

Why not use dynamite - p. 2
 Portrait of a Lawyer
 by William Godwin - p. 2
 Nobody Voted! - p. 3

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"There is one essential point wherein a political liar differs from others of the faculty, that he ought to have but a short memory."
 —SWIFT

Vol. 13, No. 18

May 3rd, 1952

Threepence

Who Wants War?

PROMINENTLY headlined on the front page of last week's *Peace News* was an article on the Moscow Economic Conference by Emrys Hughes, M.P., a member of the British delegation. His opening paragraph printed in bold capitals must be an assuring message for pacifist readers of that journal who believe that wars are the result of man's wickedness. "I came away from the International Economic Conference at Moscow convinced that war is not inevitable, that there is a deep and genuine feeling in Russia that war would be a tragedy and calamity for the whole world, and that the Russians realise that the time has come for new policies and agreements which will improve trade relationships, ease the tension and preserve peace." Mr. Hughes, follows this inspiring personal Gallup poll of Russian opinion by adding: "Now I know what a lot of people will immediately say when they read this, 'Oh, this is just another example of the cleverness of Communist propaganda.'" Our reaction is not what Mr. Hughes suggests. Our reaction is that here, again, we have a string of platitudes, reassuring words perhaps but empty, meaningless words just the same. Who has ever suggested that the Russian people want war, or that they do not consider war just as much a "calamity" as the British or American people? If wars depended on the "feelings" of the people there would be no wars. Ask any man or woman in the street, not only in Moscow but in London or Glasgow whether they want a war and you will always get the same answer.

Mr. Hughes suggests elsewhere in his article that the purpose of the conference was to discover how far trade could be increased between East and West with a view to easing the tension, lessening the cold war and finding out a basis for agreement under which Communist and Capitalist countries could live side by side without being plunged into the final catastrophe of war. Again, this is wishful thinking. How does Mr. Hughes explain that from 1920 up to 1945 not only did Communist Russia and the

Capitalist countries live side by side without any serious crises and cold wars, but even went to war on the same side against Germany? Up to the time of the last war, there were no iron curtains to trade between the various countries, yet we had one world war in 1914 and another in 1939, and they were not wars between capitalism and "Communism", but between capitalist countries. To imply that wars are ideological is to close ones eyes to the reality of wars and to condemn, what are often undoubtedly genuine efforts for peace, to failure from the start.

MR. Hughes concludes his article by expressing his conviction that "given a genuine attempt at international statesmanship, we can yet save the world from another war." What tattered hopes, what meaningless clichés, what a confession of helplessness and failure! In a prophetic article entitled "Will America Rule the World," written by the late Marie Louise Berneri in *War Commentary* in December 1939, the opening paragraph reads:

"Mr. Roosevelt seems to have stepped into the shoes of the Almighty. From all sides come flattering greetings and most urgent requests. These requests do not reach him from rulers of the world only, but also from the pens of pacifists and socialists. In *Peace News*, for instance, it has been suggested that it is up to Roosevelt to call a conference to end the war, and the Editor of *Forward* [that is, Emrys Hughes—Ed.] having apparently lost hope since the end of September of hearing King George VI announce on the radio that peace had been made with Germany, suggested, on October 28th, an International Peace Conference to be called immediately, to be held in the U.S.A., under the presidency of President Roosevelt..."

*This article is one of fifty that have been included in the volume of selections of Marie Louise Berneri's writings, with the title *Neither East Nor West*, just published by *Freedom Press*. Readers having any illusions about politicians and "statesmen" are strongly recommended to read this book.

Clearly, Mr. Hughes was an optimist twelve years ago, and still is. We do not dare to use the word "softy" which, a glance at the recent correspondence columns of *FREEDOM* will reveal, seems to unduly raise the temperature of some of our readers. All we will say is that if Mr. Hughes and his friends fondly think that peace is a question of "international statesmanship" then he will be spending his time more usefully digging a deep, atomic radiation-proof shelter, right away. The causes of war have nothing to do with Stalin, Truman or Churchill. They are servants, albeit with privileges, of a Machine, but not its masters. Only the metaphorical Luddites of our time can destroy that Machine which produces both refrigerators and wars, palaces and poverty.

For Mr. Hughes and his friends, triumphantly waving to us a bunch of contracts instead of an umbrella, we would recommend a serious study of a news item which we found by assiduous reading of the gossip column of the *Star* (Star Man's Diary) a few days ago: "Mr. Peter Thornycroft, President of the Board of Trade, has called for detailed reports on the growing threat of Japanese and German trading in overseas markets. Both German and Japanese Governments are now sending official commercial travellers round the world with offers to undercut British prices."

What's the answer to that one, Mr. Hughes?

LIBERTARIAN.

T.U.C. for More Output

WE are getting used to the leadership of the Trade Unions joining their voices to the demands for more production usually interpreted by workers as "work harder".

In fairness to the T.U.C., however, it must be admitted that they have suggested—rather feebly, and suggested, not demanded—that productivity be increased by the introduction of new machinery, rather than by hard labour by the workers.

But in many cases they have been content to see both new machines and harder or longer work by the workers introduced. The mines are the prime example. In the pits new machinery has been introduced since nationalisation, and we have pointed out in the past that one of ten effects of that has been a serious increase in the mining diseases—pneumoconiosis and silicosis. Some types of new coal-cutting produce hundreds of times more dust than was created by older methods of coal-getting.

True, research is continually going on to discover means of keeping the dust down, but it is a long job. Not so long was the appointed task of the T.U.C. to persuade the miners to give up their long-fought-for five-day week; that is, not to increase productivity, but to increase production. The effect of this added strain on the pit-workers is something the T.U.C. now forget.

The T.U.C., of course, has forgotten a lot of things, but something it never forgets now is its "responsibility" to the Government. And nowadays, when the Government says, "Jump"—the T.U.C. dutifully jumps. And it is able thus to jump with a clear conscience and a good

heart, because it is now so far removed from the harsh reality of life for the workers that it does not see the effects of its own policies.

We are reminded in this of the attitude of Lord Waverley (formerly Sir John Anderson), who wrote in the *Sunday Times*: "I was sorry to see that Mr. Gaitskell was reduced in his broadcast to calculating the effect of the Budget in terms of a few shillings a family per week. That is not a statesman-like attitude."

We have long since recognised that statesmen do not calculate the effects of their actions in terms of a few shillings per family per week. But millions of people who are affected by the statesmen's policies are forced every week to calculate on the level of a few shillings.

The Trade Union leaders, however, are becoming more like statesmen every day—are in fact completely the State's men—and so, cannot be expected to descend to the level of calculating what a few shillings mean to a worker. This was clear enough during the wage-freeze period, and they are still urging restraint, only regretfully having to admit that, in view of Mr. Butler's Budget, it is going to be rather difficult to restrain some of the inevitable wage demands that will be coming up from the depths below.

The latest piece of statesmanship from the workers' leaders is their decision to support the project for an all-British Productivity Council. Over the last few years, parties from many industries have been crossing the Atlantic to investigate American methods of production and to see if there is anything British industry can learn. It seems there is plenty—and most of the parties have come back impressed most of all with the attitude of the American worker, who identifies himself with the system in general and his boss in particular.

It has long been the attitude of the American unions that the more efficient capitalism is, the better for the worker; the higher the profits, the higher the wages. (They forget the next step—"the higher the prices".) Our industrial observers have therefore come back with criticism for the restrictive practices operated by the unions in this country.

The T.U.C. has for years been working in the direction of the attitude of the American unions towards capitalism. What is good enough for the A.F.L. and the C.I.O., is good enough for the T.U.C. How long is it since one heard any criticism of the capitalist system from the supposed representatives of the exploited and property-less underdogs?

Mr. Butler asked the unions to assist the output drive. The Government's answer to the falling off in exports is, naturally, to embark on fiercer competition still. And the first people to be brought to heel in that case are the industrial workers, and who better than the heels of the T.U.C. to do it?

And the T.U.C. come running, like faithful dogs carrying baskets for their mistress, with their new scheme. An All-British Productivity Council to replace the Anglo-American Productivity Council due to be wound up in May.

A final decision will be taken shortly, and it is expected that the Council will be "launched at a national conference in the autumn, and be representative of employers and unions in every industry."

There is only one small point which seems to have been overlooked: Productivity for what? P.S.

continue side by side in the Union there must be unity, which was only possible if they spoke each other's language. Children must be saved from isolationism. To-day, through the activities of a small band of extreme nationalists, the country was divided and unhappy. The majority of clear-thinking people, including many nationalists, stood for racial conciliation and against the ascendancy of one White race over another.

Please note: White races. No ascendancy of one White race over another White race.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS FEAR OF SEX IN SOUTH AFRICA

DR. Malan's outburst against the United Nations is a clear demonstration of the fear of the White community in South Africa for the Africans themselves. "I will not expose South-West Africa," said Dr. Malan with considerable bitterness and anger, "to treatment of this kind from a body with an ideology which is unacceptable to us and which is dangerous to the European race and European civilisation in this country. I am not prepared to abandon South-West Africa."

The ideology in question is no more than that all races have equal rights—a point of view which the United Nations hold in no very practical sense. But for Dr. Malan and the very considerable section of South African opinion which he represents even this mild and theoretical formulation is a threat and a danger.

No-one can talk to ordinary South African visitors to England about the colour bar without being struck by the tremendous underlying fear of the White community for the coloured population who do all the menial work—"Kaffir-work" as South Africans call it.

Not much can be expected from vague liberal sentiments—they are always met by the insistence that outsiders don't know the situation in South Africa. Progress in this direction can only come from the elimination of the sense of fear and insecurity. This rests, in part, on the patent injustice of a minority White community holding a majority of Africans in complete subjection, and in the sense of racial injustice which it engenders. Hence the continual insistence on justice and equality is essential, though if it reaches effective proportions it will clearly stimulate fear into terror and political hegemony into brutal tyranny.

Clearly, such an outcome would not occur if the sense of fear were to give place to understanding. By

this we by no means imply the namby-pamby "understanding" of mere liberal do-gooders. Just as the political set-up in South Africa reflects the property-divisions and property interests and hence requires economic understanding before any radical solution can be put forward, so the understanding of fear of the coloured races requires something more than Sunday school good will.

Fear of a subject race almost always is rooted in sexual fear and sexual repression and inhibition. The pathological fear of the sexuality of coloured people is clearly shown in America and South Africa where rape-fanatics are an inevitable accompaniment of the upbringing of White girls. That there is a connection between these sex-fears and the general fear of the White community is clear to anyone with insight. This is not the place to discuss the matter in detail, but the energy of the fear of the coloured races derives from the repression of the normal sexuality which is regarded as a normal part of White training, not only in South Africa and America, but in England and Europe also. The removal of the authoritarian sex-denying culture and upbringing of the civilised nations would do more for racial harmony than any more apparently direct approach to the problem.

So far does reading between the lines in Dr. Malan's speeches lead us!

ANARCHIST.

Liberal Opinions in South Africa

PRETORIA, April 23.
 General Brink, a former deputy Chief of Staff and Commander of the 1st South African Division in North Africa during the war, addressing a meeting here to-day said that *apartheid* of the two White races of the Transvaal in schools was not the way toward racial harmony. If the two races were to

SYNDICALIST NOTEBOOK

LORD GODDARD DEFENDS THE DUSTMEN

THERE cannot be many dustmen who have any reason to regard Lord Chief Justice Goddard as a comrade. There are two in London, however, who must be thinking that way.

It has always been a practice among dustmen to help themselves to any junk thrown out by householders on which they might raise a few coppers. And the local authorities have always tried to put down the practice—but with small success.

The Camberwell Borough Council, London (isn't that a Labour Council, by the way?) must have thought it was on a safe bet when it launched a prosecution against four dustmen who had been arrested trying to sell some scrap metal they had scrounged from Camberwell dustbins.

The value of the metal was all of six shillings. But that was not the reason for the action. The principle had to be established that the dustmen were thieves.

At the Magistrates' Court, the Bench threw the case out. It was that if a person took an article of which he believed the owner wished to dispose, it was indistinguishable from the case of a person who took something which he believed to be abandoned.

So the Council, hot on the trail by this time, appealed to the High Court of Appeal. No less a person than Lord Goddard himself, ably assisted by Mr. Justice Oliver and Mr. Justice Byrne, lent his giant intellect to deciding the fate of four dustmen and six shillings' worth of scrap.

It was, as Lord Goddard said, a case of some importance to dustmen. As somebody else once said, he wasn't kidding either.

The case for the Council was that they transferred the refuse their dustmen collected to a contractor, who used it to fill up holes in land. They did not sell the refuse to him, they paid him to dispose of it. The metal concerned was of no value to the Council, but the dustmen were all told that it was the Council's property and taking anything

from it was prohibited. The instruction, said the Council's Counsel, was designed to prevent dustmen from wasting their time by combing the refuse.

Mr. Justice Oliver: They may be liable to be dismissed for disobedience, but are they thieves?

Continued on p. 4

The Syndicalist

WITH this week's issue of *FREEDOM* postal subscribers will find a copy of the first number of *THE SYNDICALIST*, a monthly journal published by The Anarcho-Syndicalist Committee, 84a, Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1, price 2d. (postage 1½d.), and we hope that this new venture will receive the support it deserves from readers of *FREEDOM*. The publishing group has launched this new paper without any financial reserves, and its continued publication each month will, therefore, depend entirely on the response it gets in the way of subscriptions (3/6 per annum, post free) and bulk orders from groups and individuals who are prepared to sell the paper amongst their workmates and friends.

FREEDOM subscribers can receive *THE SYNDICALIST* each month for a year by sending only TWO SHILLINGS to *Freedom Press*. They will receive their copy in the same wrapper as their copy of *FREEDOM* and in this way save the cost of double postage.

FREEDOM extends its fraternal greetings to *THE SYNDICALIST*. May it have a long and fruitful life!

Why Not Use Dynamite?

BEFORE the recent London protest meeting against the political trials in Spain, a comrade suggested with some levity that the best thing we could do would be to blow up the Spanish Embassy. A few decades ago some section of the anarchist movement of this country might have been seriously considering such an action, but to-day nobody gives it a thought. It is in order to ask, why not? In the present condition of this country it would be comparatively easy to obtain the necessary materials, to carry out the act, and even to remain in the safe anonymity of the many thousands who are bitterly hostile to Franco's villainous régime. Yet such a protest is neither made nor contemplated, and Franco's agents remain in the smug security that all our protest will be verbal, and that our free British press will pass over them in silence.

Some revolutionaries of the old school, who have somewhat of an affection for dynamite, will regard the anarchist movement of to-day as having been "softened" by the spread of pacifist ideas. I do not think that this is so: there have always been "violent" and "pacifist" elements in the anarchist movement, and the difference between them is largely academic. The reasons for the apparent passivity of the movement to-day are governed by facts more definite than ideological theory. The awful thing about our life to-day in the mid-20th century, is that we know too much. It is awful, I mean, for our peace of mind. We cannot face a single, simple issue and react spontaneously, for the greatness of our awareness of the world-wide situation mocks our initiative in any one direction. Why take militant action against the agents of Franco? Why not against the representatives of Stalin's or Tito's régimes, which perpetuate exactly the same sort of tyranny against all dissident elements. Why not indeed against those responsible for the brutal British terrorism against the natives of foreign lands like Malaya? If we resorted to dynamite as a means of protest we should have a busy time indeed.

At the London protest meeting against the Spanish political trials, Dr. Bronowski voiced the following sentiments.

"You see, the infiltration of evil which we have experienced in the world in our lifetime does not take place anywhere except in our personal atrophy of conscience. Just trying to conquer the world is not somebody else's conscience: it is our conscience. I was born in Russia when it was governed by the Tsar. I remember as a small boy being told by my parents of the most terrible experience that they had suffered when Cossacks had mowed down some children in the street. I dare not even bore you with the details of the story. To-day it would be so commonplace that it would not even take two lines on the back page among the sporting news."

It is not that the world is more "evil" to-day than ever before. If we read the history of the past few centuries, we find the same motive forever recurring; the weak, powerless and humble being continually exploited, murdered and starved by different ruling classes. Governors, soldiers and police are neither more nor less cruel to-day than they used to be, although with the increasing perfection of weapons, devastation can be more spectacular. If our personal consciences appear to atrophy, if we merely raise our

eyebrows when we hear that so many hundred villagers (or thousands—what matter?) were burnt to death with jellied petrol in Korea, it is because we know too much already to be impressed.

There is a telling passage in John Steinbeck's book, *The Grapes of Wrath*, where the small peasant farmers are being ousted from their land by the simple process of driving great tractor ploughs across their fields, preparatory to the sowing of cotton by the new land development company. The farmers' first reaction is to seize their guns to resist this land robbery. Had it been individual landlords encroaching on the peasants' fields in the traditional manner, there would certainly have been resistance "à la Zapata". But things being as they were in America, who were they to shoot? Not the tractor drivers, they said, for they were mere nobodies working for a wage. Shoot one, and another out-of-work mechanic would jump into his place the next day. The foremen were similar wage-earning cattle. But who was responsible for this land robbery—who ordered it? The Banks, who had now gained legal control of the land. Somewhere, hundreds of miles away, you could find bank officials sitting in their offices dealing only with pieces of paper and innocent of any criminal intent. Would shooting them do any good? So it was that the peasant farmers, felt themselves ousted by a vast amorphous force that they could neither see nor come to grips with, and they drifted away from their land without a struggle.

This is what we are all up against in Britain to-day. A huge amorphous force that one cannot properly come to grips with; a force that not only organises away our standard of living, whittles away our personal freedom, but somehow makes us responsible for acts of insanity and brutality all over the world, and there is seemingly no way of disclaiming this responsibility or striking at the seat of evil. Such is our invidious position under a so-called political democracy, that many people are so bedevilled by uneasy conscience and frustrated resentment that they long for a showdown with naked tyrannical violence. Such people gladly went to Spain to fight against the forces of Franco, and to the British army to come to grips with Nazi Germany. They would flock to the armed forces to fight Stalinist Russia. At home they cannot see the enemy.

But the twilight of Britain is growing deeper. We are losing our great colonial empire just as surely as Spain lost hers. The army, civil service and capitalist tycoons who could regard the "niggers" as their legitimate prey in the four corners of the Earth, are having to come back here to exercise their talents. We must be prepared to meet these frustrated empire builders here in Britain, even as the people of Spain have had to contend with a frustrated empire-building class and an army that looks for battlefields in its own country. If we protest against the army constituting itself as judge, jury and executioner over the civil population of Spain to-day, such a protest is very pertinent to the clouds gathering over Britain for to-morrow.

One can safely discuss the use of dynamite as a means of political protest here in Britain at present, for no-one is likely to use it. But I am not so sure for the future. If the present trend of world affairs continues, I think that there will be no need to leave these shores to relieve that gnawing necessity to come to grips with naked tyrannical violence. In such circumstances, the circles of people who meet together to-day to discuss revolutionary trends in politics, literature and science, will be meeting together to discuss the best ways of setting bomb fuses. They will be the same sort of people with the same sort of aims in life, but reacting differently because a problem will have moved from far-off Malaya, Argentine, Spain, Russia, etc., to their own doorsteps. Whether we deplore or welcome this fact we must face it. That many people will change in their practical reactions to the phenomenon of government, must not blind us to the central issue, which is not really one of whether or not to use dynamite. The central issue is not one of identifying tyrants whether they be General Franco, General Templer or Generalissimo Stalin; it is the question of understanding tyranny, of enlarging men's consciousness of their own unique and individual importance in the face of the tyrannical "isms" which seek to capture their allegiance. The only certainty that we have is that the steady spade-work that we do to-day in the propagation of anarchism as a living force is the sort of dynamite that will have its effect in the shape of things to come.

G.

Portrait of a Lawyer by William Godwin

In 1797, five years after the publication of his Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, the first systematic exposition of anarchism, William Godwin, published *The Enquirer, a book of essays on educational, social and literary subjects. One of the essays, Trades and Professions, analyses the effects of participation in shopkeeping, law, medicine, the Church, the army and seamanship. This is what Godwin wrote of the lawyer.**

THERE is scarcely any profession that obtains for a man a higher degree of consideration in civil society, than the profession of the law.

Law, we are told, is that by which one man is secured against the injustice and the passions of others. It is the inflexible and impartial principle, holding out one standard of right and wrong to all mankind. It has been devised by sages, in the tranquility of the closet, not to accommodate particular interests, but to provide for the welfare of the whole. Its view is sublime and universal. It cannot be warped to suit temporary and personal objects. It teaches every man what he has to depend upon, not suffering him to be condemned at the caprice of his judges, but by maxims previously promulgated and made known to all. It gives fair warning to one party, of the punishment which a certain conduct will incur. It affords to the other party, a remedy against the usurpation of his neighbour, known, definite and universally accessible.

If law be, to this eminent extent, the benefactor and preserver of mankind, must it not reflect some of its own lustre upon its professors? What character can be more venerable than an expounder of law, whether we apply this appellation to the judge who authoritatively declares its meaning from the bench, to the pleader who takes care to do justice to the case of a man who is unable to do justice to himself, or to the less brilliant, but not less useful, functions of him, who from his chamber communicates the result of the researches of years, to the client, who would otherwise be unable to find his way amidst the complexities of statutes, glosses and precedents?

We will not here enquire into the soundness of the panegyric which has so often been pronounced upon the institution of law. All that our present subject requires of us, is, to ascertain what sort of character the study of law is likely to entail upon its professors.

The business of a man is to enquire into the dictates of reason and the principles of justice. The business of a lawyer is of a very different sort. He has nothing to do with general and impartial reason; his concern is with edicts and acts of parliament. He is to consider these as the standards of right and wrong to mankind. He must either wholly expel from his mind all notions of in-

dependent investigation; or he must submit to the necessity of maintaining that to be right, because it is conformable to law, which he knows to be wrong, because it is irreconcilable to justice. What may be the general merits of law as an institution would be a proper topic of separate investigation. But this much is too plain to need any profound elucidation: that laws, in their great outline, are usually the prejudices of a barbarous age artificially kept alive and entailed upon a civilized one; that such of them as are of long standing, derive their character from principles and systems that have since been wholly exploded and brought into disuse; that such of them as are of recent date, have too often originated in temporary objects, in anti-social passions, in the intemperate desire of giving strength to monopoly, and firmness to the usurpation of the few over the many. From this immense and heterogeneous mass the lawyer extracts his code of ethics; and nothing is more usual among persons of this profession, than to see them expressing their sensations by a look of astonishment and contempt, if they hear a man arraigning the infallibility of law, and calling into question the justice of its decisions.

It would be a mistake peculiarly glaring and gross to suppose that a lawyer studies the law principally that he may understand it. No; his great object is to puzzle and perplex. His chief attention is given to the enquiry, how he may distort the law so as to suit the cause in which he is engaged. This is a necessary sequence of one man's being hired to tell another man's story for him. The principal, however erroneous, may be expected to express himself with good faith. The agent is careless himself about the merits of the cause. It is totally indifferent to him whether his client be right or wrong. He will plead for the plaintiff to-day, and, if properly

applied to, will plead on the opposite side in another court to-morrow. He stands up before a judge and jury in the most important questions, upon which the peace of families, and the lives and liberties of individuals depend. If he have an honest tale to deliver, it is well. But, if he have the weaker side, what he undertakes is, by a solemn and public argument, to mislead and confound, if he is able, the court and the jury. He justifies this to himself; for, if men are to have their case pleaded by others, the greatest delinquent is entitled to the same privilege; to reject his application would be to prejudice his cause, and to withhold from him that to which all men are entitled, a solemn and public hearing. The lawyer is weak enough not to see the consequences of his practice; he does not know that, by this serious trifling, pleading indifferently on either side or on both, he brings all professions and integrity into discredit, and totally subverts the firmness and discernment of his own understanding.

Another circumstance common to the lawyer with all those professions which subsist upon the misfortunes of mankind, is that he labours under a perpetual temptation to increase those misfortunes. The glorious uncertainty of the law is his daily boast. Nothing so much conduces to his happiness, as that his neighbour should be perpetually engaged in broils and contention. Innumerable are the disputes that would soon terminate in an amicable adjustment, were it not for the lawyer, who, like an evil genius, broods over the mischief and hatches it into a suit. There may be instances in which he adopts an opposite conduct. But no father would wish for a child, no prudent man would choose for himself, a situation in which he was perpetually exposed to such enticements. Where such is the character of a profession, it cannot fail to happen, that the majority of its adherents will be seduced from their integrity.

The Telescope of Philosophy

Our contemporary, Peace News, includes this passage in an extract from an article by James Boswell in *The London Magazine* for December 1777, which is reprinted in the new book *Boswell's Column* (William Kimber).

"WHILE viewing, as travellers usually do, the remarkable objects of curiosity at Venice, I was conducted through the different departments of the Arsenal; and as I contemplated that great storehouse of mortal engines, in which there is not only a large deposit of arms, but men are continually employed in making more, my thoughts rebounded, if I may use the expression, from what I beheld; and the effect was, that I was first as it were stunned into a state of amazement, and when I recovered from that, my mind expanded itself in reflections upon the horrid irrationality of war.

"When I saw workmen engaged with grave assiduity in fashioning weapons of death, I was struck with wonder at the shortsightedness, the *caeca mentes* of human beings, who were thus soberly

preparing the instruments of destruction of their own species.

"I have since found upon a closer study of man, that my wonder might have been spared; because there are very few men whose minds are sufficiently enlarged to comprehend universal or even extensive good. The views of most individuals are limited to their own happiness; and the workmen whom I beheld so busy in the Arsenal of Venice saw nothing but what was good in the labour for which they received such wages as procured them the comforts of life.

"That their immediate satisfaction was not hindered by a view of the remote consequential and contingent evils for which alone their labours could be at all useful, would not surprise one who has had a tolerable share of experience in life. We must have the telescope of philosophy to make us perceive distant ills; nay, we know that there are individuals of our species to whom the immediate misery of others is nothing in comparison with their own advantage—for we know that in every age there have been found men very willing to perform the office of executioner even for a moderate hire."

A Neglected Psychologist

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PIERRE JANET by Elton Mayo. (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 8/6d.)

VERY little of Pierre Janet's work has been translated into English and, in comparison with his contemporaries in the psychological revolution of fifty years ago—Freud, Adler and Jung—his name and his contribution to psychology are not well known outside France.

Professor Mayo's slim book is, as he himself emphasises, not a full account of Janet's work so much as a group of notes and essays for the information of social workers. Mayo, indeed, tends to give us Janet's teachings as seen through the prism of his own experience, and there are times when one wonders whether allowance should be made for refraction. Nevertheless, there are interesting and informative chapters on Janet's work in connection with Hysteria and Hypnosis and Obsessive Thinking.

There are also some observations from Mayo himself on the paranoid psychology of certain negatively destructive types of revolutionary. These remarks make salutary reading, but they do not for all that invalidate the basic elements of a revolutionary attitude, merely because some of its exponents, as we all know well enough, tend to be both hyper-conscious of persecution and overtly blind to constructive urges.

The last essay in the book, a study of Frightened People, seems to me excellent in the way Mayo traces the intimate connection between anxiety—with its vast effect on both mental and physical disease—and the breakup of the small, organically whole community in the centralised atomisation of modern society. "The need of assurance," he claims, "is an index not only of personal but of social well-being. The large-scale modern society very easily develops patches of social disintegration, of diminished human association. Within such patches is found great human unhappiness, which cannot be explained by the usual economic, psychological or political studies." It is a point worth expanding.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

Anarchism

ANARCHISM implies human strife. The strife of man against man? No, the strife of life within man. Wherever we look, the beings or things that we recognise at all are distinguished by virtue of their qualities. If those qualities do not manifest themselves, the object or being we see is ignored. The essential quality of life is action. But all action signifies a conscious effort, a freed force, liberty. That is why freedom is the force that struggles. Everything that lives, that vibrates like the wing of a bird, conquering the resistance of space, is asserting a will.

Anarchism is social as well as human. The freedom to which it appeals is the freedom of the individual, and with his freedom, social freedom. Society is a system of relationships. But what does it relate? Living beings or inert ones? It is the living being that matters and his life is not the life of a hermit, it is the life of understanding, the life of the community. The hermit deludes himself in his solitude, for he dreams human dreams, dreams in which he can never be alone.

It has been said that we anarchists are impotent to save man from tyranny. That is said by all who are waiting for salvation. And all of them are right. We cannot "change" their being, and besides, nobody can. What others do and we do not do, is to cheat them. The others say that life begins to-morrow. And the to-day is the perpetual meanwhile, the perpetual negation of the possibility. And in that neutral and ungrasped dream, in that Conformist opium, slaves find relief. They believe that tyranny is the tyrant and that the problem will be solved with his elimination. But the death of Hitler did not give freedom or even lessen suffering.

—La Odra (Buenos Aires).

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

Godwin and the Age of Transition

ed. A. E. Rodway

10/6 (school edition) 7/6

This book, primarily intended for students, has a long introduction to Godwin and his background, a selection of the writings of Godwin's contemporaries, including Boswell, Burke, Tom Paine, Priestley and Malthus, followed by 120 pages of extracts from Godwin's works, and completed by writings by his disciples and opponents.

The Great Revivalists

George Godwin 3/6

George Godwin (no relation to William!) in this new *Thinker's Library* book, contends the view that religious revivals can be accounted for only by supernatural causes, and concludes that they arise from mental and physical causes among adolescents and unbalanced people.

Sex and Temperament in Three

Primitive Societies Margaret Mead 18/-

A new edition of this fascinating study.

The Open Society & its Enemies

K. R. Popper, 2 vols. £2/2/0

The first volume of the revised and enlarged edition is called "The Spell of Plato," and volume 2, "The High Tide of Prophecy: Hegel and Marx." Professor W. J. H. Spott writes in *The Listener*: "This is an important and brilliant book. It is a defence of rationalism and humanism... The work merits an enthusiastic welcome."

Obtainable from

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

*See also *On Law* (Freedom Press, 1d.) which is a chapter from *Political Justice*; *Selections from Political Justice* (Freedom Press, 3d.); and *William Godwin* by George Woodcock (obtainable from Freedom Bookshop at 5/-).

CAPITALIST ECONOMY

"THE outlook for consumer goods exports in 1952 is not promising. Demand is still subdued, and the measures which many countries in the Commonwealth and elsewhere are taking to put their own balance of payments right will react unfavourably on many types of British exports this year. Competition for markets has continued to grow with the rapid progress of German and Japanese industrial recovery and with the extensive development of manufacturing capacity in many countries hitherto usually referred to as primary producers. . . ."

The substance of these remarks, though not the phrasing, appeared regularly in FREEDOM or its predecessors, during the past fifteen years. It is a succinct statement of the capitalist mode of economy, and it is taken, in fact, from the Government's Economic Survey for 1952, published last week.

The survey speaks of "the most serious danger of large-scale unemployment and destitution facing the country, and it must be averted, at whatever immediate sacrifice". The measures the government proposes to offset the fact that there are decreasing markets for consumer goods, are to concentrate on the export of capital goods, especially engineering machinery; and on rearmament.

These two "remedies" might be said to epitomise the times in which we live. One of the reasons for the economic difficulties of this country, with a mode of production based on markets, is the "extensive development of manufacturing capacity in many countries usually referred to as primary producers". The answer is to send them capital machinery to develop their manufacturing capacity still more.

In the late 1930's the government looked with some satisfaction to rearmament as a means to lift economic difficulties. In 1952, the government remarks on the increased competition caused by "the rapid progress of German and Japanese industrial recovery".

Finally, there is the immediate effect of re-armament. If the overseas market for consumer goods is saturated one might expect that there would be more for the home market. But this does not happen. Instead peace-time production is diverted into arms production. And, of course, it is this process which, paradoxically, despite economic difficulties, enables the major industries to show higher profits than ever.

Such is the mode of economy under which we live: such the devices and shifts which are perennially called upon as remedies. And such is the repetition of history. We are rapidly reaching the situation described through the fictitious author, Emmanuel Goldstein, in his book, *The Theory of Oligarchical Collectivism* in Orwell's 1984.

The chapter entitled "War is Peace" lays it down that "the primary aim of modern warfare . . . is to use up the products of the machine without raising the general standard of living . . . The problem was how to keep the wheels of industry turning without increasing the real wealth of the world. Goods must be produced, but they must not be distributed. And in practice, the only way of achieving this was by continuous warfare."

Rearmament, the cold war, the shooting war . . . doublethink. It is of the essence of satire to expose the truth of the times in all its nakedness.

WHAT is described as the worst riot in Michigan prison history has ended after only a few days duration in a victory for the rioters. We cannot discuss conditions in American prisons, not having first-hand experience of them, but it is clear that their is something very wrong by the number of disturbances that have occurred during the past month. In the Trenton New Jersey State prison, no less than three disturbances occurred in the space of a month. The prisoners' demands were that the prison warden should be dismissed and that an independent investigation be made of prison conditions. At the New Jersey State prison farm, to which the riot spread, the prisoners declared: "The parole board is not fair. We want a chance."

The demands won by the inmates of Michigan prison—a vast walled prison covering 75 acres and holding some 6,500 prisoners—included:

- No. reprisals;
- The elimination of "favouritism" in dental appointments.
- Better medical treatment.
- The admittance of "counsellors" to disciplinary cell blocks.
- A more liberal parole system.
- The elimination of alleged brutality by guards.

Whatever one's views may be in the matter, it must be admitted that it was only by creating a serious disturbance that the prisoners' grievances received a hearing. That the authorities agreed to the prisoners' demands was, to a large extent, due to the fact that short of a massacre—in which members of the staff, a number of whom were held as hostages, as well as the prisoners, would be the victims—the prisoners appeared to be in an impregnable position. Prison spokesmen said the convicts in Block 15 had turned the big stone and steel structure into a fortress that might have been "almost impossible" to penetrate. As it was, the damage done during the four days rioting is estimated at £750,000.

The demands of the S. Michigan prisoners were agreed to in writing by the Deputy Warden after a letter had been received from Governor Williams at the State Capital at Lansing, agreeing to their acceptance. But it would seem that some double-crossing can be expected. Mr. Harry W. Jackson, an Assistant State Attorney-General, is reported as saying: "Regardless of what the Governor or prison officials have said, somebody is going to be punished." Such an attitude is inviting more riots and bloodshed by desperate men—many of whom are

CONCRETE ACHIEVEMENT

The verdict of the inarticulate Indian masses on the Congress, say the critics of the Congress, is more justified than that on the British. What are, they ask, the achievements of the Congress leadership in the first four years of freedom? The only concrete achievement seems to be a Constitution weighing about 2 lb. —A. S. RAMAN on "The Indian Scene" in *World Review*, April 1952.

For the last two years, a war has taken place between the Burmese Moslems and the Buddhist Communists. The Moslems have charged that the Burmese army, instead of fighting the Communists have sold their guns to them, a very familiar story indeed. —*Industrial Worker* (U.S.A.), 18/3/52.

servicing such crushing sentences that they are virtually condemned to spending the remainder of their lives behind prison walls—for whom any fate could not be worse than their present one.

There may be plenty of anti-social individuals among the inmates of the Big House, but how anti-social is the attitude of judges who are legally empowered to sentence a man to 25, 30 and even 99 years segregation in that walled city where more than six thousand men are condemned to a living death in iron cages. Whatever may be the crimes committed by fellow men, society is not justified either for its own protection or for their punishment to treat men in this way.

There's Money in Oil

A marked rise in earnings, including increased returns from foreign holdings, was reported by Standard Oil Co. of California for 1951. The company had net earnings for the year of \$173,341,211 (about £62 million) or \$6.05 a share,

compared with net income of \$150,804,104 (about £53 million) or \$5.26 a share, for the previous year.

Spanish Understatement

Don José de Lequerica, the Spanish Ambassador to the United States, said in Indianapolis that his country was willing to join N.A.T.U. and could offer an Army of 2,000,000 men to fight communism. He added:

"There is nothing in Spain's political life basically at variance with the eternal moral principles which should govern the free world, nor is there any obstacle to prevent the betterment of her political institutions."

A Taste of Democracy in Indo-China

Brig-Gen. René Cogy said last week that French Union forces had seized 7,000 "civilian suspects" during a knock-out drive against Communist-led Viet Minh troops around the Canal des Rapides.

Gen. Cogy said that these suspects are now being questioned to determine

whether they directly aided the Viet Minh or if they actually belonged to enemy forces and had hidden their guns, removed their uniforms and sought refuge in the villages.—(A.P.)

One wonders what methods are being used to make the suspects confess or to ensure that they speak the truth. With what one knows of third degree methods in France itself such doubts on French democratic methods are surely justified.

German Steel Production Up

According to German agency reports, production of raw steel in the Federal German Republic has reached a new record in March of 1,320,000 tons. This is 90,000 tons more than in the previous month and a maintenance of this rate of production would give a yearly output of nearly 16 million tons.

This figure compares with 9 million tons for 1949 and is approximately equal to the total steel production in the United Kingdom for 1949.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

MUTINY IN THE BIG HOUSE

Elections in the Naga Hills

NOBODY VOTED!

ALTHOUGH the Indian Elections, on which I commented last week, have confirmed Congress as the ruling party, on a minority vote yet with a large majority of seats, and—owing to the support given them by the Preventive Detention Act—pushed the Communists up to second place, this is not the most important feature. Nor is it the fact that the Socialists dropped so heavily. Their link-up with reactionary elements was their doom. Nor was the intervention of the Catholics, whose political debut was so abortive. (They formed a bloc to support Christian Congressmen, thus alienating Hindus and in many cases swaying the Hindu vote to the Communists—the very reason given for Catholic intervention.) It was not even the ebb and flow of support for the various communal parties each concerned with its own little sect and with no more vision of a world beyond their own narrow religion than if they were born in Darkest Belfast.

The really significant occurrence for the world in large lay in the fact that five seats were left vacant after the polls. Two were on account of deaths of candidates, and three were from the Naga Hills, whose inhabitants have boycotted the elections.

No more stinging slap in the face to government has yet been administered. No better public rebuke to the costly apparatus of the central State, paid for by the taxes of the poverty-stricken peasants, could possibly have been given.

One can imagine what happened in the Naga Hills. The expensive farce had naturally to be played out; urns brought from the city, polling booths erected, forms distributed, perhaps even propaganda literature was issued by the hopeful parties. And on the day of the polls nobody voted! When the declaration was read, nobody had won! Instead of three jolly Naga tribesmen leaving the wilds of Assam for the joys of New Delhi, the empty urns were returned intact! Somehow one recalls that sad tale of one's childhood, when the rich little girl gave a party and nobody turned up. . . . Pride went before a fall in this instance, too, indeed. The Naga tribesmen had so little faith in government that they did not go through with the farce. . . . To protect their interests, indeed! A fine fairy story one can believe if one is indoctrinated through the sausage-mill of board school education, perhaps! Easy to swallow if higher education has invested it with a status and made a whole philosophy of it! But these were "only illiterate tribesmen". How could they believe the myths so assiduously taught by school, press and pulpit!

They lived on the good land and knew from whence their only source of sustenance came. They paid tributes in the way of taxation when the demand was made by superior force. But somehow they did not believe that sending representatives to the Assembly was going to do them a ha'porth of good. . . . Has it ever happened before that

a whole people has thus affirmed what in every free election a large proportion obviously believe? The Naga Hills has not precisely chosen anarchism as we know it, but they have at least shown the world (or at least such of it as reads the Indian press, for the rest of the world's press has displayed an odd reluctance to comment on those three vacant seats in the Assembly) a mute and courageous answer to the idolatry of the State.

INTERNATIONALIST.

Bring Back Life to the Highlands THE SILENT GLENS

"Now, o'er the rugged peasant's cot,
Once bright with Highland cheer,
A London brewer shoots the grouse,
A lordling stalks the deer."

—PROF. BLACKIE.

TWO juxtaposed items in the B.B.C.'s late night news one day last week deserve consideration together. An official of the Meat Traders' Federation was quoted as saying that in future all the countries which have in the past supplied Britain with meat, apart from New Zealand, would have considerably less available for export, and consequently it was of the utmost urgency for us to plan for supplying our meat needs at home. Then in the accounts of the House of Commons debate on the Empire Settlement Bill, Mr. William Ross was reported to have said that the money should be spent on repopulating the highlands of Scotland. "There are wide open spaces in Scotland," he said, "which have been created by the forced emigration of Scotsmen. If we want to find deserted villages and clachans which once supported men, instead of spending £25 on a trip to the Continent we should spend it on touring through the Highlands of Scotland. If one goes to Scotland, one will come to the silent glens, the glens of memory. This is the time to re-people these glens."

The scarcely believable story of the manner in which the highlanders were evicted from the crofts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century

and shipped like cattle to the shores of Canada, their homes burned down and their holdings turned into deer forests and grouse moors for the landowners, has often been told, and Mr. Oliver Brown in his pamphlet *Hiliterism in the Highlands*, has shown how the process of turning the land from productive to wasteful purposes continued right up to the last war:

"It is time to reconsider the Scottish Highlands from an economic and industrial point of view," says Mr. Hugh Quigley. "As a notorious example of backwardation and sheer waste, the vast area to the west of the Caledonian Canal between Loch Lochy and Inverness is specially dealt with by Mr. Quigley. Of the great glens which run up into the high mountain range, with communication to the western sea, only Glenmoriston has been developed.

"The entire region from Fort Augustus to Skye is rigidly preserved as a deer forest, and beyond a few houses at Invermoriston and Glenshiel it has practically no population. All the valuable trees in the area have been cut down . . . and afforestation has only been carried out in a few small scattered plantations."

"Many of the old rights of way have been deliberately obscured; an old military road has been fenced up; and in the whole of Glenmoriston there is only one hotel."

"Yet this could be one of the richest agricultural districts in Britain: It carries grass of first-class quality up to 2,000 feet. There are splendid potential communications, ample supplies of water power, and in a general scheme the River Moriston could generate annually about 70 million units of electricity."

"Following a properly elaborated system of main and local drainage, this area, Mr. Quigley maintains, could be 'covered with large steadings, combining sheep-farming and dairy farming, supplying co-operative dairies; small industries using agricultural raw materials and animal products; spinning and weaving dependent on the sheep farms, and a whole series of leather and timber trades."

"It is only necessary to see what has been done in Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Italy to understand what a perfect economic proposition the West Highlands are. But before anything could be done," adds Mr. Quigley, "revolutionary changes in ownership would be required."

The economic changes of the wartime and post-war years have shown, even within the limits of our present economic structure, the feasibility of Mr. Quigley's remarks. In a broadcast last year, Mr. McDonald Prain said: "I have just come back from the Highlands. I have been up there looking over new cattle-rearing estates, and talking with a few hard-headed practical men who believe the millions of acres of bracken-infested, sheep-sick land lying derelict in the north can be made to produce great herds of beef cattle. In Lochaber, Glen Farrar, and Glen Lochay, I have seen the opening rounds of this battle to bring the heart back into the old Highland grazings. I have seen gangs of workmen building new cattle pens; mechanical drainers cutting deep herring-bone patterns into the hillsides, and houses with hot water and electric light being built

Continued on p. 4

FREEDOM PRESS

- TONY GIBSON : *Youth for Freedom* paper 2s.
- PHILIP SANSON : *Syndicalism—The Workers' Next Step* 1s.
- ERRICO MALATESTA : *Anarchy. Vote—What For?* 6d. 1d.
- M. BAKUNIN : *Marxism, Freedom and the State.* paper 2s. 6d., cloth 5s.
- HERBERT READ : *Art and the Evolution of Man.* 4s. *Existentialism, Marxism and Anarchism.* 3s. 6d. *Poetry and Anarchism.* cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d.
- The Philosophy of Anarchism.* boards 2s. 6d., paper 1s.
- The Education of Free Men.* 1s.
- ALEX COMFORT : *Delinquency* 6d. *Barbarism & Sexual Freedom.* paper 2s. 6d., stiff boards 3s. 6d.
- RUDOLF ROCKER : *Nationalism and Culture.* cloth 21s.

- ALEXANDER BERKMAN : *ABC of Anarchism.* 1s.
- PETER KROPOTKIN : *The State: Its Historic Role.* 1s. *The Wage System.* 3d. *Revolutionary Government.* 3d. *Organised Vengeance Called Justice.* 2d.

- JOHN HEWETSON : *Sexual Freedom for the Young* 6d. *Ill-Health, Poverty and the State.* cloth 2s. 6d., paper 1s.

- M. L. BERNERI : *Workers in Stalin's Russia.* 1s.
- GEORGE WOODCOCK : *Anarchy or Chaos.* 2s. 6d. *New Life to the Land.* 6d. *Railways and Society.* 3d. *Homes orhovels?* 6d. *What is Anarchism?* 1d. *The Basis of Communal Living.* 1s.

- WILLIAM GODWIN : *Selections from Political Justice.* 3d. *On Law.* 1d.

- F. A. RIDLEY : *The Roman Catholic Church and the Modern Age.* 2d.

- ★ Marie Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications : *Marie Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A Tribute.* cloth 5s. *Journey Through Utopia.* cloth 16s. (U.S.A. \$2.50)

- ★ K. J. KENAFICK : *Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx.* Paper 6s.

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

Victims of Stalin

OUR comrades in the Russian Zone of Germany were arrested in the autumn of the year 1948 by the Russian N.K.V.D. Later they were brought before a so-called judge, and every one of them was sentenced to twenty-five years of hard-labour for having made propaganda for our principles and against the Bolsheviks. Since that time they have been in the Bautzen concentration camp, in the province of Saxony. One of them died in November 1950, of T.B. Several others of our comrades suffer from the same disease.

Another comrade of ours has now died in the camp; he was one of the most active comrades we had in the Russian Zone. According to the report of the authorities of the camp to his family, he died on the 24th of March, 1952. But we know for sure from the best of sources that on the 20th March he was still in good health, so the only explanation for his sudden death is that he was killed.

Willy Jelinek is the name of this comrade. He joined the *Allgemeine Arbeiter Union* (General Labour Union of Germany) when it was founded, and took part in the fights of Max Hölz in Saxony. In the course of time, a part of the *Allgemeine Arbeiter Union* joined the anarchist movement. Willy Jelinek was one of them, and he edited their paper, *Der Proletarische Zeitgeist* (The Proletarian Spirit of the Time). When Hitler's rule started, he was thrown into a concentration camp. For only a few years during the rule of Hitler he was out of prison. When the rule of the Nazis was finished, it was he who started to build up anew our movement in the Russian Zone where he lived. One day in 1948 he was arrested by the N.K.V.D. with all our comrades in the Russian Zone. His companion was chased out of her home into the street when the police arrested him. A stool-pigeon of the N.K.V.D. had managed to introduce himself to our comrades in the Russian Zone under the pretext that he had great

interest in anarchism and intended to join the movement. The police in the concentration camp tried with all means to break his mind, they even suggested to him to put in an application for a pardon. Willy Jelinek answered them: I am innocent! Why should I ask for a pardon?

The families of our comrades in the concentration camp are in a sore plight, they need help, and also the comrades need once in a while a parcel with food to keep them up. But the comrades here in Western Germany are too few to give the necessary mutual aid. So will any comrade who reads this and wants to do something for the prisoners and their families, please send clothes, food or money to this address: Willy Huppertz, Mülheim/Ruhr, Winkhauserweg 64, British Zone, Germany. We have a secret and a safe way ensuring that everything we receive gets into the hands of the prisoners and their families. Germany. WILLY FRITZENKÖTTER.

Youth for Freedom

I HAVE just read the Freedom Press pamphlet, *Youth for Freedom* by Tony Gibson, and would like to make a few comments on pages 28-31 in which he discusses the value of the family unit to the child.

He questions whether the father is an indispensable factor in the biological family and points out that there is no evidence for this belief (so far as he has discovered).

However, there is lack of concrete evidence on both sides and although it is reasonable to challenge the above assertion, it is unreasonable to assert the opposite when no more evidence is obtainable.

In common with many anarchist writers (and others, of course), he falls back on the example of lower animals, primitive cultures and exotic social patterns when it suits his argument (e.g., on page 8 and on page 29) but puts them aside when they do not. "We need not hark back to more primitive cultures" etc. (page 30).

This is all very well, but such inconsistency ruins his argument.

It is clear, therefore, that he is prejudiced against the theory that the father's place in family life is valuable to the child, and his arguments may as fairly be considered to be emotionally charged propaganda as some of those for the opposite point of view.

Personally, I am inclined to think that a child has a biological need for a "daddy", but although there is little evidence for this view, there is as little against it. I feel there is a specificity of intercourse between a father and his child which is not and cannot be obvious. (After all, extra-sensory perception is a proven scientific fact, and that is not obvious, to put it mildly.)

Human fatherhood may be a social invention, but that argues neither for nor against it. We cannot abandon all our social inventions simply because they are such.

I agree that the usual pattern of the

monogamous family has much to answer for, but this does not condemn out of hand a more healthy pattern of monogamy, any more than our critical attitude to the Christian Church justifies the condemnation of Christ's teachings. Why should the social idea of fatherhood be supplanted by a social unit? Why not combine the two? Fatherhood may be condemned for its potentialities for an authoritarian rôle, but any racial unit has the same potentialities. The institution of the small separate family is appallingly wrong. I agree, but that does not condemn all monogamous family units. "Beyond the tiny hut of the family it (the child) sees a jungle of insecurity." Surely the cure for this is to sweep away the jungle of insecurity rather than the tiny unit of the family.

I agree that there should be no law, social pressure, etc., to force a family to stick together whether it wants to or not, but this again, does not condemn a free monogamous family. With regard to the Peckham Experiment—it is more than obvious, having read about their achievements that the biologists treated the family as a unit (father included). In fact this experiment is the strongest

evidence against Tony Gibson's generalisations about families.

Time and time again, they reiterate the importance they placed on the family unit. There is no reason why the family should be an isolated unit; indeed it seems reasonable to deduce from their results that when isolated, the family ceases to be a unit at all.

The family need not have any restricted confines as Tony Gibson seems to think, so that the family does not limit the human relationships of its every member.

In fact, this use of the Peckham Experiment to argue against family units when the whole thing was built on them is astounding.

Either this is good old "doublethink" or Tony Gibson's conception of a monogamous family is limited to its more undesirable connotations.

There may be other arguments against monogamy. If so they should have been presented. If not, the writer is prejudiced. In fairness, I should say that the rest of the pamphlet is quite impressive in its open-mindedness. Oxford. H.R.L.

Boyd Orr Again

I AM sorry to be insistent upon what is superficially a small point, but your reply to my letter about Lord Boyd Orr, which you think rather muddled, is a bit muddling itself. The quotations from Boyd Orr in your volume *Mankind Is One*, are not in his capacity as nutritionist and human biologist at all: they are, to use your words, "what he says in the field of politics—in which he possesses no eminence". If your admiration for Boyd Orr was confined to his work as a nutritionist, his saying would not be so frequently quoted in FREEDOM, it is because Boyd Orr is a scientist who speaks out on social affairs that you find him important and often admirable.

What you should have said is, "Lord Boyd Orr's frequent utterances on social matters show him to be a man of good sense with strong views about the folly of governments and the dangers of authority. This makes it all the more regrettable that he should lend his name to . . . etc., etc."

In this way you could have made your position clear without abusing this man who is in so many ways on your side of the fence, as one of the "men of good

will, but soft heads"—a sneer quite unworthy of FREEDOM. Muswell Hill. A.T.

[It is necessary to recall that the article which provoked this correspondence was about the Moscow Economic Conference. It referred incidentally to the men of good-will whose names were utilised by Russian propaganda (see subsequent issues of the Daily Worker) among them Lord Boyd Orr. It was not, as our correspondent seems to think an attack on Lord Boyd Orr in particular. Now, his views would be of little interest if he had not linked them with social issues, but these are by no means the same as political issues, in the sense of utilising political opportunity, playing a careful game and so on. It is in this field that the Stalinists are so much more experienced than the men of good will. We are sorry that our use of the terms "softie" and "men of good will, but soft head" should so have incensed our correspondent: nevertheless we do not regard them as ill chosen, and cannot agree that they constitute abuse or a sneer.—Eds.]

DUTY OR ADOPTION

Can parents be made to love their children?

THE attitudes of our time are sometimes more clearly shown in the trifles of journalism than in the more serious issues of the day. As an illustration of this let us consider a recent article in *Reynolds News* which occupied almost half a page.

A man and his wife had one child which died aged nine months. The second was looked after by friends until she was taken over by an Adoption Society at 16 months. The third was adopted at four months. It appears that the Adoption Society jibbed at taking the fourth also and told the parents they must "accept their duty". The parents then advertised for a home for the baby by putting a card in a local newsagent's window.

This action brought contempt and abuse from their neighbours so that they dare not go out of their house, local indignation being at a high pitch.

To *Reynolds'* reporter, the mother said she did not feel affection for children, I have no motherly instinct—I can't help it." The father expressed similar views. Now if there is one need which a child needs above all others it is affection. If these parents really disliked children, a serious problem existed. From the children's point of view, adoption is probably the best solution since only those adopt babies who consciously want them. This is not to say that an adopted

home is better than a normal affectionate home, but it is better than a home where affection does not exist.

For the adoption society, however, the old idea that duty must be done, still prevailed, even though duty cannot create affection, and is no substitute for it.

The neighbours exhibit the same moralistic attitude. For them, the punishment of the parents is more important than the welfare of the children. If local public opinion had succeeded in deterring the parents and imprisoning the children in an unloving home, those same neighbours would doubtless have been the first to "have the law on them" for cruelty. So irrational is public opinion, and so cruel when it has official morality on its side to make it feel righteous as well as indignant.

What of the parents? *Reynolds'* reporter elicited from the mother that her own childhood was unhappy, while the father said: "I never knew father or mother." Absence of normal affection towards children should not need these probes to make people realise that it is abnormal. Such a lack may respond to rational investigation by psychological treatment, but obviously not to moralistic bludgeoning, public contempt and a lot of stuff about "duty".

Japanese Anarchist Movement

(From our Correspondent)

TOKYO, April.

THE renewed activity of our comrades of the Japanese Anarchist Federation since the war is most encouraging, when taking into consideration the great difficulties that beset them from all sides. I was able to meet a large section of the Tokyo group in that city recently, and it was particularly satisfactory to find among the young people so many of the old anarchists of pre-war days still engaged most actively in the movement. I can only say that it is a personal inspiration to find the revolutionary conviction of these old comrades as strong and determined as ever, after so many years of political oppression and personal hardship. One of the most respected comrades, Sanshiro Ishikawa, old friend of Kropotkin and Edward Carpenter, is still amazingly energetic in the movement: since the end of the war alone, Professor Ishikawa has written and published a huge amount of invaluable theoretical and historical material, including "Anarchism from the aesthetic point of view", "Anarchism: its principles and its realization", "A History of oriental civilisation", "A study of Japanese mythology" and "A biography of Elisée Reclus".

Many of the young anarchists are also very active, and the number of newspapers and reviews issued since the war is amazing in view of their almost non-existent financial resources: comrades such as Osawa, Yamaguchi, Matsunaga and many others have helped to launch publications such as *Heimin Shimbun* (founded in 1946), *Afranchi*, *Anarchist Society*, and *Jiyukyosan Shimbun*, in Tokyo, Nagoya and Kyushu.

Masamichi Osawa has also just published a Japanese translation in one volume of Herbert Read's "Poetry and Anarchism", "The Philosophy of Anarchism" and "Marxism Existentialism and Anarchism", and has recently translated

Marie Louise Berneri's "Workers in Stalin's Russia" and is now working on Rocker's "Nationalism and Culture".

The difficulties confronting the J.A.F. in securing any widespread popular support for anarchist ideas are immense at the present time. The reactionary stupidity and callous indifference of the present American-controlled political régime has played so effectively into the hands of the Japanese communists that this Party is now powerful and commands a very wide (if variegated) allegiance even among such groups (for instance, the university students) who might be considered traditionally as potential supporters of the anarchist movement. The communists have hitherto been expert at exploiting public disgust and resentment at the iniquitous injustices of the present régime, and there has hitherto been a tendency for workers and intellectuals to accept the leadership of the C.P. fatalistically, as being the only effective means of opposition to the administration. Against such widespread defeatism the anarchists must certainly expect to have to wage a long and initially unrewarding struggle. One's hopes for the future in Japan may well lie in one's absolute confidence in the energy and courage of our individual comrades there, who are already so used to an unremitting and often seemingly fruitless battle against great odds. SIMON WATSON TAYLOR.

SPANISH MEETING ISSUE OF FREEDOM

We regret there were two omissions from our published list last week, of donations towards the cost of sending out the Spanish Meeting issue of FREEDOM: London: M.M. 10/-; J.S. 2/6.

Total	12 6
Already acknowledged	11 13 6
	£12 6 0

Syndicalist Notebook

Continued from p. 1

The Court did not think they were thieves. "A person could be guilty of larceny only if he acted dishonestly."

We do not know whether or not the Camberwell Borough Council is now going to a still higher court—to the House of Lords, but in view of the fact that the Council prohibits its dustmen from helping themselves to stop them wasting time—is it impertinent to ask whether these court actions could not be regarded as a waste of time?

We wonder how much this search for justice has cost the rate-payers of Camberwell? More than the dustmen's time, taken in the search for junk on which they can raise a few coppers to supplement their humble wages?

And what were the Council going to do with the time they were trying to force the dustmen to save? Probably find they could do with less dustmen—and sack some of them as redundant.

Aneurin Bevan said of the Tories: "What mean people you are!" But doesn't it apply to all government, national and local?

However, the dustmen can now get into it with a good heart—Goddard is on their side.

AN OFFICIAL STRIKE

WONDER of wonders, in the Welfare State—an official strike! But, of course—for unionism, not for unionists.

Open warfare between the trade unions and the Scottish printing and publishing firm of D. C. Thomson & Co. Ltd., a condition of employment with whom is non-membership of a union, broke out a fortnight ago, when machine minders on the Glasgow *Sunday Post* walked out just as the paper was going to press.

It must have been rather a surprise to the firm to find about three-quarters of its machine-shop employees were union members after all.

The union (NATSOPA) has called upon all trade unionists to refuse to handle the publications of the firm, which has its headquarters in Dundee. The Scottish T.U.C. has passed a resolution approving NATSOPA's action.

We hear from Glasgow that van drivers and railwaymen are to refuse to handle Thomson's "black" publications.

THE MILITANT COMMIES

AT Belle Vue, Manchester, Harry Pollitt said the T.U. leaders who deplored the use of industrial action for political purposes were traitors to the militant trade union movement.

When we remember the C.P.'s attitude to militants during the war, who wanted to use industrial action for industrial purposes, we wonder who are the traitors?

And who, for a period after the war, to persuade the workers to keep quiet under Labour, coined the phrase, "Don't embarrass OUR Government"? P.S.

But when one has said all this, one is left wondering why, in the mid-twentieth century, a couple who explicitly reject children should have four of them? Clearly, the whole unhappy solution would never have arisen if rational birth control had been practised.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m.

MANETTE STREET
(by Foyle's, Charing Cross Road)
Every Saturday at 4.30 p.m.

INDOOR MEETINGS

at the
CLASSIC RESTAURANT,
Baker Street, W.1
(near Classic Cinema)
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

MAY 4th—Mr. Carlton on
MARXISM DEBUNKED

NORTH-EAST LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM

Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30

APRIL 30—Mary Canipa
THE PROBLEM OF FREEDOM

WEST LONDON

A Group has been formed in West London and any comrades interested in working with it are invited to contact—
C. Brasnett, 79 Warwick Ave., W.9

LIVERPOOL

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

GLASGOW

OUTDOOR MEETINGS
at
MAXWELL STREET
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.
With John Gaffney, Frank Leech,
Jane Strackan, Eddie Shaw
Frank Carlin

MIDDLESBROUGH

Anyone interested in forming a group in this area is asked to communicate with D. C. WILSON, 3 Norman Terrace, South Bank, Middlesbrough.

FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly

Postal Subscription Rates
12 months 17/- (U.S.A. \$3.00)
6 months 8/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50)
3 months 4/6 (U.S.A. \$0.75)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies
12 months 27/- (U.S.A. \$4.50)
6 months 13/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers.

FREEDOM PRESS
27 Red Lion Street
London, W.C.1 England
Tel.: Chancery 8364