plan for Social Development is being neglected. "This setback has been chiefly caused by the swallowing-up of materials and skilled building labour for barracks, police stations, and resettlement buildings needed in the anti-terrorist campaign, but sky-rocketing prices of materials also caused long delays. . . . The result is that the projected health centres and clinics have not yet been begun, the school building programme is seriously behind schedule, and the new Housing Trust which was to have started its programme last year to relieve the growing over-crowding in towns like Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, and Penang, has not yet done so."

Obviously, capitalism is impotent to provide the social security and hope which are the obvious safeguards against Communism.

## Sex-Appeal and Saturday Morning

IT is seldom that nobody benefits when somebody makes a fool of himself, and in the predatory game of politics the vultures never fail to take advantage when somebody slips up.

It was obvious, therefore, that when Mr. Victor Raikes, Conservative M.P. for Garston, recently made a tactless remark about the sex appeal of Italian recruits for British mines, that someone would pounce upon it and make capital out of it.

We have referred in FREEDOM before to the opposition that has been put up by certain sections of the miners to the scheme for bringing in Italian labour to make up the shortage in this country. The opposition has been strong, but on vague and unconvincing grounds, and we have not supported the attitude of the miners.

Admittedly, it is the miners' business and we should oppose even more vigorously the imposition of the scheme upon the miners from above, and against their will. But the Italians were unemployed in their own country, were men who had been used in Belgian and French mines by the Germans during the war, and who had been sent back to Italy (which has no coal of its own) only to swell the army of more than a million workless there.

British miners know only too well the bitter degradation of unemployment. They are now, however, being speeded-up, constantly cajoled to work harder, longer and produce more; they have

given up their five-day week under a national agreement between the union and the employers, and have absolutely nothing to fear from the import of labour into the pits. It would have been a gesture of international solidarity to have welcomed the Italians—and it would have cost them nothing.

### No Economic Threat

The Italians were to be paid the rate for the job. Had unemployment threatened they would have been the first to be sacked. They would, then, have represented no economic threat to British miners whatsoever. But still the miners—and notably in Yorkshire—opposed the coming of the Italians, and refused to accept them as workmates.

Of many thousands who have volunteered in Italy and who are anxiously awaiting their turn, only 1,796 have so far been accepted, 500 of whom are still waiting for a passage. 1,100 have arrived, been through their training (mostly learning English and British methods of working) and are actually working, and the rest are under training.

The union were as one with the National Coal Board in supporting this scheme. Opposition to the Italian recruits had come, not from the unions, but from the miners who would actually have to work with them.

But then came Mr. Raikes. In a

speech, two weeks ago, he said that the Yorkshire miners' "real objection to Italian workers is not the fear of unemployment, but that Italians have a certain sex-appeal towards miners' wives and daughters."

That brought the miners up in arms. From lodge after lodge, came the protests. This, declared the men, was "an insult to our womenfolk." Retraction was demanded—and given. Mr. Raikes apologised in the House of Commons, but the damage was done.

But damage to what, or to whom? Certainly only to the scheme for recruiting Italians which presumably Mr. Raikes was trying to help (queer way of doing it!) and to Mr. Raikes himself. For Sir William Lawther, leader of the National Union of Mineworkers, it is going to prove very useful indeed.

It has provided him with the opportunity of attacking the whole scheme—which originally he approved. But now it seems that it is wasteful, costly and ineffective. Claiming—now—that it costs too much to train and house the Italians, Lawther is declaring that they are of little use when they have been trained. The union executive has decided to demand the suspension of the scheme, allowing those Italians already accepted to continue, but banning the entry of more.

Now this might be nothing more than a very nice piece of democratic procedure carrying out the wishes of the rank and file—if it were not for one rather important circumstance.

### South Wales Unrest

Which is that in South Wales, a revolt is growing among the miners against the economy cuts of the Conservative Government and the abolition of workmen's bus fares and increases of up to 30 per cent. in the cost of season tickets.

Three weeks ago, 2,700 miners at the Parc and Dare collieries in the Rhondda Valley decided to work no more Saturday mornings. Within a week the movement has spread to include about 30,000 in the Dulais Valley, and the whole of the 100,000 miners in the 220 lodges of South Wales have now been circarised.

On this issue the union executive does not spring so quickly to the defence of the miners. It has countered with a circular of its own, pointing out that the agreement to forego the five-day week and work Saturday morning was drawn up with the N.C.B. at national level, and could only be varied at that level. The union denounces the local unofficial

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## ANTI-FRANCO DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON THEATRE

THERE was a leaflet demonstration inside the Stoll Theatre last Tuesday evening, at the first night of the Spanish ballet season. The Spanish Ambassador had been expected.

Just as the opening announcement was being made, an uproar broke out which lasted several minutes and leaflets, bearing the imprint of the C.N.T. and protesting at the shooting of the nine anarchists in Barcelona, were hurled from the upper galleries. Police were called, but no demonstrators were arrested.

### ENEMIES OF HAPPINESS

For more than 2,000 years it has become the custom among earnest moralists to decry happiness as something degraded and unworthy. Carlyle is never weary of telling us we ought to eschew happiness in favour of blessedness. He found blessedness in rather odd places: Cromwell's Irish massacres, Frederick the Great's blood-thirsty perfidy, and Governor Eyre's Jamaican brutality.

In fact, contempt for happiness is usually contempt for other people's happiness, and is an elegant disguise for hatred of the human race. Even when a man genuinely sacrifices his own happiness in favour of something that he thinks nobler, he is apt to remain envious of those who enjoy a lesser degree of nobility, and this envy will, all too often, make those who think themselves saints cruel and destructive.

—BERTRAND RUSSELL  
(in a broadcast last month).

## A Successor to Peckham?

### Health and Housing Society in Derbyshire

THE Pioneer Health Centre at Peckham is now defunct, but the seeds it planted will still be sprouting for many a year. And so will those planted by Dr. Scott-Williamson of Peckham, when he spoke to little audiences all over the country about the aims and significance of Peckham. Readers will remember the proposal to go a step further than Peckham with the Family Health Club and Housing Society at Coventry. We have had no news of the Coventry venture for a long time now but were delighted to learn from the *Manchester Guardian* last week of the progress of the Dronfield Pioneer Health and Housing Society. (Dronfield is a town of 7,600 inhabitants situated between Chesterfield and Sheffield.)

"In the face of numberless setbacks, the Dronfield society has persisted for five years in its plan to found a community similar to Peckham, but differing from Peckham in that the members of the centre live in houses built to their own design in a single residential unit of their own planning."

"Before 1945, interested groups in Sheffield were debating the possibility of a health centre in the town, but this never proved workable because its supporters were scattered over too wide an

area. In 1946, however, they invited Dr. Scott-Williamson, one of the directors of the Peckham Centre, to speak to them, and about nine months after he had put to them the advantages of founding not simply a centre but a new community based on a health centre the society took definite shape, and Lord Horder agreed to become its patron."

"Almost from the start it has had 180 member-families, embracing over four hundred people. They include doctors, teachers, office workers, shopkeepers and shop assistants, a nurse, a plumber, and a retired policeman. Apart from some who have left the district, only one member has withdrawn in the frustrating years."

"The society was founded, like the centre at Peckham, in the belief that health is a social problem before it is a medical problem, and that the family is the key to health. Healthy and harmonious family life, with the mother as its hub, it believes, would not only dispel the unease reflected nowadays in the thousands of divorces and separation cases annually in the courts, but would also dispel the large proportion of contemporary illnesses which have psychosomatic origins. It plans to have a family social centre in which people of all ages can participate in different activities and a regular 'health overhaul' for all members, as well as maternity and child welfare services, to preclude illness in preference to curing it later."

"Dronfield has a local council very generously disposed and co-operative to-

wards the new scheme, and a local population disposed to watch its progress with interest and without protest."

"In all, 320 acres have been allotted to the society, which will adjoin new parts of Dronfield when the town's own schemes are fulfilled. Houses and flats will cover 220 acres, the church, communal buildings, shops, and public houses of the community will cover about twenty, and there will be seventy acres of open space taken up with an ornamental park, a children's play park, school and communal playing fields and allotments."

Plans for building the first section of the community are now well defined. An architect, Mrs. Marianne Walter, of Sheffield, one of the founder-members, has designed the flats and houses for the new community. The members have from the first been consulted about these plans. Central heating has been adopted as the heating principle throughout the community, though to keep down costs it is not being installed at once in the first houses. They also voted heavily in favour of a communal washhouse, and though this again is frustrated (by a Ministry veto on grounds of economy) the members have left a space for a washhouse they hope to achieve without subsidy."

We shall await further news of the Dronfield experiment with interest, and hope that it will start more people thinking about solving their problems for themselves.

# FUNDAMENTAL DEVELOPMENT-2

[An earlier article, on the Indian "Village ABC" appeared in our issue of 13/10/51.]

THE author of the pamphlet, *Let's Join the Human Race*, which we reviewed recently, contrasted in a striking way the amount of money spent on armaments and the amount spent on "making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas," even though the peace of the world is far more dependent upon this than upon the arms race between East and West.

But the question of fundamental development is much less a matter of money than of spreading the basic techniques of hygiene and agriculture and literacy, and it is ironical that while the futile bickerings of the United Nations General Assembly fill the headlines of the world's press, the valuable work of the technicians of the specialised agencies of the United Nations—Unesco, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, and the World Health Organisation, is accomplished on a very small budget and with little publicity or public support.

We have already discussed the valuable and authoritative Unesco publications in its series "The Race Question in Modern Science." The fourth pamphlet in another series, "Monographs on Fundamental Education," describes in some detail, "the early stages of a project to reduce illiteracy and to bring to the peoples of the Valley of Marbial in Haiti, the elementary knowledge and simple skills which will enable them to improve their living conditions."

It is worth mentioning at the outset that for the two year's work described, the total annual expenditure for the project, from all sources—Unesco funds, the Haitian Government, and two voluntary organisations—was less than £12,500 a year.

## THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Republic of Haiti occupies the western portion of the island of Haiti and St. Domingo in the Caribbean archipelago. When Christopher Columbus first discovered the island in 1492 it was largely inhabited by Indians, but the Spaniards soon exterminated the native population and imported slaves from Africa. The Spaniards moved westward and during the 18th century Haiti became the richest of France's overseas possessions. The prosperity of the colony was dependent on slave labour and over the next hundred years many thousands of negroes were imported, mainly from the west coast of Africa.

At the time of the French revolution, the slaves revolted under Toussaint Louverture, of whom Wordsworth wrote in a famous sonnet:

"... thou hast great allies;  
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,  
And love, and man's unconquerable  
mind."

After Toussaint's capture, an attempt by the French to re-establish slavery led to a further revolt and the independence of Haiti was finally proclaimed on 1st January, 1804.

"The Republic of Haiti," says the pamphlet, "is now one of three countries in the world which are entirely governed by black people. The descendants of

\*THE HAITI PILOT PROJECT  
(United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisation, 2/-)

## FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

Nineteenth Century Opinion  
ed. Michael Goodwin 2/6

This new Penguin is an anthology of extracts from the first 50 volumes of *The Nineteenth Century* 1877-1901, and the authors include: Kropotkin, William Morris, Tom Mann, T. H. Huxley, Octavia Hill and Oscar Wilde.

Youth for Freedom Tony Gibson 2/-  
An important new Freedom Press publication. "The most valuable and interesting pamphlet that has come out of the anarchist movement for quite a number of years."

The Conformist Alberto Morevia 15/-  
The new novel by the author of *The Woman of Rome* (15/-), *Disobedience* (7/6) and *Conjugal Love* (7/6).

Shelley, Godwin & Their Circle  
H. N. Brailsford 6/-  
The latest revised edition of this admirable little book.

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**27, RED LION STREET,  
LONDON, W.C.1**

the African slaves who won their independence in the face of Napoleon's forces are justly proud of their history and of their French culture. To-day the country faces acute social and economic problems—tropical diseases, soil erosion, malnutrition and poverty—aggravated by over-population. One of the smallest of the American Republics, with an area of 10,700 square miles, it has nevertheless the greatest density of population, estimated at an average of 260 per square mile.

At the first general conference of Unesco it was decided to set up a limited number of "Pilot Projects" in which new or well-tried methods of community-education were to be tested and applied within a small experimental area. The results achieved would, it was hoped, influence the rest of the country in question and could be made known in the rest of the world to government departments, institutions and individuals facing similar problems.

In 1947, the Haitian Government suggested that the Marbial valley, with a population of about 28,000 should be the site of a pilot project and a three-man Unesco mission, "confirmed the gravity of economic and social problems of the area—over-population, land hunger, deforestation and soil erosion, poverty and intermittent famine, widespread illiteracy and a declining agriculture—problems which are found in many underdeveloped areas." A working-plan was drawn up which stated "that any scheme for education and social improvement in an under-developed area, where scientific data was inevitably lacking, should be based on an anthropological survey. Concurrently with this survey, and with the aid of the social anthropologist who was charged to carry it out, a programme of fundamental education

should be started. This should consist of: primary schooling for the children, and adult education for men and women; auxiliary language teaching (French and Creole); health education and medical services; agricultural and veterinary education and extension work; community cultural activities based on a rudimentary community library, museum and art centre; and the establishment of small industries and rural crafts, and of producer and consumer co-operatives."

## BASIC SURVEY

The survey of life in the Marbial Valley was conducted by Dr. Alfred Métraux and a team of Haitian students. "When the survey began, the peasants were starving as a result of an eleven-month drought. For them Unesco meant only one thing: relief and hope for a better future. Their very eagerness might have handicapped the work since, after all, Dr. Métraux's team were not bringing food, but went about enquiring into the people's personal affairs. Nevertheless, despite their disappointment, they co-operated very willingly. Their co-operation was as essential to the success of the survey as it was to the success of the project itself."

Almost all of the people of Marbial are peasant cultivators, and 69 per cent. of the families surveyed owned less than 3.33 acres, which was the minimum needed to support an average family of six persons. Most of them have to rent land or to "share-crop" it in order to eke out a living. "At the death of an owner, man or woman, the land is divided equally among all the children, legitimate and natural."

"The laws of inheritance are not the only reason for the smallness of holdings.

To defend his right to a narrow strip, the peasant will risk the loss of almost all he has. Lawsuits between peasants, the cost of land surveys, the tricks of attorneys and speculators, and the high cost of funerals may all lead to the dispersal of property, for lawyers, surveyors, notaries and moneylenders—who are often usurers—all take payment in pieces of land."

Moreover, the land is in danger of dying. "Each generation, more numerous than the one before, has the same ends: wood must be cut for houses, for kilns and for cooking, and above all, land must be cleared for cultivation. Consequently, trees are cut down without regard to the effect upon the soil. Deprived of the cover of trees, the tropical soil has rapidly been transformed... Under the sun, eroded land turns into crumbling sand. The peasant knows in a confused way that certain changes of cultivation help to retain the fertility of the land... but any rotation of crops practised is capricious and incomplete. The poor peasant, pressed for time and lacking physical strength, tends to think of his most obvious short-term needs rather than of the preservation of his land. He does not select his seeds. He does not know the use of fertilizer or manure, of which in any case he has no good source. And so he works his fields until they are totally exhausted and he must rent land to take care of his needs."

## MUTUAL AID

"The *combite* is the chief means of co-operation among the peasants. Although the amount of work may sometimes be less than that obtained from paid labour strictly supervised, the peasant is assured that his fields will be cleared on time and that the work will be done with energy,

## MAX HÖLZ - A German Revolutionary

We conclude below, the account written for *Freedom* by three of his comrades, of the revolutionary struggle of Max Hölz in Germany in the early nineteen-twenties. "The bureaucrats of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany," wrote Ruth Fischer, "were trembling with indignation at the irresponsible deeds of Hölz. They were called anarchism, Blanquism, Bakunism, every kind of 'ism', and were denounced as violating every sacred tradition of the German Labour Movement as in fact they did."

THE "direct action" of the factory workers, the reduction of hours, the absolute rule of the workers in the workshops in everything that concerned the work—all this had, in the opinion of the industrialists, landowners and bankers, to be abolished one way or another, and nowhere were they more determined than in the Vögtland where capitalism had ruled supreme with low wages and long working hours over a very poor working population. And so the capitalists started taking action. They called for a military occupation and the declaration of a state of seige in Central Germany. They held long conferences with the Social-Democratic minister, Severing, and with the Social-Democrat, Hörsing, Governor of the province of Saxony. A calumnious campaign was started in the Social-Democratic and bourgeois newspapers against the workers. Most stupid falsehoods were good enough to panic the bourgeoisie.

For instance: "Bela Kun, the butcher of the Hungarians and Russian emissaries by the thousands have come to Central Germany: plundering and thieving on a huge scale in the workshops is to be the order of the day," etc., etc. That was at the beginning of the year 1921.

On March 15th, an edict appeared from Governor Hörsing which said, amongst other things: "Wild strikes, robbery, plundering by armed bandits, terror and extortion have of late been the order of the day. The wild strike has always been used as an oppressive means... that is not the work of the Communist Party, but only of international criminals. In the interests of the workers in agriculture and industry, trade and business, I have given the orders that in the next few days, strong police forces will be placed all over the industrial districts."

Could the workers of Central Germany let this provocation pass by without reacting against it? Conditions would not permit it. The entry of the police troops of Hörsing signified police-terror, the lock-out of the most revolutionary workers, and the destruction of all that the workers had gained. On the day that Hörsing's edict was issued, the workers at Leuna started passive resistance. The only works carried out were necessary precautions against explosions of the chemicals. By March 19th, defensive preparations were so far complete that the chemical factory could be taken completely under armed protection by the workers. On the 20th, the copper-miners at Mansfeld declared a general strike, and by that day there were already several thousand police troops in the district around Leuna and Mansfeld. It is useless to-day to talk of the weaknesses in the defence, but these weaknesses had their origin in the conduct of the members of the Communist Party. These comrades intended to be active in the struggle, but only after the Central Committee ordered them to act. The order never came. In spite of that, quite a few members of the Party took part in the fight.

On March 22nd, Hölz arrived in the mining district of Mansfeld, and the news of his coming spread like wildfire. A meeting was called for the afternoon of the same day. Before the meeting had been opened, Hölz began to make an animated speech in which he called for armed insurrection. It was later urged by comrades of Hölz that this had been an act of rashness, but because it had been made in public in front of the workers, it could not be recalled. Anyway, the workers had seen the danger

enthusiasm and the maximum of goodwill. In the *combite*, the relationship of the workers to one another and between themselves and their host is itself a partial reward for the efforts made."

"The *combite* takes several forms. The *corvée* is a day's work for which the men are paid at the end of the day by a meal which is in the nature of a small feast. It is more expensive than wage labour, but it is one of the easiest means of getting a large team together, as it contributes most to the prestige of the peasant who provides the meal and to the dignity of the workers, who are usually his neighbours. However, the favourite form of co-operation is the *ronde*, in which a group of peasants, generally neighbours, work each others fields together in turn for a few hours in the mornings or afternoons. Both the *corvée* and the *ronde* have an advantage in that usually no money transactions are involved. These loose associations sometimes become formal mutual-help societies with flags, music and a whole hierarchy of officers."

The monograph's account of the anthropological survey continues with an account of trading, diet, the family group, houses, furniture and clothes, religious life and moral standards, illness, government and authority ("the notion of the State—of government in an abstract sense—and the ideas associated with nationalism are totally foreign to the thinking of the peasants"), and education ("... has to face such numerous and serious obstacles that the very existence of country schools is a remarkable expression of the peasants' determination to rise above their conditions").

The section on "Lessons to be drawn from the survey," contains some very interesting observations. "When the Unesco team first came to the region,

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ties with the police and after the lack of arms was more and more severely felt, Hölz, in an extraordinarily dangerous situation gave the order for a break through the surrounding police troops and the immediate disbanding of the revolutionary forces. Everyone had to shift for himself. The armed units at the Leuna chemical works had withdrawn on the previous night to avoid useless fighting.

Next day, Hörsing's police bombarded the factory with artillery and stormed it without finding any resistance. The unarmed workers were driven together in a crowd and brutally beaten. About sixty workers were killed. For weeks the white terror ruled in Central Germany.

Much has been written about this defeat of the workers, and the faults of their actions, but hardly from those who had any responsibility in these actions. As already mentioned, the mistake was made right at the start. It was the hesitation of the comrades of the Communist Party who thought it necessary to wait for the orders of their Central Committee.

Max Hölz was arrested on the 16th April, 1921, in Berlin, and a special Court of Justice was assembled to try him. His only defence was an accusation of capitalist society. The sentence of the Court was imprisonment for life.

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## AN IMPORTANT PAMPHLET

YOUTH FOR FREEDOM, by Tony Gibson. (Freedom Press, 2/-)

ONE day, a relative of Leonardo da Vinci proudly announced the birth of a son. The caustic old painter wrote back, congratulating him on having brought into the world a life-long enemy who would long only for the day when his father's death would bring him freedom. Allowing for a certain exaggeration for effect, it is a reasonably faithful image of the relationship between the older and the younger generations, particularly in the present social order, and what Leonardo, with his customary foresight, threw off in a contemptuous remark for his own generation, Tony Gibson has investigated and elaborated for our own time in his new pamphlet.

Youth, he shows, is a perpetually renewed source of rebellion. "It is supremely irrelevant to the nature of the child that it is born into a society that has centuries of authoritarian history; these centuries do not affect the innate potentialities of the child. The children of each generation start unbiassed and free from the mistakes of their forefathers, and are influenced only by

the treatment they experience in their own lives."

The problem which Tony Gibson discusses is how we are to treat children in such a way as to leave these potentialities unharmed, and so to gain the benefit, not only for the children themselves, but also for society as a whole, of such naturally regenerative forces.

His investigation leads him to discuss the faults of current education, to sketch—with an admirable restraint—the achievements of the progressive school movement, to discuss the warping influence of the suppression of sexual expression among children and of the attempt to force conformation to adult standards of behaviour in other respects, and to lay particular stress upon the life-long effect of the attempt to force the development of very young children into the patterns which seem right to the parent.

*Youth for Freedom* is a sane and vividly written pamphlet, and one of the best discussions of the subject I have yet read. Personally, I think it is the most valuable and interesting pamphlet that has come out of the anarchist movement for quite a number of years.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

## BRITAIN HAS IT TOO!

ON another page of this issue appears an account of religious conversion (in a modern version) nourished by self-questioning about bombing and finally touched off by witnessing the atom bomb of Nagasaki. Hopes have been often raised in the past that the development of new techniques of destruction would finally convince mankind that war was an activity which must be eliminated from the future.

Now such hopes have been blasted because on the conscious level mankind does not really require convincing of the undesirability of war—it is already convinced. That war satisfies certain less conscious desires and requirements left unsatisfied by peace has been stressed often enough in FREEDOM. But it cannot be too often urged that war does not come because of the psychological needs of the peoples or because mankind is "naturally aggressive", however much these things may help to make it acceptable when it does come. War has definite causes in the competitive mode of economy—what used to be called capitalist-imperialism—but it is also firmly embedded in the general economic life of capitalist decline. War now appears as a necessity for keeping industry going, since peace seems unable to do so. *War and war economy have become an institution in our present-day social and economic life.*

It is not surprising therefore that the increasing horrors of war have been unable to outlaw it, despite the pious phrase-mongering of the politicians. (The horrors may even feed the submerged psychological satisfaction which war brings.)

Nevertheless, it may still be said that the atom bomb more than any other aspect of war has brought civilised mankind right up against the question of "What's it all for?" It may be only the very few who turn from the atom bomb to good works—Group Captain Cheshire contemplated becoming a monk, and it is reported that the pilot who actually dropped the Nagasaki bomb has entered a monastery. These are the extremes, but there can be no doubt of the general revulsion against atomic destructiveness.

Yet the remorseless pattern of our times cuts through all such feelings. The news that Britain now has an atomic weapon and is proposing to try it out in Australia, comes only as a relief to the very short-sighted and militarily-orientated minds. The newspapers are already playing up the competitive side of it. America has it, Russia has it, now we have it, too. The whole industry of sport and ideology of world records goes to nourish this mental escape from the real significance of Britain's atomic "success".

But for many who seek to make something out of life, and for whom the poverty and state regulation and fear-anxiety of to-day are crippling to mankind, the news can only produce a sinking sensation. It means that despite the revulsion and the horror, the British Government (Labour or Tory) are in the grip of the times, and are compelled by the logic of our social and economic order to proceed with a programme which everyone regards as suicidal.

The remorselessness of the contemporary madness is brought out by the atom bomb. We pass over here the Anglo-U.S. bickering about sharing atomic secrets, on the one hand, and the security black-out on the other—the "natural alliance of

two great nations" and the actual distrust and rivalry: the paradoxes which play the same mad theme at a subsidiary level. It may be that this very remorseless madness may yet play its part, if not in outlawing war, in the still larger task of bringing men and women to recognise the deadliness of the clutches of the present social system. If the occasion arises when the world of national states and rival imperialisms begins to totter, it cannot be that so many will be found to support it in the atomic age as there were in the golden years of capitalism. If the atom bomb, by its very existence, not by actual destruction, contributes to disintegrate the philosophical basis of our gruesome world, it will have served some social service after all.

## MAX HÖLZ

Continued from p. 2

In his speech before the Court, Hölz began, "Highly-esteemed Court of Justice . . ." The president of the Court cut him short and said, "If you intend to insult us, then you are not permitted to speak at all." Hölz went on, "If you stop me at the start, in the middle or at the end, it is all the same to me. I speak as long as you allow me to, what I want to, and how I feel. I don't want to defend myself. If I did, I ought to consider myself guilty. In reply to the speech of the Public Prosecutor I shall say nothing. It was the funeral oration of the bourgeois class by whom he is employed and from whom he collects his salary. And of the defence by my advocates I shall say nothing, they have a superior intellect to mine, but in practical revolutionary matters I can put all three of them in my pocket. You are holding a trial of a human brute. I shall dissect this brute." Hölz told them the story of his life and his surroundings until his entry into political affairs. He told them the events of the insurrection and confessed that he had organised and led the armed struggle. And he declared that while the workers had never killed a monarch or leader of the reactionary, political parties, bourgeois society had thousands of murders on its conscience. After further exchanges between Hölz and the President of the Court, he was finally ordered to be silent. The judges then went into their room to take council on their judgment. Max Hölz called aloud, "You can forbid the word, but you cannot kill the spirit." Hölz was sentenced to the penitentiary for life, and so were several other participants in the insurrection. Many other workers were sentenced, receiving in all, 2,000 years of imprisonment.

But the protest action of the workers freed these prisoners, which was assisted by hunger-strikes by the prisoners. They received an amnesty. The first were freed after eight months and the remainder after eighteen months. Hölz was kept a little longer in prison. The Government tried to "railroad" him by charging him with the murder of an estate-owner. But in a new trial it was proved that Hölz was innocent and so he, too, was freed.

He later joined the Communist Party, most likely out of a sense of gratefulness because a C.P.-sponsored organisation *Die Rote Hilfe* (The Red Help), had furnished the lawyers to defend him in his trial—the General Labour Union had not been able to find the money for the lawyers. The C.P. had another subsidiary organisation, *Der Rote Front Kämpfer Bund* (League of Red Front Fighters) which Hölz perhaps thought he could use in further revolutionary action. The Communist Party made much propaganda with Hölz after he joined them. After a while he was invited by the Bolsheviks to come and see Russia. He accepted.

And in Russia, like so many others, Max Hölz "disappeared". It was said that he was drowned while bathing.

MAX SCHRÖDER.  
HERMANN HAHN.  
EMIL ERDMANN.

(Translation by W.F.)

## PENGUIN ANARCHY

"Neither Dr. Siple nor Jack Perkins, of the U.S. Fish and Wild Life Commission, after long observation, was able to find evidence of social organisation among the emperors [penguins], other than the winter mating of one male and female. The race as a whole seems to have reached the ultimate form of anarchy with the instinctive recognition that self-advantage never really is served in the long run by taking advantage of others. It is a society which needs no law. Penguin government has passed beyond or around the communism of ants and bees, the individualism of men and tigers."

—*The White Continent—the story of Antarctica* by T. R. Henry (New York, 1950).

## Paying to 'Preach' Democracy

SOME seven weeks ago, Bertrand Russell, in an article published in the *New York Times Magazine* with the title "The Best Answer to Fanaticism—Liberalism" wrote that "in America, almost as much as in Russia, you must think what your neighbour thinks, or rather what your neighbour thinks that it pays to think." The *New Leader* (New York) prefaces its criticism of such anti-American sentiments by the "distinguished British philosopher and scientist" with a recognition that he was "one of the first intellectuals to see through the sham of Soviet Communism". But they are obviously very hurt that he is now, rather late in the day, seeing through the sham of American democracy!

In their reply to Bertrand Russell's charges they admit that "excesses have been committed in the effort to root out the deeply entrenched Communist conspiracy . . ." But has there been a serious attempt, except on the part of irresponsibles who have always lurked on the fringes of our society, to limit the right say, to preach democratic socialism or to organise labour unions . . . ? What a defence of the cause of freedom to give as an example that you can still preach democratic socialism in America, and what a model of everything but free organisations are the labour unions! In any case it is not by telling us that you can still enjoy the *status quo* in America that the *N.L.* will convince us that America is really democratic. No society can progress unless it has its non-conformists, its rebels and agitators. And America is taking all the necessary steps to stamp out everything that does not conform to the American way.

WHEN the *New Leader* writes that you can still preach democratic socialism (and perhaps their definition of dem-socialism differs from ours) in America they do not say that you have to pay for expressing such views. A letter published in the *Manchester*

*Guardian* last month explains what we mean. It comes from a "Science Doctor" in the "United States of America". That is all we know of him because he concludes his letter by asking the Editor to "conceal my name and address!"

He writes: "In our university, and I can only conclude that the same is true for others, there are several resident F.B.I. agents who interview department heads and their secretaries regularly about students who are prospective Government employees. They ask detailed questions about political opinions advanced by prospective candidates during their scholastic career. This is fairly well known and does not exactly encourage undergraduates to utter opinions critical of the United States Government."

"What happens if one does utter such opinions may be illustrated by my own experience. I am employed by a leading university to do research in applied science. My work is unclassified, but the funds out of which I am paid come from a Government agency. There must be many thousands of people working in universities under similar conditions. I was recently warned by the director of my institute that reports had come from the Washington office of the Government agency in question to say that I had, in a small circle, been heard to advance views critical of the United States Government. I was advised not to continue to make such remarks, because otherwise it might be difficult to continue my present employment. The remarks I did make were such as any thinking man might make who has no fear of speaking out his thoughts. I am neither a communist nor even remotely a sympathiser or fellow-traveller. I made these remarks to at most three or four academic men, who, I thought, were my friends. This should illustrate the present atmosphere in the United States for your readers. . . . There is obviously an immense number of Government agents whose job it is to engage in political snooping. Every employee of an industrial or scientific organisation, down

to the last janitor, has to apply for security clearance if some classified work is going on on the premises. He has to list all organisations he ever belonged to and he will not be cleared if there happens to be one on the Attorney-General's list. He never will be missed.

"Just think how many men must be employed to scrutinise these forms and how dangerous the mere existence of such an apparatus can be."

THE East German authorities are reported to be removing millions of "undesirable" books in a campaign which may exceed in scope that launched by the Nazis when they came to power. And according to the B.U.P.:

"East German teachers and other professional people who visited the West recently or sought political refuge said that the campaign began several months ago and was to end next month after possibly as many as nine million books had been removed from circulation. The purge had been planned by Gerhard Eisler, the propaganda chief, who drew up a list of more than nineteen thousand titles which he considered undesirable, if it failed."

In the American House of Representatives a Bill has been introduced to a Republican, which would require the Librarian of Congress to "mark all 'subversive' matter among the 9 million volumes comprising the library, and that such a list should be sent to all librarians for their guidance."

The *New Leader* will probably object that the Republican in question belongs to the irresponsible fringe. But so does witch-hunter Mr. Carthy, who has been called all kinds of names recently by President Truman—and yet he has achieved his ends. It is just the lunatics in politics from whom we must protect ourselves!

LIBERTARIAN.

## FUNDAMENTAL DEVELOPMENT

Continued from p. 2

many of the peasants imagined the programme to be a vast charitable enterprise of which they were to be the beneficiaries and which for reasons unknown to them, was being organised by some rich and generous man named "Unesco", or by some agricultural company. But once informed about the actual situation, they welcomed with real pleasure the modest beginnings and the simple help which it was possible to give. They also contributed days of hard work without special remuneration when they were told that it was necessary for the project." The survey showed that ways must be found to encourage the peasants to realise that the help offered by the project was for the purpose of stimulating self-help and that, when a beginning had been made, success would depend on their own efforts and initiative."

"The peasants themselves know well that the rains are stealing the earth and they are aware of the impoverishment of the soil. They do not need to be told that these conditions must be remedied, but they do need to know what the remedies are and how they can be applied. The survey showed that the peasants are neither unobservant nor indifferent to the advice given them by technicians."

"There is the same open-mindedness towards health education . . . The peasants care about bodily and household cleanliness, and measures of hygiene presented to them in these terms they follow, if it is within their means to do so."

## THE PROJECT BEGINS

The Unesco centre began as a hut at Poste Pierre Louis, in the middle of the valley. It soon grew into a fairly large building, a road was built to the coast, a well sunk, pit latrines dug, and next door, "a community centre was built by the peasants to which they are now in the habit of coming for advice, to vent their feelings and express their own wishes."

Simple equipment was introduced at the school and desks were made at the community centre. A school canteen was started, preceded by a campaign for improving diet. "Trained teachers from other parts of the country took charge of the classes and very quickly local teachers became interested in their demonstration lessons. They were presented to them as models but were not imposed on them. A more rational system of recreation was introduced and the children themselves prepared a playground where they organised games with a zest never shown before. There was much surprise in the Valley at the way in which these changes altered the children's attitude almost overnight."

"The prospect of international help brought new life to the whole literacy campaign of the area. In the district of Jacmel, the number of literacy centres rose from 4 to 78." Books and a local newspaper were produced in the Creole language. "Amateur science kits" were adapted to enable teachers and adult education workers "to illustrate, in a simple yet vivid manner, such rudimentary scientific principles as the connection between insects and disease, the existence and action of bacteria and the principles of plant growth." Experiments in local handicrafts were started as a means of improving the economy of the valley, and a clinic was opened. With the help of the co-operatives, a demonstration area of soil conservation was made on the hillside.

## CONCLUSIONS

In concluding their account the Unesco team warn against the idea that fundamental development is a quick or easy matter: "Faced with the problem of the under-developed area in which a losing battle is being fought against ignorance, disease and poverty, the first reaction of the well-intentioned foreigner is to seek for rapid and drastic remedies. But a large-scale economic development scheme with its resource surveys, its blue-prints and expensive budgets, its bulldozers and its highly-paid teams of engineers and technicians would have had serious limitations and dangers. The main limitation of such schemes is that they are only economically applicable to areas which are endowed with considerable potential wealth and energy. Their dangers are many and varied. In the first place, their impact upon an illiterate society, bound together by its own cultural traditions and gaining a precarious living from the land and from local crafts, has social consequences which are sometimes appalling and which demand the most rapid and enlightened educational adjustments. At the same time, the need for rapid results to cover a heavy capital outlay on foreign technicians and equipment, often means that educational and social services for the indigenous population are postponed and neglected. Even when these and other dangers are avoided, progress is too often achieved for the people and not by the people, with a consequent loss in their self-respect and self-reliance. In these cases, progress is likely to be artificial and illusory."

This little book and the future reports on the development of the project will probably not greatly interest the member governments who contribute their pitances to Unesco's funds, but anyone who is concerned about the three-quarters of the world's population who are underfed, under-clothed and under-housed, will find it fascinating.

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- ★
- K. J. KENAFICK :  
*Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx.* Paper 6s.
- 27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

# From Bombing to Tending the Sick

THE *Sunday Pictorial* recently published "a great and moving story" about a former bomber squadron-leader who now devotes himself to good works. Shorn of its journalistic trappings, the story is a sufficiently remarkable one, but it has greater interest than that for it illustrates a process of emotion and thought which must be far more widespread, though less arresting in its usual manifestations.

Group Captain Cheshire received the V.C. "not for one outstanding act of bravery—but for being outstandingly brave all the time". He also won the D.S.O. three times and the D.F.C. He was a bomber pilot who continued with hazardous work right through the war. Finally, he was one of two British observers to see the atomic bomb fall on Nagasaki.

## From the High Life to Religion

As so often happens with successful figures in war, Cheshire's earlier history was far from auspicious. "Before the war, I laughed at serious things. My desires could be summed-up in fast sports cars, pints of beer, and crazy companions. I had money to burn and was a pretty irresponsible character." War made a success of him.

But after the war, perhaps, he thinks, because the Nagasaki experience completed doubts begun by the bombing of Europe, he "turned to religion and considered becoming a monk. He examined the possibilities of priesthood." According to the *Sunday Pictorial*, domestic problems ending in divorce may also have contributed. Cheshire himself says that the priesthood "demands a whole-hearted and complete devotion of both mind and body, and part of my mind was on my social work."

There is an interesting piece of social criticism embedded here. The transition from dissolute youth, through worldly success, to religion, is characteristic of many of the holy men of the past from St. Paul to St. Francis. But whereas the Church was the obvious field for social good works in former times, Cheshire finds that religious devotion would leave him insufficient time for his social work.

## Social Works

"He intends to resign a well-paid administrative job with Vickers. And he has decided to give up all his worldly possessions and to devote the rest of his life to helping those whom the world has passed by. . . At Liss, Hants,

he has a twenty-five roomed mansion for the chronically-ill people who have no homes and whom no hospital would take. To-day, in spite of money troubles, it houses thirty-two cases."

One year ago, he went to Cornwall and bought a disused block of buildings on an aerodrome, in order to open a hostel. "It seemed an almost impossible task. The huts were filled with rubbish; the floors were filthy; the paint was flaking from the walls. What happened then convinced Cheshire that perhaps people were kinder than they sometimes seem. Villagers hearing what was afoot came along to help scrub and paint.

Complete strangers volunteered for the dirtiest jobs. People gave him furniture, beds and sheets. Others gave money. Farmers sent chickens, eggs and vegetables. After work, Cheshire spends all his time at the Home. Twice last week he sat up all night with dying patients. It is to this hostel that he will go when he gives up his job. Day and night he will be with the patients, accepting no pay and living on hostel fare."

Cheshire has managed to tap the fund of goodwill which lies so near the surface but to which contemporary life gives hardly any opportunities.

This story has been reproduced here in some detail not because the revolution in society is achieved by such reforms. But one hears altogether too little of the revulsion against war and particularly against bombing which must often affect participants. The contrast between people's needs and the blind destruction of war is sufficiently sharp: but it is

seldom that the transition from one to another occurs in such a graphic way. Such cases are significant as illuminating a trend which must be far more extensive in its effects than appears on the surface.

## Modern Parallels

As well as the parallel with mediaeval holy men, Cheshire's transition from pointless superficial activity as a youth before the war, to success in wartime also illustrates a modern finding—that "delinquent" children often have latent possibilities for activity of another kind. Too frequently these latent forces are only drawn out by war, but they can also be drawn out by—as the sequel shows—by more useful social needs. Judge Ben Lindsey, in his famous books on the Juvenile Courts at Denver, Colorado, had many a similar illustration to bring out.

[EDITORIAL COMMENT—p. 3]

## SYNDICALIST NOTEBOOK

# 'General Strike' Call by Railmen

WE mention elsewhere the action of the Welsh miners who are cutting out Saturday morning work as a form of protest against the Government's economies.

Having already suggested that workers' direct action might have an effect on the Government's policy of cutting the social services to pay for rearmament, we are gratified to see that railwaymen in York have come to the same conclusion.

It was announced last Monday that delegates of 4,000 engine-drivers and firemen have called for a General Strike if the Chancellor of the Exchequer applies his cuts to the National Health Service.

No. 11 District of the Associated Society of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen unanimously declared: "We demand that our Executive Council should consider this matter with a recommendation that they demand a meeting of the General Council of the T.U.C. to call for a General Strike in the event of Butler carrying out his threats."

Of course, there is not the slightest possibility that the T.U.C. will consider a General Strike for one moment, but it is an indication of the depth of feeling among workers that the suggestion should be put forward at all. And, after all, it is not the T.U.C. which would make a General Strike, but the organised workers themselves and their experience of 1926 should tell them not to rely on their so-called leaders again.

The York resolution may not lead very far, but, for all their supposed irresponsibility, workers do not lightly suggest a course of action so extreme as this.

Together with the South Wales action, these are straws in the wind. We wonder if Butler will regard them as gale warnings and trim his sails accordingly?

The London *Star* (18/2/52) regarded the York demands as sufficiently important as to warrant this editorial comment:

"This may only be hot-headed nonsense confined to a minority of railwaymen. But it should be scotched by responsible trade union leaders.

"Parliament and the ballot box are the proper channels for attacking the Health charges. The strike bludgeon is a threat to democracy itself."

Workers, who are being bludgeoned all the time, even though ever-so-democratically, will know the short sharp answer to that.

## THE MINERS' PENSION SCHEME

MORE information has come to hand in connection with the miners' pension scheme which we discussed last week—and it turns out to be even more obvious why the miners are not joining.

Not only are the number of shifts worked taken into account in assessing the final pension paid, but the past years spent in the industry, although supposed to be credited, do not seem to be worth very much.

It transpires that no man who is today 45 years of age, will receive at 65 a pension of more than 12s. 6d. A man of 40, after 25 years more service, will receive 16s. 6d., 15s., or 14s., according to how many shifts he has worked. The pension is reduced if a miner has often

been absent without just cause. "Just cause" does not include illness—only accident.

To qualify for the full 30s., the miner must be 20 now, and must not be unduly absent for the next 40 years!

What is causing much bitterness, too, is the comparison between the miners' and the clerical staffs' pension rates. A 45-year-old clerk, joining the N.C.B. to-day at a salary of £10 per week, will, at the age of 65 receive a pension of 48s. A £10 a week miner of 45, with perhaps 30 years work in the pits behind him, will receive at 65, 12s. 6d.! If both clerk and miner are to-day starting fresh in the industry at the age of 20, at 65 the miner will qualify for 30s. per week and the clerk for £5! True, the clerk will pay more into the scheme, but the Board will also contribute 8s. per week for his old age against their 2s. per week for the miner's.

Balance all this with the fact that receipt of these miserable sums will reduce the pensioner's claims under the National Insurance Acts, and it is all the more surprising that even half the miners have thought it worth joining the scheme at all.

## SEX-APPEAL

Continued from p. 1

action and urges that opposition to the Government's economy measures should be left to the unions, the T.U.C., and the Labour Party.

Since the T.U.C. has already declared itself anxious to work "amicably" with the Tories; since the Labour Party itself urged the miners to work on Saturday mornings and since the area executive council of the union has "already declared its opposition to the cuts in the social services"—which is all it feels necessary to do—the miners must have a pretty good idea of what action on the official level is worth.

The connection between the union's action on the Italians and the South Wales discontent is this:

By accepting the men's opposition to the Italians, the union is losing nothing (what do a few thousand unemployed Eyeties matter, anyway?) and gaining a certain amount of cheap popularity. (Lawther played upon Raikes' public school education and described the "moral decadence" of the "intellectuals".)

By banning the Italians, the union helps to make it "necessary"—in their minds and for the sake of the national economy, rearmament, etc.—for the miners to work Saturday mornings.

By giving way on a relatively unimportant issue (for them) the union can earnestly demand greater loyalty on the more important issue of Saturday work. Patriotism, morality and hard work are all safely secured and defended.

## How To Stop Mr. Butler

The two things are going to work in together very prettily—against the interests of the miners. We understand—although we would not ourselves share—their resentment against Mr. Raikes' remark. *But how true was it?* And in point of fact is not the remark not so much an insult to miners' wives and daughters, but a comparison with their own sex-appeal in which they came off second-best? After all, if they had more sex appeal than—or as much as—the Italians, they would have no fear that their womenfolk might be tempted.

The South Wales action seems so much healthier. And if workers elsewhere will take a tip from the Welshmen they could very quickly put a stop to Mr. Butler's little tricks. If we make it plain to the Government that we have no intention of working harder and harder for less and less, it will very soon look elsewhere to make its economies. P.S.

See *Syndicalist Notebook*

## Special Appeal

February 6th to 15th:

London: M.W. 4/6; London: R.H. 2/1  
London: J.B. 2/6; Bradford: D.R. 3/1  
Minneapolis: W.H. 10/6; Argyll: H.D. 3/1  
Natal: P.N.H. 15/1; Felsted: R.A.G. 1/6  
London: A.E.H. 1/6; Whetstone: D.C. 1/1  
Croydon: A.W.U. 5/1; London: R.W. 4/3  
London: A.M. 10/1; Vancouver: L.B. 13/10/0  
W. Soverville, Mass.: D.C. 7/1; Chicago, Ill.: R.C. 11/15/0; New York: M. 11/15/0  
S. Francisco: par l'Incaricato 15/5/0; Providence: Circolo Libertario 13/10/0; Miami: Fla.: part proceeds social 20 Jan. 11/18/10/0.

Previously acknowledged ... £38 15 - 9  
48 11 9

1952 TOTAL TO DATE ... £87 7 - 6  
\* Readers who have undertaken to send regular monthly contributions.

## THE ANSWER TO "INCENTIVES"

A Norfolk farmer described to a Farming Conference at Oxford, on January 8th, how he had offered a £5 prize to encourage sugar beet hoeing. When he presented the prize to the winner, the man said: "Thank you, sir. Me and my mates have decided to share it. We think that the fairest way."

—Socialist Leader.

## ACCIDENT OF WAR MAKES DESERT BLOOM

Historic El Alemein is no longer a sand desert. The soil is now covered with green vegetation thanks to Australian and New Zealand soldiers who fed their horses with an Australian plant during the war. Seeds of this resistant plant fell on the soil and germinated despite the aridity of the earth. New seeds will be sown over the desert by plane. The El Alemein pastures have already increased air humidity, and more rain has fallen these last years than ever before in recorded history.

—Unesco Counter, Jan. 1952.

## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting  
HYDE PARK  
Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m.  
TOWER HILL  
Every Friday at 12.45 p.m.  
MANETTE STREET  
(by Foyle's, Charing Cross Road)  
Every Saturday at 4.30 p.m.

### INDOOR MEETINGS

at the  
PORCUPINE, Charing Cross Rd.  
(next Leicester Sq. Underground Station)  
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.  
FEB. 24—Derek Wardle on  
THE BRUDERHOF  
MAR. 2—Albert Meltzer on  
THE JEWS  
INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS  
Every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m.  
at the CLASSIC Restaurant, Baker St.  
(Near Classic Cinema)

### NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS  
IN EAST HAM  
Alternate Wednesdays  
at 7.30  
FEB. 20—Arthur Uloth on  
WAR  
MAR. 5—Edgar Priddy on  
AN A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM  
Enquiries c/o Freedom Press

### LIVERPOOL

DISCUSSION MEETINGS at  
101 Upper Parliament Street,  
Liverpool, 8  
Every Sunday at 8 p.m.

### GLASGOW

INDOOR MEETINGS at  
Central Halls, Bath Street  
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## FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly

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## COMMENT

### WHAT AN INCREDIBLE WORLD!

AT one time, "migraine" and the "vapours" were the fashionable complaints, at least for ladies. To-day, the general *maladie du siècle* is lack of time. One is always being given as the excuse for not doing things—and one uses it oneself, too—that one "cannot find the time." If only one had the time how many things one would do! One or two readers of FREEDOM wrote to cancel their subscriptions when the paper became a weekly not, they hastened to add, because the paper did not interest them, but because they hardly found time to read it when it appeared every fortnight and how would they manage to keep up with it when it appeared weekly!

But if one were to be honest with oneself, would one not find that this "lack of time" is as much an imaginary complaint as were the "vapours" of our grandmothers?

However, imaginary or otherwise, the Americans have found at least a solution for those among us who, but for this "lack of time," would be potential Picassos or Henry Moores. An advertisement in a recent issue of the *Washington Post* solves your problems:

"To busy to Paint? Call on

The GHOST ARTISTS

1426 33d St. N.W. Phone MI 2574

WE PAINT IT—

YOU SIGN IT!

Primitive (Grandma Moses Type), Impressionist, Modern, Cubist, Abstract, Sculpture . . . also

WHY NOT GIVE

AN EXHIBITION?"

What possibilities there are in such an idea. Already, in any case, most people have delegated their thinking to a bunch of professionals by marking a ballot paper with a cross once every four years. The radio might eventually make it unnecessary to learn how to read. Baby farms might eventually save women a lot of time bearing children themselves. In fact, why bother to waste time living at all when someone can do it for you!

ONE is reminded of a scene in Carlo Levi's great book, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*,\* by the unanimous decision of the Southport Town Council to economise £455 a year by ending the appointments of its Art Gallery and Botanic Gardens Museum curators whilst at the same time, again unanimously, agreeing to build a public lavatory on the foreshore at a cost of over £10,000. Of the former decision the vice-chairman of the Finance Committee declared: "It is not an attack on culture at all. It is an attempt to bring some common sense into the running of things."

WHATEVER may be said about the Americans, it must be admitted that they have a flair for the unusual. Take these two recent examples, for instance:

"For \$10 any private in the American 26th Infantry Regiment here can throw a custard pie in the face of his top sergeant—and get away with it.

"The sergeants thought up the idea to help raise money for the March of Dimes infantile paralysis fund."—(United Press report from Germany.)

"Two Harvard undergraduates have slapped themselves into what they claim is a new record.

"Tired, if not slap-happy, Richard Mortimer and Oakleigh Thorn wound up a face-slapping marathon reputed to be held by two Russian students. The record was reported by a columnist.

"They slapped each other alternately at ten-second intervals for 48 hours and 10 seconds—bettering the Russian mark by 10 seconds.

"A diet of bananas and tomato juice sustained them through the bewildering

\* "In the middle of this square there was a strange monument, almost as high as the houses around it and endowed by the narrowness of the place with a certain solemnity. It was a public urinal, the most modern, sumptuous and monumental urinal that can be imagined, built of concrete, with four compartments and a weather-proof overhanging roof . . . It was a by-product of the Fascist Government and of the mayor Magalane, and, judging by its size, it must have cost the yield of several years of local taxes."

contest.—(A.P. report from Cambridge, Mass.)

Is there a psychologist in the House?

\*

AS far as we know, there exists no

Act of Parliament to prevent the exploitation of old people. Indeed, so concerned are our rulers about the problem of having to maintain an increasing population of old folk that every effort is being made to keep them at work as long as possible after the officially recognised retiring age of 65. There may be an argument in favour of those men and women engaged in intellectual work in which they are interested carrying on after 65, but most manual workers who live to be 65 feel that they have deserved a rest, even if the pension they receive from the State and their small savings make it almost impossible for them to retire without depriving themselves of such small luxuries as tobacco, beer and cinema. So they go on working until they drop or are sacked as redundant.

The lot of aged animals it appears is a happier one than that of old folk. They are protected by Acts of Parliament, and besides the ever vigilant R.S.P.C.A. there is a host of organisations existing for the defence of specific sections of our four-legged friends. Thus, when last week 190 donkeys in transit from Eire to S. Italy, where they were to work in the vineyards, were awaiting shipment at a British port, in stepped the International League for the Protection of Horses invoking the Act of 1950 which forbids the export of horses and donkeys which are over eight and unfit. A number of the animals have been destroyed, the remainder have been purchased by the League for £1,600 and are now romping in a Kent field, enjoying liberal rations of wurzels and hay paid for by the League. Meanwhile, an appeal has gone out to animals lovers with suitable accommodation who are willing to give one or more of the donkeys a home. How touching it all is! If only we were as concerned and energetic about the fate of the old folk who end their days in the workhouse!