

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

All voting is a sort of gambling . . . a playing with right and wrong . . . even voting for the right is doing nothing for it.

THOREAU  
(Duty of Civil Disobedience)

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Threepence

## THE SOVIET AMNESTY

THE amnesty for various classes of prisoners in Soviet gaols is an event whose significance is, at the moment, hard to assess. Under the published terms of the amnesty everyone who is not a counter-revolutionary, bandit, or murderer, and who is serving a sentence of five years or less will benefit by the decree. Those who are serving a sentence of more than five years will have their term in prison reduced by one half. All women over 50, all who are pregnant, and all who have children under 10 years of age are to be freed without regard to the sentence, they are serving. The same applies to men over 55 or under 18 and those suffering from incurable diseases.

In the ordinary way this announcement might have been regarded mostly as propaganda. But it is difficult to see how exceptions can be made in any large quantity without the government openly breaking their promise and so incurring hatred from the relatives of those who should benefit under the terms of the decree. It seems likely therefore that the numbers involved must be very large indeed. The *Times*, which points out that the Russian press has issued no figures on this question, rather cautiously suggests that it may involve "hundreds of thousands, if not more." In the *Observer* Edward Crankshaw says that the "total number affected will certainly run into millions." It is impossible to say whether this estimate is too high. It depends on the definition given to "crimes not endangering the State", and on the actual numbers in gaol. Without more precise figures it is difficult to assess its exact significance.

There can be little doubt that the Kremlin are anxious to make a popular gesture. Marshal Tito has found it expedient, in recent years, to "liberate" his régime: no doubt the same necessity applies to the Soviet Union. It does not therefore seem unreasonable to regard it as evidence of the Russian government's need to placate the workers and peasants, and hence testifies to the weakness at the head caused by Stalin's death. Malenkov may well be anxious to secure popular support for himself and so advance himself over the other claimants to power.

No political commentator seems to have considered the possible effect of the amnesty on the economic power of the MVD, the secret police which Beria controls. This power rests on a formidable economic base, for the MVD, using an enormous supply of slave prison labour, carried out many gigantic public undertakings, and so was a factor of tremendous importance in the economic life of Russia. It is possible that the amnesty may be a move on the part of Malenkov to reduce the influence of Beria, and so isolate him prior to overthrow and liquidation in the manner of Stalin. This must, however, remain speculative until some idea of the numbers involved is obtainable.

### Softening Russian Foreign Policy

It also is very difficult to assess the significance of the softening of Russian foreign policy since the death of Stalin—the events in Berlin and now the question of the Korean War. It has been said that the

Chinese Communists were now anxious to conclude the Korean War but had maintained it under Russian pressure. The readiness to exchange wounded prisoners and to renew the armistice talks may therefore be construed as a sign of independence on the part of the Chinese. However, the Russian need for a market for their military production may now have changed if, for example, the present rulers wish to slacken armaments production in favour of more consumer goods in order to raise the standard of living of the Russian workers. If this view is accepted it will be seen as part of the general attempt by the new rulers to placate the people of Russia and so tide over the crisis caused by Stalin's death.

The uncertain nature of the above speculations, however, does serve to show how slender is the information available, and how difficult it is to base a firm judgment upon it.

Whatever the causes of the apparent readiness of the Chinese to conclude the Korean War, General Eisenhower's administration has shown its desire to seize initiative in the Far East. They have made the acceptance of cease-fire in Korea dependent on the Chinese Communists not using the occasion to increase their activity in Indo-China. And the United States government has now given specific guarantees on this point to the French. Korea is doubtless of strategic importance to Russia by reason of its proximity to Manchuria and to the Russian Pacific ports: but it is likely that Indo-China is as important, if not more so, to the western Imperialist powers. The complete defeat of

the French in Indo-China would have serious repercussions in Burma and Malaya.

The Chinese government is therefore being asked to regard any Korean truce as part of a general reversal of their foreign policy generally, and it will be interesting to see what their response will be. Again the question of the Russian attitude may well be of major importance.

### Journalists in Russia

Finally, there is the recent Russian willingness to allow 10 American journalists inside Russia for one week, though this concession is of trifling importance compared with the issues discussed above. It must be regarded as a gesture in the general switch to a more co-operative attitude towards the West, which has been noticeable since the death of Stalin.

The ten American visitors to Russia contain newspaper and radio commentators from all parts of the United States and control many local newspapers in smaller towns. As a propaganda gesture, therefore, the Russian action may be quite important. However, it is well to remember that on a week's tour a party of ten will present little difficulty to the experienced guides of the Kremlin. To let ten more or less hand-picked representatives in for a brief week is a very different thing from permitting foreign newspaper correspondents to reside in Russia. The absence of such facilities is undoubtedly a factor in maintaining the ignorance of the outside world regarding the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

## THE FARCE AT AUSTIN'S

ABOUT four years ago, Mr. Leonard Lord, managing director of Austin's vast motor manufacturing organisation, declared at a business-men's banquet that the workers were in control.

We were somewhat doubtful at the time, and fancied that there was more rancour than fact behind Mr. Lord's statement. It was at a time of labour shortage and subsequent full employment, and what the bitter remark—for it was not said with approval, but with all the bad temper of a boss in a weak position—really meant was that the management at Austin's, because there were plenty of jobs going in other motor works, was not able to push its workers about with the ease it would have liked.

Times, as we have remarked before, have changed. From the high old days of the sellers' market we have moved back to a situation of world competition, in which the British motor industry has to fight for its markets. Last week our newspapers carried a report that one continental market—Switzerland—which since the war has been almost exclusively British, has now been invaded by German manufacturers with great success and already more German cars than British are being bought in Switzerland.

It is against the background of that sort of situation—which can be multiplied in various ways throughout the world—that we must view the present dispute at Austin's Longbridge works in Birmingham.

This dispute has already reached its seventh week—which is itself an indication of the changed ratio of strength between the workers and the boss—and last week hit the headlines again, with the news that Mr. Lord had issued an ultimatum to the strikers that if they did not return to work unconditionally by last

Friday, they would all be sacked. To their credit, hardly one of the strikers returned, but little credit can be given to anybody for the way this strike has been handled.

### The Causes

Its causes go back to last summer, when "redundancy" began to hit the motor industry. At Austin's 770 workers were stood off, including a shop steward named John McHugh. This steward has a reputation among the workers as a militant, which, they suspect, is why he was dismissed.

It must be remembered that it is easy enough for a management, with its ability to look ahead, to place a worker in a position which they know will be "redundant" in a few months time. He can then be got rid of without any other apparent reason.

But workers are naturally suspicious when a militant shop steward is numbered among those to be axed and if he has proved of real value to the workers he has represented they take some steps to protect him. In McHugh's case, they demanded, when he was stood off, that he be taken back before any new workers were taken on, when the situation improved.

But last January Austin's took on 43 workers through the Labour Exchange who had not previously worked there, and in spite of repeated attempts by McHugh's union, the National Union of Vehicle Builders, have stubbornly refused to re-instate him.

On February 17th, the N.U.V.B. called out all its 2,000 members in Austin's. This, of course, dislocated production and thousands of other workers have

## The Mau Mau Massacre

"FREEDOM" has often pointed out that news from Kenya is often unreliable and that the daily press distorts incidents to suit the propaganda of the government. Anarchists have also sought to see the conflict in Kenya in a longer perspective and so avoid losing sight of the general inferior position of the native population and the colonial pretensions of the white population, their influence regarding religion and education, etc. For anarchists the cause of subject peoples is naturally a sympathetic one, for social justice demands that no peoples should be kept in subjection and exploited. Hence whatever the natives of Kenya do, or whatever the reaction of the white settlers, their local administration or the Colonial Government, Anarchists would not be satisfied with any concessions on the part of the imperial rulers which did not advance towards equality and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. In a general way, therefore, Anarchists will naturally show sympathy for the subject peoples and criticism amounting to hostility towards the advocates and instruments of exploitation.

Such a general attitude does not, however, by any means imply an uncritical support of whatever is done by those opposing imperialism in Africa. FREEDOM has made it clear in the past that anarchists have little sympathy with the nationalistic aspirations of Mau Mau, still less with the nationalistic brutality with which their resistance is punctuated. The recent massacre at the Lari location to the north of Nairobi makes it even more necessary to be clear about the anti-imperialist position in Kenya from a revolutionary standpoint. There

can be no possible justification for excesses which involve the massacre of civilians including women and children and this must be stated in the clearest possible terms. But it is equally important that the horror which it is natural to feel should not itself degenerate into an emotional hatred of all Africans who resist imperialism. If sympathy for the anti-imperialist struggle does not permit of any condoning the brutality of Mau Mau inspired slayings, horror at these same slayings must not be turned into an equally uncritical underwriting of government action in Kenya with its enormous round-ups, its semi-public executions, its own attempt to terrorize the population—"make them more afraid of us than of the Mau Mau"—as one government spokesman put it.

The general strictures which FREEDOM has made on news from Kenya is borne out in the case of this recent and most appalling of mass assassinations in that troubled part of Africa. On Friday, March 28th, the *Times* reported "One hundred and fifty Kikuyu men, women and children are known to have been killed by their Mau Mau fellow tribesmen in a three-and-a-half-hour massacre at Uplands, near Nairobi, during Thursday night." This figure was a reduction on the 200 mentioned by the evening papers the

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### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP MEETINGS

Regular Tuesday evening meetings will again be held at  
9 FITZROY SQUARE,  
WARREN STREET, W.1.  
as from APRIL 7.

There are no less than nine unions "representing" the Austin workers—and when one of them has a dispute, the other eight do nothing. How can the workers defend their interests when their own organisation divides them like that? The workers in the motor industry should organise themselves in one organisation, whether they are vehicle builders, moulders, fitters, assemblers, electricians, tyre makers, testers, designers or anything else. Then, instead of 2,000 workers striking and 15,000 continuing to work "because its not our dispute" the whole 17,000 could act in solidarity.

Further, what of tactics and methods of struggle? It has been clear to most workers for years that there are far better tactics than the long drawn-out strike which becomes—as this one—a lock-out, with the initiative in the boss's hands. That way, the workers suffer most.

### Different Methods

If a struggle looks like becoming a long one, then the workers must plan it as such, but in such a way that they inconvenience the boss more than themselves. Lightning strikes, go-slow and ca-canny—there are dozens of ways in which the workers can fight a struggle without leaving the factory, and indeed that should be their aim—to do as much as they can without walking out. In that way they can not only fight the boss, but can gain in self-confidence and knowledge at the same time.

These are the structure and methods of anarcho-sydicalism, which are the only means by which the workers can really do what Mr. Lord was telling his fellow-businessmen about—getting in control.

We cannot see it coming—or even victory in the present dispute, for that matter—through the divided, sectional and farcical action such as we are seeing at Austin's today. P.S.

been rendered idle or put on short time. Altogether some £700,000 have been lost in wages, so no one can pretend that the workers are taking this issue lightly.

### The Workers Divided

No action, however, has been taken by the other unions represented by the joint shop stewards' committee, although at the beginning of the strike they told their members to do nothing to prejudice stewards of the Transport and General Workers Union—probably acting on orders from Arthur Deakin—have walked out from the committee. A completely separate strike committee of N.U.V.B. members has, of course, been set up.

So the strike has dragged on, a deadlock, until the management's ultimatum last week. Now dismissal notices have been sent out to 1,583 vehicle builders who have refused to go back until McHugh goes back too. The only development that has done anything to improve the workers' position has been that the stock of 30,000 completed vehicles on the firm's stock-lines at the beginning of the dispute has been whittled down to practically nothing. In other words the firm had to take some action before long and so it took the strongest it could. It remains to be seen if it is strong enough to beat the union.

### The Weakness of Unionism

And it looks as though it might well be, for it is clear that the trade unions today have completely forgotten how to wage direct action. They have grown soft in their dotage and the long years of inactivity and reformist decay have rusted all their weapons.

But not only that. The very structure of craft unionism is shown up in all its weakness in this dispute at Austin's.



BOOK REVIEW

**PROPHECY OF FAMINE** by H. J. Massingham and Edward Hyams. (Thames & Hudson, 12s. 6d.)

UNDER the white collar of every city clerk is an unfulfilled small-holder dreaming of his bit of land. This is reflected in the demand for what book-sellers lump together as "country books," a term which covers everything from the novels of Mary Webb which the late Lord Baldwin recommended to the nation, to polemics on composting. H. J. Massingham who died early this year was a very popular author in the "country books" section, for he was a passionate admirer of the old rural order and an enemy of both industrial capitalism and socialism. Of course he deserved to be taken more seriously than many writers of the down-on-the-farm school and it is perhaps fortunate that in the last book to appear under his name he had an able collaborator free from the particular prejudices and assumptions that weakened his case.

Mr. Edward Hyams emerged from the war, that great dividing line between the hopeful "progressives" of the 'thirties and the "New Elizabeths" of the 'fifties, as the owner of a bit of derelict land and little else, and he has told us of his successful regeneration of his holding in the book *From the Waste Land* while he has studied in detail the history of man's relation to the land in *Soil and Civilisation* (see FREEDOM, 17/5/52). Mr. Hyams, if we may be forgiven for patronising him, is an example of an intellectual socialist who instead of going sour or trivial after contact with reality like so many of his generation, has

deepened his convictions and purged them of the shallow and hypocritical elements in the "progressive" ideology which George Orwell so sternly condemned.

This unlikely pair, the reactionary and the socialist have produced a book which though it is quite likely to be dismissed as yet another jeremiad about food supplies, was well worth writing and is well worth reading—it is too disquieting to be put in the "country book" class.

**The Village Economy**

The authors begin with a survey of the economic history of this and most western countries. "The soil of each country was cultivated by small farmers who either owned it, or were tenants of some great landlord or were members of communities which owned the land in common, the nominal owner being the Crown. The objects of these farmers were two. (1) To grow food and raw materials to feed, clothe and house their families; (2) to grow a surplus of food and raw materials over and above the things needed in their own parish which they could sell to townsmen, and with the money thus earned buy such goods as were made in towns, and such services as the towns rendered, and so enjoy a higher standard of living."

The emphasis that "each very small district, with its own villages and perhaps a town or two, was absolutely self-supporting. Its people depended on nothing and nobody but their own resources and their own work for the essentials of life," and in discussing the advantages and defects of this way of living they declare that "it was such a way of living which

produced the Europe of the Renaissance; it produced Shakespeare and Milton, Racine and Corneille, Rembrandt and Newton and Bach and Erasmus. In short, it produced such surpluses as would support a high culture, but which would not support parasitic commercial cities of enormous size." Then they discuss the growth of primary and secondary specialisation, and of foreign trade which existed even before the Romans came to Britain. But in the past foreign trade was luxury trade: "the cessation of this trade would have hurt nobody, and it is equally true that for nearly two thousand years, in fact until little more than a century ago, nobody in Britain would have starved had all foreign trade come to an end. This by no means implies that we believe that foreign trade is a bad thing; on the contrary it is admirable and desirable for just so long as it does not cost the people engaged in it their independence."

Britain, the authors point out, was "the first country to break free of the system whereby each small, geographical unit was self-supporting." The first phase of this change was the Agricultural Revolution in the course of which, "the land was taken away from the people its owners, enclosed, cultivated by new methods devised by a series of men or genius, and was thus worked at a much higher standard of economic efficiency."

**Economic and Social Efficiency**

The worship of economic efficiency "is based upon a very noble idea: it is designed for a world in which there is free trade and mutual love operating over the whole surface of the earth, so that the products of every man's work are avail-

able to every other man in the world. And it is also based upon the idea that if we can constantly reduce the amount and weight of physical work which must be done in order that we shall eat, be clothed, and be housed in comfort and dignity . . . all of us, every man, woman and child in the world, then men will be released from drudgery and be able to develop the spirit, to practice philosophy, the arts, the sciences and religion. Such was the great liberal vision of the nineteenth-century thinkers, and out of it rises the notion of economic efficiency as a desirable objective.

"But what are the facts about our world? Trade is much less free than it was formerly. There is less love and trust between nations than there was a century ago. The soil has proved not to be inexhaustible, as it was supposed to be. Hardly any of the conditions exist in which a system of high economic efficiency can operate properly, with the result that this kind of efficiency has resulted in the most frightful disasters . . . in the helpless dependence of millions and millions of office and factory specialist workers upon remote and indifferent peoples for their food and clothing, the sources of which are shrinking instead of expanding.

To the idea of economic efficiency is opposed that of social efficiency by which is meant, "a system which does not produce more and more goods for less and less labour, regardless of the happiness and well-being of the producers and consumers, and as an end in itself, but one which makes for the optimum of economic efficiency while providing the optimum of basic security and of congenial labour."

**Exports and Imports**

The second phase was the Industrial Revolution and its effect on British agriculture—a history familiar to readers of this paper. Discussing its results the authors declare:

"Why was the food from overseas so cheap? For two main reasons: either it came from the great new countries where the farmers could cash in on the accumulated fertility of the soil by growing crops on it until it was exhausted, and then moving on to new virgin soil, thus getting crops without manure and with very little work. Or this imported food came from countries where a powerful ruling class held a miserable peasantry in thrall, and could simply take their home grown food away from them and sell it to the English and other Europeans who were copying the English; or change food crops, such as wheat, for industrial crops, such as cotton, in return for goods which the rulers kept for their own class. Hence the continuance in miserable poverty of the Egyptian *fellahin*, the Indian *ryats*, and other peasant peoples."

"So the industrial prosperity, financial supremacy and scientific leadership of Great Britain was won not only by the energy and ingenuity of Englishmen, but by the dispossession of English peasants, the ruin of English farming, the spoliation of the new soils of America and

Australia and other countries, the suffering and agony of Indian and Egyptian and African peasants. It is an ugly story; and none of it need have happened if social efficiency had been put before economic efficiency."

The authors then enumerate the reasons why this country's export-manufactures-import-foodstuffs policy is doomed, using arguments very familiar to our readers and conclude:

"To sum up: it is apparently impossible for us to feed more than half our population off our own soil.

"Our erstwhile foreign suppliers either can not continue to send us food because they have not got it to spare. Or they will not continue to send food because they have no demand for what we can manage to send them in exchange.

"On the basis of these three simple truths, we will shortly, once expedients and evasions come to an end, starve."

**Where It Comes From**

The second chapter is on *What We Eat and Where It Comes From* and sets out the extent to which we depend on imports for our staple foodstuffs, and the authors draw up a balance-sheet for the year 1950 showing home production as against consumption. Their figures if expressed in percentages would be:

We produced—	27% of wheat consumed
	83% " other cereals
	15% " oils and fats
	7% " butter
	52% " preserved milks and cheese
	45% " bacon and ham
	48% " meat in all forms
	82% " eggs.

"Naturally," they say, "we are not suggesting that all food-importing is absolutely foolish and dangerous, and that we must immediately set about putting a stop to it. But the figure is far too large; it was paid for not out of manufactured goods, which we can legitimately offer, but largely out of borrowed money, or by means of raw materials wrung from sullen and rebellious colonial peoples who object to seeing their property taken from them and used to feed the British people while they themselves are on very short commons. This is a fact which we ought to face squarely; when the papers rejoice over an enormous sale of Malayan rubber to the United States, what is it that they are celebrating? That we are still strong enough in armed force to continue persuading the Malaysians to concur in our domination of their country; not that we are paying our way in the only fashion which has any validity, by the labour and material of our own country; *Labour*, and material. We are not suggesting that goods made from imported raw material which has been fairly paid for are not legitimate articles of trade, of course they. But if they have not been paid for and if there is no prospect of paying for them . . . ?

"We have been reduced to ugly expedients in order to keep ourselves fed. To a very great extent this has been due to our own failure to make proper use of our own principle asset—our fertile soil and mild climate."

[To be concluded.]

**The Origins & Creed of Anarchism**

[The assassination of King Humbert of Italy in 1900 by the anarchist Bresci and the assassination of President McKinley in 1901 by the alleged anarchist Czolgosz, gave rise to a considerable increase of interest in the ideas of anarchism in the U.S.A. One of the results of this was the offer of a gold medal for the best historical essay on anarchism by the Alumni Association of the Boys' Central High School of Philadelphia in 1902. The medal was won by a young classical student named Albert Strickler whose essay, given below, was first published in the weekly anarchist paper,

"Free Society," at that time issued in Chicago.

Considering the youth of the author the essay is quite remarkable for both its accuracy and understanding. It is perhaps necessary to point out, however, that the first exponent of anarchism is now generally recognised to be William Godwin, not Josiah Warren as Strickler stated. Also, it is as well to point out that the term "communism" as used by the author has nothing in common, except the name, with the system instituted by the bolsheviks in Russia.—S. E. P.

Meanwhile, the no-government idea had taken root and spread throughout Europe, though its expression was of a distinctly different order. In the year 1840 Pierre J. Proudhon, a French litterateur, member of the Academy of Besançon, published a memoir entitled "What is Property," in which, essentially, the theories of Warren were developed in a style both strong and elegant. (It is almost certain, however, that neither Warren nor Proudhon had any knowledge of each other's work.) For a period of eight years, the indefatigable author continued to pour forth books, pamphlets, and essays dealing with social-economic reforms, always voicing the double tendency of non-interference by government and mutual federation and initiative action of the workers.

In 1848, he issued two pamphlets, both entitled "Solution of the Social Problem," the second of which dealt with the organisation of Credit and Circulation, and summed up economic progress as a gradual and continuous reduction of rent, interest, profit, and wages. Later he put forth a proposal to organise a "Bank of the People"—a bank which was to have neither stockholders, profits, nor interest—for the purpose of utilising the credit of the numerous working people's associations whose members might thereby employ themselves and dispense with the capitalist. The project was enthusiastically received and had enlisted 37,000 people, when the hand of the government fell upon Proudhon. Having attacked Louis Bonaparte, who had not yet executed the *coup d'état*, but whose professions of popular principles did not deceive the veteran reformer, he was arrested and sentenced to three years imprisonment. The projected "Bank of the People" had to be resigned, and from that time till his death in 1865 prosecution and persecution, either active or threatened, prevented him from renewing the practical experiment. Without assuming the name of Anarchist, his life-work was an unceasing effort to promote the conception of progress described by Herbert Spencer as a "passing from the régime of status to the régime of contract . . ." that is, from the State to the free individual.

Meanwhile from another quarter of Europe, there came another voice in the chorus demanding extension of social rights, that of Michael Bakunin, a Russian, author of "God and the State." Owing partly to the personal character of Bakunin, which was of the active revolutionary type, and partly to the general political and social development of Europe, the no-government idea, or rather its partisans, assumed a war-like attitude which is no part of its essence, but which, in the popular mind, has become confused or even substituted, for it.

But Anarchism, as a distinct and well-defined expression of that longing, Anarchism as a revolutionary political factor, Anarchism as a great modern intellectual and social movement, Anarchism as such, takes its rise only in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century.

Contrary to general impression, its first exponent was an American, Josiah Warren by name, who, in the year 1833, put forth in a small book called "True Civilisation" the political and economic principles upon which, in his opinion, such a civilisation must rest, these being in brief "the Sovereignty of the Individual" and "Cost the Limit of Price." Working upon these, he sought to show that there was neither necessity nor room for government of any description, and that the evils which government assumes to be in existence and which it desires to correct, are, in reality, the result of the interference (well or ill intentioned) of that same government. Not satisfied with a theoretical presentation of his idea, Warren made three practical experiments in colonising, the third and most successful having been named Modern Times, on Long Island. The unhealthy climate, however, as in so many cases of early American colonisation, finally proved fatal to the enterprise, and, broken-down under ill-health and repeated discouragement, the resolute reformer sank into an obscure grave. [The author here appears to have confused "Modern Times" with some other colony, since the main reason for the ending of "Modern Times" was the Civil War.—S. E. P.]

His most learned and enthusiastic disciple was Stephen Pearl Andrews, lecturer and journalist, associated with Greeley and others in the Brook Farm experiment. In 1849 Andrews delivered in New York City a course of lectures expanding and expounding Warren's principles. These were afterwards published under the title "The Science of Society," and with some slight modifications would probably represent, more correctly than any other single book, the principles of the so-called "Individualist school" of Anarchists.

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**Cinema**

**Laugh, the beloved country**

"LIFE," remarked a philosopher, "is a tragedy to he who feels and a comedy to he who thinks."

"The Magic Garden," the supporting film to "The Medium" at the Academy Cinema, London, uses the same background and similar characters as "Cry the Beloved Country" yet succeeds in producing a comedy which is also a salutary criticism of society.

It also seems to owe something to "Miracle at Milan." The shantytown setting and the ready acceptance of miracles are signs of the wonderful cross-fertilisation of culture which underline the oneness of a racially and politically divided world.

The story demands of us a heroic suspension of disbelief yet stripped of all its trimmings it is the story of the cancellation of a series of debts, and payment of a dowry with money which appears to have miraculous origins yet is simply the £40 which a thief has stolen and in the excitement of chases, he hides and someone else finds, he then recovers it only to lose it again. It is laughable nonsense but it does make us think. What is this paper but an

abstraction, are not then the debts and payments which it represents abstractions also, which common-sense or laughter would reduce to the pitiful absurdity of the emperor's new clothes?

Tommy Machata, who plays the thief, gives us a non-professional performance of an incompetent compulsive thief in the class of Schweik or Harpo Marx. There are two Mack Sennett policemen of quite credible stupidity who discover Machata hiding in a dustbin, they question him and he claims to "live there," they reflect how terrible the housing shortage is and pass on their way. There is a haunting musical background with calypsos and jitter-bugging which one oddly feels to be discordant. Whatever Malan may seek to do to the negro it will be impossible to crush the spirit shown in "The Magic Garden."

It is with regret that we report "The Gerald McBoing Symphony" fails to come off. The Gerald McBoing joke was a good one but it can't be told twice. The artistry and craftsmanship has made further strides. J.R.



## THE MAU MAU MASSACRE

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previous day. But on Monday, 30 March, the *Times* reports that "the casualty list is now 74 men, women and children dead and 51 missing, presumed dead."

The incident has however obviously had the effect of hardening the European attitude and it seems likely that virtual military occupation of Kenya will ensue.

Actually, this appalling event underlines the truth of what FREEDOM has said in the past, that the situation in Kenya is past remedy along traditional lines. The Mau Mau clearly derives its own fanaticism, and also what local support it does command, on the one hand from the land hunger of the Kikuyu and the defeat of every human aspiration which that land hunger and its attendant economic misery implies; and on the other, from the persistent refusal of the white administration to rectify in any degree the injustice involved.

To intensify government oppression can only fan this latter feeling. From the administration's standpoint to start now a programme of pacification by economic concessions has the disadvantage of seeming to show weakness and to encourage an intensification of the violence which has secured such concessions. A move towards economic equality is obviously morally right, but it would be most unwise to ignore the above considerations about its effect now that the struggle between official and unofficial terrorism is engaged.

This seems to us the dilemma of Kenya: that the situation has gone so far that it is impossible to do the right thing. Supposing the present administration and its Colonial Office superiors were capable of seeing the need for social justice (and their training, their experience, their response to Mau Mau action make it virtually impossible that this should be so), their past policy in Kenya would make any moves they might make in the right direction immediately distrusted by the subject population. They have only themselves to blame, but that does not make the practical problem any less acute or less tragic in its effects.

In such a situation the only possibility of success lies with a policy of the widest imaginative sweep and of revolutionary depth, requiring the utmost boldness of vision and the greatest courage in carrying it into effect. It also requires men of the sincerest character, and a policy which is itself absolutely sincere and does not make use of sincere negotiators in order to save an actually colonial outlook. Such a policy of the utmost courage and social imagination is the only one, it seems to us, which offers any prospect of retrieving the ghastly situation which has now developed where one section of the population goes in fear of another and distrust and terror are ever-present. To carry conviction at all such a programme would require as a first step to decentralize initiative from the hands of a discredited administration into those of the population itself through local councils of action. Such decentralization would also be the best guarantee against nationalistic centralization of authority in the hands of Mau Mau.

It will be seen that such a proposition is a revolutionary one incapable of being understood, much less conceived by a colonial government. It seems inevitable that the present deadlock in Kenya will be resolved only by a victory for either official or unofficial terrorism, or by a stalemate situation in which the population is exhausted and demoralized by a surfeit of horrors,

## COMMENT:

YEAR after year, in the July and August rainy season, Mexican newspapers reported devastating floods along the Papaloapan River, some 50 miles south of Vera Cruz. Hundreds of people lost their lives; thousands of farm animals were swept away, along with houses and trees. Always, in one of the richest and most fertile parts of the country, desolation reigned for weeks. Painfully, the people made their way back from the mountain tops where they had taken refuge, rebuilding their huts where they had stood before.

A million Indians lived in this region, far from civilization, keeping their customs and traditions, worshipping ancient gods through the forms of Catholic ritual. Lack of roads and airfields made it impossible to sell the goods raised in the area. The gold that can be found abundantly in the streams served only to adorn the ears and necks of the girls—slim, bronze and smiling—and the products of the earth, which could otherwise have nourished five million mouths, rotted in the fields.

### Desolation Stopped

All the oldtime desolation is a thing of the past. "The River That Turns Red"—Papaloapan in the Indian language—is on its way to becoming Mexico's chief centre of agriculture, gold, and electric power. Along with the T.V.A. in the United States and the Dniestro in the Soviet Union, it will be one of the greatest irrigation systems in the world.

Since 1947, thousands of men, driving thousands of tractors and other machines, have worked in the Papaloapan region. The course of the river has been changed so as to avoid floods. Dams have been built along the water-course.

The system irrigates 1,348,200 acres, and apart from this now useful soil, it will be possible to exploit 3,370,500 acres of woodland. Electrical output will reach 1,000,000 kilowatt hours of electricity—more than is at present consumed in the entire country. Roads to the extent of 1,500 miles will eventually connect the towns and villages with the centres of distribution, and over them gold, corn, precious woods, cotton, and rice will go to the markets.

## Hydro-Electricity & Human Relations

The region is tropical, with a coast on the Caribbean, and it ascends across mountains and valleys up to a high plateau of 6,500-foot altitude. Thus the variety of crops is considerable, and the fertility of the soil permits the raising of sugar cane and rice on the lower levels, and apples in the colder heights.

Five million inhabitants could live in this zone, enjoying a standard of living similar to that of U.S. farmers around the T.V.A. which Roosevelt constructed and which served as a model for Papaloapan.

### The Indians—a Human Problem

In Mexico, however, they can never be content to imitate. The conditions of the country—Indian population, almost overpowering soil fertility, tropical climate—demand original solutions for problems which do not exist elsewhere.

The most important questions for the engineers, in this case, were not technical, but human. In short, what to do about this million Indians who had never seen an automobile, who had no window panes in their huts, who could not read or write, and who were suspicious, not without reason, of mestizos and whites, of groups which up to now had been interested in them only to exploit them.

Besides the labour of the engineers, work has begun by anthropologists, doctors, nurses. As roads were laid out and canals cut through, there arose hospitals, schools, even sports fields.

For two years all this was useless. The

Indians distrusted the doctors, the teachers. There was even some violence. Finally the anthropologists decided to attempt a bold experiment. As long as some villages would have to disappear under the waters, while others must be transferred to safer places, the new life could not be imposed, but had to be asked for by the inhabitants of these communities themselves.

How could it be accomplished? The anthropologists began a personal job of persuasion. They spent long hours talking with some of the boys and girls of these villages. They took them on holiday trips to Mexico City, taught them to read, explained to them the aims of the Papaloapan system. Then, spontaneously, among these young people couples were formed. At that time, there arrived from the capital prefabricated houses—but homes that preserved the appearance of the region's traditional huts. There came furniture, battery radio sets, bicycles, household linens, oil cook-stoves. These modern homes were installed in the villages. The Indians could see, day after day, their young couples living in better houses, the young married women working with less drudgery and caring for their babies in a more effective way. The young men learned to handle tractors, working beside other labourers who had come from Mexico City.

Often the anthropologists were discouraged. Time passed, and the village dwellers remained on guard, suspicious,

unyielding. The experiment seemed doomed to failure. A few weeks ago, however, a delegation of the old men of three villages presented themselves at the bureau of engineers at Ciudad Alemán. They asked for explanations.

### The Victory

They returned two days later, then a third, a fourth time. The engineers, the anthropologists, the doctors, the workers high on their tractors, watched them pass, walking one behind the other, silently, towards Ciudad Alemán, and asked themselves anxiously whether the village elders would let themselves be convinced. Finally, after seven interviews, the old men got together themselves, held a discussion in their own language, and coming back to the chief of works, asked: "Where is it that you must build our new villages?"

For a long moment, tears prevented the engineer from answering. Little by little, elders from other villages are following their example, and when, a year from now, the dams are finished and the valleys transformed into lakes, the Indians will already have been started on a new life.

After Papaloapan, it is no longer possible to believe that in order to incorporate undeveloped populations into modern society—whether moujiks or Indians—force is more practical than brotherhood.

—VICTOR ALBA (*Worldover Press*)

## What is Happening in Malaya?

IT is difficult to understand what is the present situation in Malaya if one is to judge from recent pronouncements of the High Commissioner, General Sir Gerald Templer. In February last on the completion of one year of service in Malaya he compared the situation with what it was when he arrived in the federation and described it as "comparatively satisfactory with the emphasis on the comparatively." But he would not predict whether it would be possible to reduce the number of troops in Malaya this year, nor could he see an end to the five year old emergency until "we have settled world communism." These statements have now been followed by a relaxation of government powers of mass detention and deportation of persons "suspected of sympathising with and aiding the Communists." On the one hand the "relaxation" was brought about by the "improved situation in Malaya" yet on the other hand he warned the Federal Legislative Council that the "present tendency of Communism in Malaya is to seep underground and that

danger still is present." He even added that "there probably is about the same number of Communist terrorists in the jungle as there were one or two years ago and they are still in a position to stage incidents in which everything is in their favour and of their choosing."

In his February speech he suggested that: "We are beginning to win the understanding and confidence of the people. In the coming year the greatest effort must be directed towards the hearts and minds of the people."

This "confidence" is obviously not being encouraged by the white employers, judging by the way they have recently flouted the recommendations of Arbitration Tribunals on rubber workers' wages. According to reports from Singapore "dis-

content is spreading among thousands of workers," and the "principle of arbitration has become suspect."

"We shall certainly think twice in future about going to arbitration again," Mr. P. P. Narayanan, spokesman for 300,000 rubber workers, told the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent.

One of the reasons for this attitude is the contemptuous reaction of the estate owners towards the recent Whitton Award, which the employers said they would accept only in part. But the Federal Government is believed to have decided to accept the recommendation of the Whitton Award. It will now be a question of seeing who will win: the planters or the Federal Government who for political reasons are on the side of the workers this time!

## Origins of Anarchism

Continued from p. 2

From the period of the general uprising in Europe in 1848, the Socialists had been gradually working toward a division of forces. Karl Marx and his adherents in the International Working People's Association, who, at the outset, favoured political, that is parliamentary action only as the means of propagating the revolution, had, through the mellowing influence of time and defeat, become tame and more inclined to play the waiting game of politics than to force revolts which could hardly end in worse oppressions. Bakunin, however, and with him the more resolute though smaller percentage of the Association, loudly cried that the Marxians had been seduced by the tricks of the ruling classes, and that the organisation had entered upon that slippery path which leads always to corruption and the frittering away of energy in futile palliatives. For themselves, they refused to accept the humiliations of becoming a machine for the elevation into power of demagogues, to their own further duping; they would abate no jot of their whole demand for a complete overthrow of the system of private ownership of the means of production, and they would preach direct action by the people and protest against any and all political parties.

Thus was formed the so-called "Black International" in distinction from the "Red International" or Marxian party, neither of which has at present any vital existence, each having proceeded along its line of divergence, the one towards the vague spiritual federation of the Anarchists, the other towards the well defined, steadily concentrating party of Social Democracy. It will be seen, nevertheless, that at the outset of their career these two parties had a common aim, the realisation of the economics of Anarchism. Hence the confusion existing in the minds of those unacquainted with

the movement; hence also a degree of confusion existing among the Anarchists and Social Democrats themselves. For the "Black Internationalists" were Socialists who had reasoned themselves into the no-government idea as the only practical means of realising Socialism, while the Proudhon and Warren Anarchists had reasoned themselves into individualist economics as a sequence from the no-government principle, which they had accepted as the legitimate sequence of the course of history, the logic of the premises that "just government can rest only on the consent of the governed." It was as Socialists preaching revolutionary action that the Anarchists appeared in Europe, it was as peace men preaching the extension of commercial activity that they appeared in America, when Benjamin R. Tucker, a young Boston journalist, undertook the publication of "Liberty" and the issuance of translations of Proudhon's works, the letters of Lysander Spooner, the lectures of Andrews, Green's "Mutual Banking," and similar books. Thus the movement in Europe appealed to the rebellious element of the proletariat, while that in America was almost unknown in the workshops but somewhat discussed in universities and counting-houses.

Such was the state of the case in the early 80's, when the rapid development of capitalism in America, with its attendant phenomena, the combine, the imported labourer, the rush, the ensuing idleness, the panic, ever recurring on a more extended scale, began to crush heavily upon the erstwhile comparatively free workman. Socialism began to spread; the ghosts of Marx and Lassalle stalked; and beside them their relentless opponent Bakunin.

ALBERT STRICKLER.

(To be concluded.)

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## Spain's "Deal" with U.S.A.

Informed observers reaching the French capital from Madrid assert that many details of the secret negotiations between the U.S. and the Spanish government have leaked out to Falangists on the fringe of the Franco regime, and that the general framework of the discussions is fairly well known.

While there may be final modifications before the terms of the pact are made public, sources in Spain say the agreement will be based on arguments around these central points: the privilege of landing U.S. planes on any Spanish airfield; U.S. air bases near Leon, Seville and Madrid; U.S. naval bases at Cadiz, Cartagena, the Canaries and the Balearics. One moot point has been Franco's demand that bases be in control of Spanish officers, a demand that the U.S. has resisted, but which may be settled by letting Spaniards hold common posts with the actual running of the bases under Americans taking ostensibly minor positions. Franco wants U.S. funds now available to be released before the pact is signed, as evidence of "good faith." The money is to be used to re-equip the Spanish army, rebuild railroads, and modernise highways.—(W.P.)



UP THE W.E.A.

MY experience of the W.E.A. is of so much shorter duration than your correspondent's that I am resigned to the fact that my association with it only began after adult education had sunk into a state of apathy and lukewarmness. I can therefore congratulate myself on being able—a working-class student, who left his elementary school at 14—to profit by the last dying kick of a doomed anachronism.

I agree; that the classes were usually small, occasionally the required number for a grant was unattainable; that the average age approximated more to that of a Whist Drive than a Jazz Club; that one out of the seven tutors I knew was a parson, and two were schoolteachers. But I also know that the method of the W.E.A.—lecture and discussion—was something new to me, and pleasurable, and valuable when allied to private reading; (for my small town knows no University Extension Lectures).

I attended classes in Philosophy (of which previously I knew nothing), the modern novel and its social background, modern poetry (which gave me something later than the Georgian sugar-plums with which I had left school), and the sort of modern history that attempts to give students some insight into what causes events, such as, say, the wooing of President Tito.

As to whether my class-mates were "workers" or members of the "middle-classes"—well, I confess I don't always know 't'other from which, in that particular district at least they get a bit mixed

up. Certainly the stupidest member of one class was a college-trained teacher, but her father was a railwayman. I don't think "class" entered into it, the only bias seemed to be in favour of age. But then, what proportion of the young and nubile are interested in political meetings, or even musical concerts, let alone educational classes which have neither examination success nor material incentive to offer?

E. J. Rogers gives no indication as to what W.E.A. ought to offer its students—and I agree, that ubiquitous "Musical Appreciation" has almost become an hysteria—has he an idea for offering something the "workers" really want to learn? I see the N.C.L.C. offers a course in "Time and Motion Study": we must congratulate the W.E.A. that their grant does not require them to do that.

With your correspondent's view that if people want adult education they ought to be prepared to pay for it in full, I agree—to a point.

On the other hand what about the things they do not want to pay for? We get no opportunity to refuse our contribution toward the £1,250,000 for the coronation, or the £160,000,000 to keep British troops in Germany. Therefore I see every reason to oppose the government's "saving" £30,000 of my—and your, and your correspondent's—money, and so further crippling something which in this present age may even be quite useless, but which has afforded me a great deal of pleasure.

L. V. BEHARRELL.

DOWN WITH EDUCATION

IT is clear from Tony Gibson's letter that when he uses the word "education" he does not mean what I do when I use it. No doubt this accounts for much of the disagreement between us.

In my lecture I tried to indicate what I wanted my hearers to refer to when they heard me say "education," and if any of them persist in making a different reference I conclude either that I did not make myself clear or that they are merely being perverse. I think it a pity that Tony Gibson's educators did not include the study of semantics in their curriculum, for I am sorry to find an anarchist deluded by the superstition that a word has a "real" meaning. When I quoted a number of dictionary definitions of "education" I did not do so in the belief that I was unveiling the "one true meaning" of the word: my intention was to show its etymology and development. I also quoted the following from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "Many definitions have been given of the word 'education,' but underlying them all is the conception that it denotes an attempt on the part of the adult members of a human society to shape the development of the coming generation in accordance with its own ideals of life" (my italics). I did so because I felt that this crystallised the meaning intended by those who speak and write modern English (including myself) and I wanted to emphasise that I was not giving the word a meaning exclusively my own but was trying to reach agreement with my listeners on what we all meant by it.

Semantics aside, English is, of course, Tony Gibson's language as well as mine, and he is quite entitled to criticize my use of it as such (though, as he appears to have developed his own grammar of the language, some might think this rather churlish of him). I do not know what form his objection might take, as he has given no indication of this; but I cannot see that my use of the word

"education" was contrary to English usage. He regards modern usage as a "vulgar misapplication". This may flatter his self-esteem, but it does not help to make communication easier. The meaning that "education" has for most people may be unfortunate from Tony Gibson's point of view, but as I have no stake in the education racket myself I can regard it with equanimity. As an anarchist, however, I find it unfortunate that "anarchy" has also had its meaning developed in what I regard as an unfortunate direction. But I do not think that any useful purpose is served by bawling the fact. If we cannot induce others to agree to our meaning of "anarchy" the time may come when we shall think it wiser to abandon the use of the word altogether, just as many have chosen to abandon the word "communism," which has also gone the way of all words. I think we should be foolish to allow a sentimental attachment to a word to stand in the way of getting others to understand what that word symbolises for us, and I should be quite willing to call our ideas, say, "Four-Square Anabapto-syndicalism" if I thought it would make the communication of those ideas easier.

Since Tony Gibson says that "all the higher mammals educate their young" and compares "Down with Education" to "Down with Sex," I take it that by education he means the instinctive—or, at any rate, biological—functions of parenthood. I have no objection to this sort of "education," I am not suggesting that we should say to a newly born baby, "Well, you're an anarchist baby. You can stand on your own feet and go your own way." Of course the young have to be fed and looked after. They have to be supported by mummy's arms until they learn the human trick of walking on their hind legs, and they have to be helped into speech and other social activities. Most people, however, distin-

guish these aspects of rearing the young by calling them "nature" and prefer to reserve "education" for the conscious attempt to turn children into the sort of people grown-ups would like them to become. To lump both together under the one word "education" obscures a useful distinction and can only lead to confusion of thought. Education begins when the parents decide that junior shall not be allowed to play with those common children next door lest he should acquire their barbarous accent and in other ways make a conscious attempt to "shape his development in accordance with their own ideals of life." I regard this as an authoritarian conception through and through, and my lecture was an attempt to bring this out and show up the pretensions of educationists for what they are.

EDWIN PEEKE.

THE articles "Down With Education" in the last two issues of FREEDOM were very interesting. Education doesn't only take place at school but also at home, and as a mother of two young children I know it is impossible without resorting to some disciplinary actions. You cannot reason with a 2-year-old, and when he persists running into busy roads, what would you do? Or when he turns on the gas taps, plays with matches and persists in pulling tails of strange dogs. Do you wait until he has been run over, or gassed, or burned or bitten? These are only a few items, add to that bad housing and a low income. Ah, you say, but when Anarchism is working then . . . but unfortunately we have to bring up our children under present day conditions.

I wonder whether the writer has any children? I doubt it.

Ealing.

SHARLEY McLEAN.

The Anarchist Revolution

I AM happy to say that my suspicion that my disagreement with A.M. was more verbal than actual has been confirmed by his last letter. Moreover, there is no substance in his charge that I have misconceived Anarchism, or if there is he has failed to produce the evidence, his criticism being for the most part of what I did not say, not of what I did say. Which remarks apply also to the sly insinuation that I am a "bourgeois near-Anarchist" excluded from and with no understanding of the significance of the industrial struggle.

I grant A.M. that it may have been misleading to call my article "The Anarchist Revolution," since it dealt (and was meant to deal) with only one aspect of revolution for liberty: that of the problem of violence. I cannot agree, however, that it is of secondary importance. On the contrary, it is fundamental, for unless such problems are understood and a real effort made to solve them the revolution will only usher in another authoritarian society. After all, no Anarchist who is convinced, as I am, that a certain amount of violence is unavoidable if we are to achieve our aims, can look upon it as anything but a regrettable necessity, and if those who take part in the revolution fail to understand where this necessity begins and ends it will—from our point of view—fail.

I agree absolutely that foremost among the revolutionaries must be the industrial workers, but though occupation of places of work may well begin the revolution, it would be most naive to assume that that action in itself would ensure its success. Rather we must assume that it

would be the signal for violence on the part of the forces of the state. Given this situation, no amount of pacifist goodwill would save the workers or the revolution. Time would be on their side, but arms alone would give them that time.

My use of the word "intellectual" may have been emotive, but I certainly intended no criticism of intellectuals as such, believing as I do that every fully conscious Anarchist cannot but be an intellectual. My criticism was of those intellectuals who fight all their battles on the plane of ideas and make no attempt to come down to earth. These are the *Kaffeehaus* revolutionaries.

I did not condemn the Anarchist movement because it cannot do much to help me. I criticised it because in my opinion it is doing so little to help itself. I am afraid that by any counting the libertarian movement in this country is a narrow circle, and until it finds a common resolution and embarks on a common campaign of action there is not the slightest chance of it becoming anything more. The point is, however, that the industrial workers must become Anarchists, not that the Anarchists must become industrial workers.

London, Mar. 22.

ANDREAS.

India's Budget

In the budget for the next financial year the Indian Finance Minister announced that half the revenue of £328 million would be spent on the armed forces.

When is a Worker?

IF the occasional diatribe from S. E. Parker is really considered on a suitable level for an Anarchist journal, I see I must apologise to "Andreas" for so curtly dismissing his strictures on Anarchists as "coffee-house intellectuals." The by now familiar Parkerian thesis on Anarcho-Syndicalism resolves itself into a discussion of "When is a worker not a worker?" As usual, there are a number of parliamentary debating points and an inaccurate historical reference. No omission of a cliché or slip of grammar escapes his notice if he can make it appear one said the opposite of what he knows as well as anyone was intended.

Taking up a phrase in the article I referred to, I did speak of "productive workers" and omitted completing the cliché to include distributive, etc.—"aha, so railwaymen, for instance. . . ." The term "occupation of factories" is well enough known—"so you only believe in

occupying and not controlling." On violence—he knows perfectly well to what one is referring. Berkman and Malatesta spoke of Anarchism as being non-violent but they did not anticipate the PPUish attitude translated into near-anarchist terms, equating Tolstoyan refusal of struggle in any circumstances with a revolutionary struggle, nor the given "alternative" of violence necessarily in all circumstances. I was referring to these travesties of libertarian thought, as of course our indefatigable picker-up of unconsidered trifles knew quite well.

If anything written above might suggest, by the omission of a comma by myself or the printer, that I believe in compulsory vegetarianism in secondary schools, please spare us S. E. Parker on the subject. Why not have a crossword to sharpen our wits instead? London, Mar. 28. A.M.

Suggestion: Individual Contact

THAT one half of the world doesn't know what the other half is thinking is equally as true as the old adage that "one half of the world doesn't know how the other half lives". In fact, the personal thoughts and feelings of our neighbour often remain to us a closed and secret book. The fault lies as much with us as with our neighbour; the chief reason being that contrary to the nature of true anarchists we are apt to unconsciously conform to the traditional English attitude of reservedness.

The man sitting beside you in the 'bus or tube may be—in fact is—inately as much of an anarchist as you or I. If you tell him so bluntly he might be annoyed or deeply offended; but tax him gradually on the concepts of equity and freedom, draw him out by degrees, and you will find that you have more points in common than divergences of opinion.

In social intercourse the recurring surprise is how many people are anarchistically inclined though apparently ignorant of what anarchism implies. You will find, with few exceptions, that nearly every Tom, Dick or Harry is as much concerned with equity and freedom as we ourselves, though his reasoning has been distorted, and his confidences misplaced, by the deceptive propaganda of the authoritarian political schools. He is sick to death with politics, yet lacking a wider vision continues to subscribe to the party game, swinging like a pendulum between right-wing and left-wing loyalties since he is as yet unaware that the logical alternative to bad-government is no-government—anarchism.

So far from being merely reactionary, this lack of political stability is more often indicative of the stirrings of an uneasy conscience, a mind perplexed with a sub-conscious sense of social injustice. It is a political quagmire into which a man quickly and helplessly sinks unless some help is near at hand. The victim may be that man sitting beside you now—who can tell? Perhaps at this very moment his mind is in a turmoil of doubt, he may be dejected with a complete sense of political frustration.

A casual remark about some topic of the day is generally sufficient to "break the ice", and the ensuing conversation can be mutually beneficial and constructive. What can't you discuss? and the anarchist viewpoint to one who is not consciously an anarchist is not only novel but provocative. Of course, you will meet opposition based on misunderstanding—probably the very arguments you yourself once used against anarchism. What use has discussion if we fail to learn from the other man's point of view?

Chance contacts such as this have brought many valued minds into the movement. Here, too, is a chance to do something helpful for FREEDOM. Carry a spare copy in your pocket. Judiciously placed in the hands of a chance acquaintance it might lead to some beneficial results. The greatest propaganda work in the world is done between individual and individual. It creates an attitude which is contagious and far-reaching.

GEORGE NICHOLSON.

"Human Angle" Story

A Desire Named Street Car

TRAM-DRIVERS are not often thought of as romantic types. The driver of the horse-drawn vehicle can most probably learn to love his horse—maybe he takes the job because he loves horses—and the demonstrations of affection for London's trams when they were finally scrapped from South London last year showed that many passengers were sorry to see them go, but, frankly, we had not suspected that a tram-driver's heart could beat faster for a clattering, swaying chunk of machinery clinging as tightly as a devout Stalinist to its pre-determined lines.

Which just goes to show how little we know about human nature—unlike all the Objectors to Anarchism who know the beastly reality so well that they are convinced that nobody would learn to be a doctor because of the hard work involved or, alternatively, that everybody would want to be a doctor to avoid doing hard work. And, of course, nobody would want to drive a tram if they could stay in bed and sleep all day.

Except Franz Ponsweiser, of Vienna. Herr Ponsweiser is a night watchman, an

old man who has done his life's work and has now retired into a cosy little job where he can not only sleep all day but all night as well—and get paid for it into the bargain.

The life's work of old Franz was driving a tram. Now, if all we hear about Vienna is true, it is the home of Romance, and even the tram-drivers sing Strauss waltzes as they swing their way along under the linden trees. Which explains the heart of old Franz Ponsweiser, beating with love for a tram.

For old Franz grew tired of sleeping on the job, and one night last week he broke into a depot, and, selecting the latest vehicle to join the tramway, drove it out and about the deserted streets for four hours, shouting "All aboard, free rides for all to-night."

Eventually, Franz Ponsweiser was stopped by the police, arrested, and plied with hostile questions as to the reasons for his conduct. His answer, when it came, was short but all-embracing. "For me," he said, with dignity, "every street car is named Desire."

P.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting  
HYDE PARK  
Every Sunday at 4.30 p.m.

INDOOR MEETINGS

APRIL 7—DEBATE  
"THAT THE TRADE UNIONS NO LONGER REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS"

Proposers: Philip Sansom  
Albert Meltzer  
Opposers: E. J. Emden  
Sidney Wright

At 9, Fitzroy Square, Warren Street, London, W.1.  
April 7th, at 7.30.

The meetings will be held on TUESDAYS at 7.30 p.m.

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS  
IN EAST HAM

Alternate Wednesdays  
at 7.30 p.m.

APRIL 8—General Discussion  
"IS PROGRESS AN ILLUSION?"

LIVERPOOL

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

GLASGOW

INDOOR MEETINGS  
at  
CENTRAL HALLS, 25 Bath Street  
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.  
With John Gaffney, Frank Carlin  
Jane Strachan, Eddie Shaw.

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