"They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

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Threepence

BEYOND BERLIN **TALKS**

TRADE WAR IN ECONOMICS

SUPERFICIALLY the front pages are full of the four-power talks in Berlin. Leading articles and publicists stress the easing of international tension, the "genuine desire for world peace", and so on. But beneath all this the pattern of trade competition is re-enacting itself and history repeats the broad outlines which have followed each major war and then preceded the succeeding

FREEDOM has often had occasion to point out that although Britain and Russia are "enemies", competition for markets between them is limited, and mainly concerns China. On the other hand Britain and America are allies, but are locked in ever increasing trade rivalries. Although most people assume that any war which may break out in the future will be against Russia, this is only an assumption.

Revival of German Industry

Now a new factor, which is also an old one, is re-appearing: the revival of German Industry and the penetration of western markets by German goods. In 1950 the Federal Republic of Germany constructed 90,000 tons of new merchant shipping. In ensuing years this amount has steadily increased: 1952, 235,000 tons; 1952, 225,000 tons; 1953, 417,000 tons. Not counting small craft and the fishing fleets but including vessels bought abroad, German shipping now totals 1,600,000 tons: after the war all that was left was 120,000 tons.

"Under the Postdam Agreement of 1945 Germany was not allowed to build seagoing ships at all. There was utter stagnation in the shipyards.

Senator McCarthy returns to Book Burning

McCARTHY has once again raised the question of books "by Communists and those who have aided the Communist cause" in libraries, especially overseas. State Department officials were grossly negligent under the Truman régime, he declares.

"A 13-page report by the Senate permament investigating sub-committee, which last year conducted a series of hearings on the department's overseas information services, states that more than 30,000 books 'by Communists and those who have aided the Communists' cause' were discovered in libraries, and State Department officials must have known this. While conceding that Mr. Dulles ordered the removal of the books, the report adds that his directive was followed by many and confusing instructions on how to accomplish this task. The sub-committee adds that it will question Mr. Streibert, head of the United States information agency, on what steps he has taken to organize American propaganda on a 'more effective basis' than under 'the old State Department'."

"It seems that Mr. McCarthy is returning to his criticisms of the President, but this time is using oblique tactics instead of frontal assault. There is criticism in the report of those who raised "book burning' cries against the 1953 investigations, but no names are mentioned. It was General Eisenhower who during the inquiry advised Dartmouth College graduates not to 'join the book burners.' Without mentioning General Eisenhower's rôle in Europe during and after the war, the sub-committee points out that the United States engaged in 'book burning' and 'thought control' in occupied Germany during and after the war without arousing any great protest in the United States."

(Times, 13/1/54).

Hamburg, Bremen, and other once flourishing ports were dead. Gradually the restrictions were relaxed and the level of industry was raised. But it was not until the momentous Petersberg Agreement of November 1949, between the western Powers and the newly established Federal Republic, was signed that the limitations on the size and speed of ships, on the construction of passenger liners, and on the purchase of ships abroad were abolished. The ban on the building of ships with installations customary to warships remained, and allied approval for the expansion of shipbuilding capacity was still required. War destruction and dismantling dealt hard blows at shipyards and port equipment. At Hamburg, for example, only 10 per cent. of the wharf buildings, 28 per cent. of the storage space, 20 per cent. of the cranes, and 32 per cent. of the railways were intact. Elsewhere the plight was almost as dire.

"What has been achieved since is a memorial to German industry and initiative. Most of the greater shipyards are booked up with orders till 1955. The Tina Onassis, claimed to be the world's largest tanker, was built by the Howaldtswerke of Hamburg. The Wilhelmine Essberger was launched last week, also at Hamburg, and the tanker fleet now musters about 74 units of 181,340 tons, The tanker fleet is now stronger than in 1939. The Hamburg yards alone turned out last year - excluding

coastal and inland vessels, tugboats, and dredgers-57 seagoing ships of roughly 267,000 tons, against 56 ships of 192,000 tons in 1952. Of these, 48 per cent. were for export. The Deutsche Werft, with a tonnage of 152,000, probably set up a world record for an individual shipyard." (Times, 21/1/54).

The recovery of German industry and her reappearance as a trade competitor was the subject of a recent radio talk by the Manchester Guardian's correspondent in Germany, Terence Prittie. He gave substantially the same figures as those quoted above, but went more fully into the question of trade rivalries. This talk was in the third programme and therefore no doubt, reached as restricted a number of listeners as the readership of the Times. The general newspaper reading public and the main news bulletins of the B.B.C. give emphasis to the purely political questions of the four-power discussions. But these economic questions remain the underlying ones.

The capitalist method of production moves in a certain way and the revival of these old rivalries proceeds independently of the wishes of administrators. After both the wars the victors sought to cripple Germany economically. (The avalanches in the Voralberg region of Austria, reminded the writer of the man-made disasters which befel this beautiful region after the first war, when the

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Victimisation Beaten by Direct Action 3,000 in Defence of a Docker

HOW many examples of militant working-class action have been given by the London dockers!

In the post-war period the best and strongest examples of spontaneous direct action have come from them. While the British working class as a whole has been apparently content with the benefits of "full employment", the dockers (chiefly on Merseyside, outside of London) have remembered that such a thing as the class struggle exists.

Their massive strikes at the time of the trial of the seven dockers at the Old Bailey were, until recently, the largest workers' actions since the war-and from the Anarchist point of view had the greater virtues of being unofficial and motivated by principles of solidarity rather than as part of a wage demand.

A new example has just been given us, which does in fact stem from the days of the dockers' trial. One of the men in the dock at the Old Bailey was Harry Constable, an anti-Stalinist militant whose part in the unofficial movement and on the Portworkers' Committee had already led to his being expelled from the Transport & General Workers' Union -and he hasn't got his card back yet.

Victimised

Since that time Constable has been a marked man. Many incidents have occurred to indicate that the employers intended to make life and work in the docks as difficult for him as possible. Over four years, time after time, there has been no work for Harry Constable.

But deliberate victimisation is very difficult to prove in an industry where men ply for hire day by day. If there are 100 jobs going and 104 men on callit may be only coincidence if Constable is among them. And if it happens time and time again-well it's just bad luck and no malice can be clearly proved.

Last week, however, it happened once too often. On the Wednesday afternoon

call 100 men saw Constable and five other known rebels refused work. They began to ask why, and one foreman indiscreetly said that it was on the Superintendant's instructions. "Why?", again. Even more distinctly the foreman replied: "Because he's a trouble-maker."

3000 Strike

That, of course, did it. The 100 men struck work immediately. The next day, Thursday, by 9 o'clock, 1000 men were refusing to work, and by 12 o'clock 3000 were out. The whole of the West India Dock, full of ships, was paralysed.

Then the union men began to appear, but to no avail. The men wouldn't listen to them, and after talks with the bosses, they approched Constable and asked him to take part in joint consultation with the employers.

This was a unique position. The Dock Board have consistently refused to negotiate with unofficial strikers, even when they were union members. But here was an entirely unofficial dispute and the Board were prepared to negotiate with an unofficial leader who hasn't even got a union card!

Harry Constable laid down his conditions for parley. One of these was that a delegate from the Stevedores & Dockers' Union (the "Blue" union-refused recognition by the Dock Board) should be present and that all the union officials should remain silent while he put the men's-and his own-case.

Complete Victory

The officials had no choice but to agree, and it was the Dock Board's only hope for getting the men back to work. Harry then negotiated with them, winning a guarantee that there would be no further victimisation and-for good measure—that old men should not be stood off, as had been happening.

At this the union officials hurried back to where 2000 men were waiting. They told them that it was all over, that they had won and could go back to workbut the men would not believe them. It was not until Constable told them himself that they had won that they took notice-and then their instruction was that he should have the pick of all the jobs going.

Then Harry went up to each of the eight foremen waiting for labour and asked each one what were the best jobs he had to offer. They told him. Then he asked which one had the worst job to offer-and he chose that.

This naturally brought a roar of approval from the men, and they went back to work in the knowledge that their solidarity and united strength has once again enabled them to chalk up one more win over the bosses. P.S.

Sadism in Fiction & in Reality

MUCH publicity has been given to the trial of two publishers who were found guilty of "uttering and publishing obscene libels in the form of seven books . . . " and sentenced to six months' imprisonment and fined a total of £6,000 by the Recorder, Sir Gerald Dobson, who described such literature as debasing stuff which sooner or later will drag the whole reading public down into a veritable lagoon of depravity."

It appears that five of the books complained of dealt with "murder, robbery and every kind of crime" and the other two "had a background of slavery in some desert. The second theme of all the books was sadistic cruelty, with descriptions of the hero being tortured and young girls being tied up". It was submitted by the prosecution-and presumably confirmed by the jury who found the prisoners guilty—that the only possible effect of the books would be "to corrupt and deprave".

The hypocrisy of such trials is surely revealed when on the one hand we are told by the Recorder that the case had no doubt been brought at the instigation of the Director of Public Prosecutions in an attempt to put down so far as possible the publication of this kind of literature, while on the other, the defending counsel said that there was an increasing demand from the Forces for the books, which were bought by the Government for distribution among them!

Again, one might believe the argument about "corrupting" and "depraving" if these were the type of book which are kept under the counter in those special book shops which cater for unusual tastes. But Hank Jansen (the author of the books in the case) is a best seller, and though the literary journals do not review him alongside Enid Blyton-or at all for that matter, and the public libraries ban him from their shelves, he is to be found on the counter in hundreds of newsagents shops (perhaps alongside the News of the World and Sunday Dispatch) throughout the country. In three years more than five million copies have been

sold in this way. And it was stated in Court that every six months there is a fresh edition of 100,000 copies.

It is obvious that if anyone is being corrupted it is the author of these books whose literary integrity must be subjected to awful torment in his efforts to satisfy this insatiable public demand! To say that the public is being corrupted by Hank Jansen is ridiculous. All he and his public-minded publishers are doing is to satisfy a demand, and in capitalist terminology they are public benefactors whose services deserve some recognition. A knighthood or an O.B.E. but not Wormwood Scrubs!

OFFICIAL SADISM AND STUPIDITY

A CCORDING to last Sunday's Pictorial it has "become common talk among discontented ratings-'smash a few gauges and you go to prison for a year. Better that than serve another six years or so to complete your term [in the Navy]". In four cases at Devonport during the past five months, ratings found guilty of malicious damage to a ship have been given such prison sentences and dismissed from the Service. But last week a Stoker-Mechanic on H.M.S. Eagle who was found guilty of breaking eleven gauges in the engine room was sentenced to fifteen months in a naval prison but was not dismissed the Service.

This case says the Sunday Pictorial "was the first step to quashing a sailor's easy way of 'working a ticket'," for the man concerned who volunteered in April 1947 for 12 years "will have to stay in the Navy fifteen months longer because it is not counted as time served. He was said to be unhappy in the Navy".

The sadism herein demonstrated is as great as the stupidity of officialdom. A man who is prepared to go to prison for a year rather than spend a further five years in the Navy clearly indicates his feelings for the Service and from the official standpoint should be considered a most unreliable member. To punish him and then bring him back to the scene of his "crime" is to invite a more desperate action the next time.

It may be said that he was foolish in the first place to "sign-on" for 12 years. It is human to do foolish things. But it is inhuman to demand that a man who is unhappy in his job should be obliged to remain in it simply because he once signed a piece of paper. Any employer would be glad to be rid of such a man

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Operation Whitewash Under Way

of blood money to soldiers who shamed many officers into withdrawthe Mau Mau and the callousness of an officer who shot wounded Africans "to put them out of their misery" produced sufficient revulsion of feeling in Britain for the Government to feel the need to do something. Their way of dealing with it was to send a parliamentary delegation to Kenya.

The delegation is now well under way with its "investigation", and two members recently gave their views to the press. Mr. Walter Elliott (Conservative) said that there seemed to be general approval of the tactical conduct of the emergency, although there was a desire on all sides (All sides, Mr. Elliot?) for a quicker administration of justice. Anything speedier than the conveyor-belt technique of the mass trials would, we imagine, be difficult to devise.

Mr. A. G. Bottomley (Labour) said that the British troops in Kenya

THE revelations at the trial of Cap- resented the "five bob a nob" propatain Griffiths about the payment ganda. Of course they do: it has were engaged in operations against ing their offers of blood money, and even if the British soldier does not need bribes to do his duty, as we are told, he has never been averse to any backsheesh that happens to be going.

Mr. Elliot added that African housing in Kenya compared very favourably with that in other parts of the continent. When we remember that shantytowns in the Union of South Africa and other African slums we may be inclined to think that it was not difficult for Kenya to achieve this. In any case it has no bearing on the issue the delegation were sent to investigate.

By the time the delegation has completed its tour of inspection and published its report the purpose of its visit will probably have been forgotten, and to the sound of the familiar soothing phrases the great British public will be able to resume its slumbers. E.P.

"Mariage. . . Les prisons des désirs, des vivants le cercueil."-Charles Rivière Dufresny.

MR., Mrs., and Miss are the three most hideous words in the English language, both in sound and in meaning. Miss is a title with which we brand unmarried women to show that they are still in the market. What is the lot of the unmarried woman? Her familiar appellation, old maid, has a scornful sting. The origin of naming a wife and children after the man is to be found in the history of chattel slavery, as ear, nose and finger-rings, bracelets, etc., are the relics of woman's chains of the past, and too frequently the symbol of her presentservitude. If a woman had sold herself into chattel slavery which the law forbids, she would feel no hesitation in repudiating the bargain. What is the difference in marriage? The victims await emancipation by social opinion.

Marriage is the most sordid of bargains, the most cold and slavish of all the forms of commerce. He who makes a bad marriage never escapes from his troubles; a bad marriage is like an electrical thrilling machine: it makes you dance, but you can't let go. A weddingring makes a woman's hand look so bourgeois. And the bourgeois marriage as a rule, and just in its most pious and respectable form, carries with it an odious sense of stuffiness and narrowness, moral and intellectual; the type of Family which it provides is too often like that which is disclosed when on turning over a large stone we disturb an insect Home that seldom sees the light.

Marriage engenders spiritual poverty in the societies which it spoliates, and deprives of their passional resources. It engenders material poverty by the separation of households and sequestration of property in the hands of the few. As by engendering material poverty it drives women to prostitution, so by engendering spiritual poverty it drives men to libertinism and gross sensuality. Prostitution is the fruit of the flower called marriage.

"If we listened to the woman emancipators, and deprived men of all their privileges in state and society, in law and morality, we should inaugurate a period of female rule unparalleled in history, and known only in legend."-Eduard von Hartman, The Sexes Compared.

In liberty, and in liberty alone, in an Anarchist society, where woman's sovereignty of self, as well as that of the other sex, is assured, is to be found the only rational remedy for all those indescribable evils which directly and indirectly result from the pseudo-moral and ceremonial superstition of modern marriage. And yet, how many there are, nevertheless, loud-mouthed indeed in advocacy of free this and free that, who affect to feel a moral responsibility to draw the line at free love. The adjustment of relations between man and woman will be best when each enjoys perfect and complete liberty. All true growth and culture spring from the inner life. They are always a development of what is within; and are never produced by external or artificial contrivances. That development must always be in accord with human nature, and not against it. So, as men and women, when free, cannot possibly act other than according to their own natures, the best results with any individual must be obtained when that individual is absolutely free from

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I. Marriage, the Tomb of the Living

every external restraint. How then can the freest possible expression of these passions and inclinations do otherwise than develop the highest and best good of the individual? And as society is only an aggregation of individuals, how can the best good of each produce else than the best good of all? The sovereignty of the individual is also true equality; for when each is sovereign, none can be privileged. The sovereignty of the individual is also true fraternity, because, when recognised, no one would be able to hold another in bondage of any kind. Marriage would be abolished. The condition of the best growth of individual character is in absolute freedom, which consists in obeying no other person and in performing only just those acts which carry conviction to one. My own growth depends upon freedom from command and compulsion, but when I throw impediments in the growth of others, I injure my own environment and so hinder my own growth.

The narrow physical passion of jealousy, the petty sense of private property in another person, social opinion, and legal enactments have all converged to choke and suffocate wedded love in lust, stupidity and meanness. The artificial perversion of the sexual passions causes over-weening jealousy and the like mis-

eries. When you look carefully into these you find what lies at the bottom of them is mostly the law-made idea of the woman being the property of the man, whether he is husband, brother, father or what not. Just as the person of the poor is the property of the rich.

The hypocrisy of conventional monogamic morality must be apparent to all who have attained their majority. The divorce courts reveal the intrigues and sexual lawlessness which exist in the marital state. Clandestinely, adultery is the order of the day. Marriage stands condemned by its appendage of divorce, and every restriction of the former in favour of the latter is a movement in the direction of progress, and an advance towards the liberation of the sexes. The tyranny of the family is still more terrible than the tyranny of the State. The legal organised authoritarian family mutilates and tortures human personality; it causes exclusiveness, a focussing of interest, a narrow chanelling of energy and impulse. It is for this reason that we Anarchists believe that family life should disappear in a free society, and a new family, based on community of interests, should take its place. Anarchism means the liberty which will enable each to live according to his ideal. Douglas Muir MacTaggart.

A Reply—

IN an accompanying note our young comrade describes his article as intended to be "satire . . . and destructive criticism" adding "if one can't attack the institution of marriage in an Anarchist paper where on earth can one attack it?" Ouite. But we find ourselves so out of sympathy with the opinions expressed in his article that we are impelled to add our comment for fear that some readers might identify FREEDOM with such views.

Our correspondent is too concerned with the symbol and not enough with the reality. "The origin of naming a wife and children after the man . . . " he sees as a symbol of servitude. Yet in a country such as Spain where, if anywhere in Europe the woman is "a slave" she does not take the name of her husband! "Marriage-writes our correspondentis the most sordid of bargains . . . " to which we would reply, it can be. Women (and some men!) go through the formality of marriage partly because most of them believe in it as a symbol of union, partly to satisfy public opinion, partly to secure themselves economically for the future. Clearly, in an anarchist society the symbol would be most likely redundant, public opinion would be, we hope,

less narrow, and economic security would no longer be dependent on the goodwill of the wage-earning partner or on the enforcement of the law. But the fact remains that present-day legislation connected with marriage is designed to safeguard the woman's economic situation. And it could therefore be argued that a woman who formed a free-union with a man, had a number of children with him, and who, by reason of their economic circumstances, was obliged to be a fulltime "housewife", is economically less secure than her counterpart who goes through the formality of marriage! We would add that there are many "free unions" which are less free than unions which have been "legalised" by the formalities of marriage. Obviously a marriage in which the partners are both economically independent, in which both have a trade or profession which they continue to exercise after marriage, is obviously freer than a free-union in which only the male brings in the money while the female is busy bringing babies into the world and keeping house!

No, we are not supporting the institution of marriage. All we are trying to say is that, just because it is possible to

find free-unions that are oppressive, and legalised-unions that are free, it is a mistake to place too much weight on the symbols, the institutions, and forget the individuals, men and women, who use them. Our correspondent is so carried away by his assertions that he even equates "jealousy" with "the law-made idea of the woman being the property of the man", as if jealousy did not exist in free-unions, or indeed, that women were never jealous of men!

We then come to our comrade's curious assertion that whilst marriage is bad divorce "is a movement in the direction of progress, and an advance towards the liberation of the sexes". But surely divorce is the legal means for breaking the contract of marriage. Where it is the man who seeks the divorce he does so in order to "liberate" himself from his economic obligations to his wife and at the same time be eligible if he so wishes, to make a new contract with another woman. In the case of the woman who seeks a divorce she does so for the purpose of "liberating" herself from her husband physically but not from sharing a portion of his income for herself and her children if any. She too, by legally breaking the contract is freeing herself to make another at a later date with another man. Now, surely it is obvious that divorce far from being "a movement in the direction of progress and the liberation of the sexes" is no more than another contract laying down the terms (economic) on which the contract of marriage may be broken. Liberation for women, as we see it, will come about not when they advocate "free this, free that . . . and free love" (after all, if we are to accept Dr. Kinsey's findings. nearly half of them have had sexual relations before marriage) but when they succeed in establishing complete relationships, including the having of children, without being permanently tied to domestic duties, that is, to becoming a full-time housewife at the expense of interests and activities outside the home. A woman should not give-up her trade or profession, her ability to earn her own living when she marries. But in fact most of them do, and often for the reason that their work is so uninteresting and badly paid that being a housewife is preferable. Woman's "liberation" is as much a question of equal opportunity in all trades and professions as of establishing the right to equal pay for equal work.

The emancipation of women in this respect will necessarily have a profound effect on the whole concept of "the family". But we do not propose to discuss this problem, except to refute our correspondent's sweeping assertion that "we anarchists believe that family life

should disappear in a free society . . . ". Comrade MacTaggart in his youthful enthusiasm would make a clean sweep of everything! In two of his (rejected) articles he proposes to eliminate the medical profession and foment a revolution among children still in the nappiestage against their parents! Let it not be said that we wish to dampen youthful enthusiasm for on the contrary we always seek to encourage it. But if our friend's extravagances were to be put into operation it is doubtful whether the human race would still exist to "live according to our ideals"!

Malatesta is at least one anarchist who would not have agreed with comrade MacTaggart. In an article on the problem of love he wrote:

"Some say that the remedy lies in the total abolition of the family; the abolition of the more or less stable sexual couple, reducing love to the sexual act only, or rather transforming it, with the sexual union added, into a sentiment similar to that of friendship, which admits the multiplicity, variety and simultaniety of affections. And the children . . . the children belong to everybody.

"But is it possible and desirable to abolish the family? In the first place we note that, in spite of the system of oppression and lies that has always prevailed, and still prevails within the family, the latter has been, and is still the greatest factor for human development since it is the only sphere where man makes sacrifices for his fellow humans and does good for its own sake without desiring any reward other than the love of his partner and their children.

"It is true that there are examples of sublime sacrifices, of struggle and martyrdom accepted for the good of the whole of society; but these are always exceptional cases, whose influence on the development of the social instinct of mankind cannot be compared with that admittedly more modest yet constant and universal [influence] of the couple who devote themselves to the upbringing and education of their children."*

We have quoted from Malatesta not because we wish to put forward his views as representing the anarchist position on the family but because we believe Malatesta's method of approach, his humility before such complex problems as love and the family, are anarchist, whereas our young comrade in his impatience to put everything right overnight appears unwilling to examine these very human problems in a spirit of human understanding. And it is just this ruthless approach which anarchists have always opposed in the authoritarian thinkers of V.R. the Marxist school.

*From Il Problema dell'Amore (The Problem of Love) published in La Ouestione Sociale (Paterson, N.J., Jan. 6, 1900).

All Books He Reads, and all He Reads Assails

MRS. GRUNDY, far from having been stifled by her voluminous petticoats, as many had hoped, has been going from strength to strength in recent years; and the things she doesn't like make an ever more formidable list.

Nowadays she pops up in the most unexpected places. A year or two ago in France, which is not everyone's idea of a puritan's paradise, the Minister of Information decided to forbid the film "Plus de vacances pour le Bon Dieu" to the under-sixteens on the ground that it would encourage poor children to steal the dogs of the rich. The producer appealed, and the Council of State recently quashed the censor's decision and awarded damages to the tune of 50,000 francs (to be found by the taxpayer, of course).

Unhappily this decision is not likely to daunt the censors, who have been having a wonderful time lately. In the United States many towns have banned the film "The Moon is Blue" because its dialogue includes the words virgin, pregnant, and mistress. Twentieth Century-Fox, who have been making a film about Botticelli, have been told by the American censors that sequences showing some of the painter's nudes must be eliminated, the ladies being too scantily dressed for the censors' tastes. In England the censors have cut from "Gentlemen prefer Blondes" a scene that showed Jane Russell in the presence of men with naked torsos.

But books are still the censors' prime favourites. The Austrian Minister of Justice, Mr. Joseph Geroe, has recently begun proceedings against the publishers of a new edition of Voltaire's "Candide", which, it seems, is pornographic and contrary to good morals. If only we could have the author's comments! In Germany two books by Maurice Druon (a Prix Goncourt winner), "La Fin des Hommes" and "Rendez-vous aux Enfers", have been seized by the Procurator of Cologne on the ground that they are an outrage to decency.

The theatre has not been forgotten, either. In Tunis Marcel Aymé's play "La Tête des Autres" has been banned as being insulting to the magistracy.

The growth of censorship is one of the most depressing features of these post-war years, and there have been enough instances to convince anyone that the wonderful freedom of speech we hear so much about it little more than a mockery.

Not all censorship is official: the State has many willing supporters among society's busybodies. Both the British Board of Film Censors and the American Breen Office are unofficial and are maintained by the film industry itself. Some idea of the pettifogging restrictions of the Breen Office can be drawn from the fact that some Hollywood producers are now making films in spite of the censor's refusal to license them. Two of these contraband productions, "The Moon is Blue" and "The French Line", are now on the circuits, to the indignation of puritans everywhere. There has been the usual crusade by that Catholic anti-sex league, the Legion of Decency, and by other smut-hounds, with the result that both films have been banned in several American towns. No doubt the producers will have been cheered by news of the decision of the United States Supreme Court on January 18 that motion pictures come within the free speech and free press guarantee of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution—a decision that virtually declares film censorship to be unconstitutional. The puritans, however, are unlikely to leave matters as they are: the more fanatical are quite capable of agitating for further amendments to the Constitution to restore and even strengthen the various censorships.

It is interesting to note that the film critic of the English Catholic Times found "The Moon is Blue" far less objectionable "morally" than many "U" films. When the self-appointed custodians of our "purity" disagree with each other like this we may begin to wonder whether they are really qualified for the job.

As far as I can discover, the only justification for censorship put forward by its advocates is that it guards against the corruption of public morals. But if the public's "morals" would be corrup-

ted by the banned material what must the censors' "morals" be like after prolonged exposure to such harmful matter? They see it all, hear it all, and read it all—and then selflessly protect us from it. If what they ban is so deadly to morality surely they themselves must be monsters of depravity after a few years at their curious trade. Or are they perhaps impervious to the poisons that corrode the morals of lesser men? As they continue to be shocked by what they ban we can only suppose that this must be the answer.

What, then, is the test of incorruptibility? From what source are our untarnishable censors recruited? One incident gives us the clue we need to be able to answer these questions. A few years ago the Australian customs seized the Penguin edition of Robert Graves' translation of "The Golden Ass" by Apuleius, which they considered to be "obscene" (whatever they meant by that). Oddly enough they did not find a de luxe edition of the same text "obscene"

because they have continued to allow its importation. Evidently the theory of censorship is that those who can afford de luxe editions are incorruptible. So we are forced to conclude that man's resistance to demoralization depends on how much money he has. This is not such a surprising conclusion to reach when we remember that in present-day society money is the measure of all things. The rich man who can afford to frequent high-class and well conducted brothels is, of course, a model of probity; but the poor man who haggles with a street-walker is incurably vicious.

We may notice in passing that a moneyless society as recommended by anarchists will automatically eliminate censorship. When the distinction between rich and poor has disappeared we shall all be on the same moral level. Either we shall all be incorruptible like the censors or we shall all be hopelessly depraved. In the case of the first alternative there will be no need for censorship; in the case of the second it will be impossible.

EDWIN PEEKE.

Even Publishers not Indispensable

IN the present sad state of literature, due to commercialization and the subsequent reluctance of publishers to take risks it is refreshing to find an author individualistic enough to cut out the middlemen and reprint his own book. Mr. J. L. Hodson, author of "Grey Dawn-Red Night", a war novel, found that his library had a battered copy of his book which was still in demand, but they could not replace it by a new copy since it was "out of print". He found that several libraries in his region were in the same position but his publisher felt that it was too risky to reprint. Mr. Hodson circularised, at his own expense, several thousand libraries and found that sufficient of them would buy copies to justify a

reprint. Mr. Hodson went forward and found that by eliminating 'those lice upon the locks of literature', (advertising specialists, wholesalers, publicity boys, etc.), he could retail his book at 7/6d., much below present average prices.

It is obvious that the book trade like many other commercial ventures has so hypnotised itself with large scale organization, inflated overheads, innumerable parasites piling up distribution costs that it has ceased to be even the cheapest way of distribution of goods needed by the public. The apologists for large-scale capitalist mass-production claim that it 'delivers the goods' but does it?

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WHAT OF THE PEOPLES ?

AS the newsreel commentators would say, "the eyes of the world are turned to Berlin" where the four-power talks are in progress. The delegations we learn are 'quietly optimistic', and it is not expected that the Conference will break down in sterile deadlock as did those between 1945 and the last one in 1949. All this is attributed to the new line in post-Stalinist Moscow policy, and to a general desire to ease tension and secure peace.

Once again one is up against the problem of what people in general the masses of individuals who make up the populations of the Europeanised world—what they think and feel about these issues. The kind of verbiage quoted in the paragraph above is what the newspapers and other "organs of public opinion" are saying. But these agencies, the Press, the radio, the cinema newsreels are not the public. It is said that they "create" public opinion, but this is only true in the very limited sense that they provide the verbal form for much superficial discussion about events. The real public opinion, what people really think and feel about the world situation, and what their hopes and fears are these questions remain as elusive as ever.

Anarchists have pointed out before that when society is organized by government administrations from above, "what people think becomes of academic significance, because whatever they think they do not affect policy or what is done, and therefore have no incentive to make their opinion clearly articulate. This factor shows itself on those rare occasions when a population is sufficiently roused to intervene and take the initiative. On such occasions their reactions are often widely different from those attributed to them by the official organs of public opinion.

It seems likely that in the matter of the Berlin talks the populations of the West-France, Britain and the United States—are not particularly stirred. But it is probably very different for the people of Germany, especially Eastern Germany. The Berlin correspondent of the Times is probably somewhere the mark when he writes, (20/1/54):

"The attitude of the east German population towards the forthcoming Foreign Ministers' conference is causing much anxiety to the German Communist leaders. Statements about the need to maintain a peaceful atmosphere during the talks, and the ruthless repression of any disturbances, have been put forward as a serious warning; the recent amnesty of political prisoners, too, is intended to keep the people quiet.

"Although the Communist leaders are perpetually preaching optimism about the conference, and attacking the west for anticipating failure, they fear the restrained hopefulness of the population, because they realize that it is in contradiction with their point of view. What the average east German inhabitant longs for is some agreement which could rid him of the present régime; what the Grotewohl Government seeks is not only to survive but to extend its sway over the

rest of Germany.

"The difficulties in obtaining a completely accurate impression of public opinion in eastern Germany are obvious, and such information as there is can have only a relative value. Most of what is available, however, points to the fact that the population's attitude towards the conference and the prospects of a settlement is far more emotional than in western Germany-and therefore more dangerous. The average individual is hopeful because he feels instinctively that this is the last chance for many years of a negotiated solution of the German problem, and he cannot afford to contemplate coolly the prospect of an indefinite survival of the present hated régime. To most east Germans the Berlin conference is a matter of life or death. Now or never, they feel, this is

WHO likes freedom, anyway? Life is so much simpler if only we do as we are told. Why should we think for ourselves when all our lives a patriarchial authority has insisted on doing our thinking for us? Why should we abandon the security of made-to-measure conventions for the unknown dangers of paddling our own canoes? Better the devils we know than the ones that may be lurking in the murky depths of our animal ancestry. We all know what nasty creatures we are really, and how much we owe to our enlightened upbringing for helping us to hide this embarrassing fact. Steeped as we are in Original Sin we need protection from our primitive impulses. Another war, and who knows, we may be indulging in sexual intercourse because we like it!

And so it goes. Talk to anyone who accepts the Divine Right of Authority and you will find that the majority of your fellows love their chains. They cling to their fetters as the drowning man clutches a life line-none too particular where it came from and indifferent to the price he will pay for embracing it. You see, your fellow man is astute. He has been living in a hard world since the day he was born (so he complacently assures you), and he has made the shattering discovery that freedom entails responsibility.

Now, freedom is an acquired taste, and since he has had little chance to develop a liking for the rarer luxuries he has learned to do without it. On the other hand, ever since he can remember, people have been trying to foist responsibility onto him without a corresponding increase of freedom. ("Clean your shoeswhat will the neighbours thing? Do your homework. Clean your teeth. Call me sir. Do as you're told and no backchat, etc.") So he takes a dim view of responsibility.

Consider the immense pressures that have been brought to bear on him from the day he was ejected from his protected, parasitic existence as a foetus. From the carefree days of not having to eat, drink, defecate, micturate or even breathe for himself, where warmth surrounded him and every mod. con. was laid on for his comfort-from this state of vegetable bliss he was catapulted into an unfriendly world without so much as 'by your leave', and expected to like it. True, the simple biological needs were met adequately enough, but undoubtedly there was a new note of discomfort in all this. Hunger and thirst, heat and cold, all became familiar to him to a certain degree. And pain.

After a while he began sorting this pandemonium of new experiences into some sort of order. Ideas of "me" and "not me" began to crystalize. Experiences like hunger, thirst, pleasure and pain were assigned to the "me" pole, along with a rapidly-forming concept of "my body" which seemed to be specially tied up with these experiences. A pin stuck in "my body" is painful-stuck anywhere else it is not. Of the "not me" part of experience—the external environment—it was possible to distinguish two sorts; the animate and the inanimate. Of the animate part, those entities later describable

*The title is borrowed from Erich Fromm's book of the same name.

the opportunity to get rid of Herr Grotewohl and the rest. They are prepared to approve any agreement that achieves this end, even though, on close examination, it may have less attractive features."

Very different is the attitude of the governments. No effective help was given to the East Germans after the rising of June 17th last year, nor is it easy to see what sort of help a government could give in such circumstances, even if we stretch probability to the point of expecting them to want to help. John Foster Dulles, the American Foreign Secretary, has gone on record on this topic. He declared in his book War and Peace, published in 1950, that the real strength of the West lay in the Western way of life, and its ability to attract enemies and neutrals to its side. But as for inciting the Soviet satellites to revolt, " . . . violent revolt would be futile . . . we have no desire to weaken the Soviet Union at the cost of the lives of those who are our primary concern."

It is difficult to see how the satellite populations of an authoritarian tyranny will ever be able to free themselves without some kind of revolt, but Dulles has put the point of view of governments, familiar enough to those who before the last war, hoped and worked for the overthrow of Hitler and Mussolini and actively supported the struggle of the Spanish people after 1936.

FEAR OF FREEDOM*

as "other people" were of the greatest importance. In particular there were other people with whom he had a great deal to do; probably his parents.

Now, adults were powerful figures. They seemed to know everything and be able to do anything. Sometimes their interests clashed with his own, and being human they sometimes sacrificed his needs to theirs. His natural reaction to this was one of anger. Sooner or later they reacted by being angry themselves, and being stronger they were able to indulge their anger by inflicting pain on him. This got results; both immediate and long-term. Pain in immoderate doses is an unpleasant experience and his natural tendency was to avoid it as soon as he learnt where it came from. He was afraid of pain and of the agents of pain, so he was obliged to bottle up his own temper in order to avoid that of his parents. He was angry at being frustrated and afraid of being punished by his parents for expressing this anger. In other words, being both angry and afraid of his parents, he hated them.

But this was a subversive thought. He could not afford to make an enemy of such powerful figures. Besides which they were only occasionally unkind. Most of the time they tended to his needs and earned his love. So the best thing to do was to submit to authority and pretend to love it even for hurting him. In psychological jargon we say he "identified" himself with authority and turned his hate against himself or other less dangerous targets.

A few recalcitrant individuals never do submit, or do so reluctantly only to reassert themselves at the earliest opportunity. But for most people this reassertion occurs only sporadically in exceptional circumstances. Witness the recent fracas at the Liverpool Exchange, when staid business men flouted the authority of the Mayor and police to indulge their craving for an orgiastic snowball fight.

How many quiet people do you know who become unmanageable when alcohol has so reduced their anxiety that the aggression they have bottled up for years boils over in ill-directed hostility? The old authoritarian targets have melted into senile nonentities, but their handiwork

It is of course necessary that we should learn to control our emotions, including anger. A society in which each pursued the gratification of his immediate desires regardless of others' needs would be no society at all. The tragedy of Western civilisation, and in fact in nearly all known cultures—some of the Polynesian societies provide illuminating exceptions -has its roots in the means adopted to transform the self-centred infant into a social being.

Instead of allowing the child to learn for himself how to control his anger we impose an external control on him. Simply by letting the child discover that these attempts to control others by a display of anger get poor results, he will be obliged to explore other ways of dealing with people. Quite soon, given the opportunity, he will discover the value of mutual give-and-take, and will adopt this means of social adjustment as a matter of course.

"What is the difference?" you may ask, "One way or another the child learns to co-operate". But there is all the difference in the world between coercive discipline and self-discipline. For coercive discipline to work there must always be an external authority to give the orders and take the responsibility. Without his external authority the subservient automaton is lost. He does not know how to stand on his own feet because he never learned. No wonder he clings to his chains—they are his only support; they are his life-line.

Nowhere does the fundamental difference between the free individual and the puppet of authority show up more clearly than in stress situations which cannot be dealt with by a prescribed formula, such as being lost in a mountain mist, or thrown into jail. While the cardboard cut-out panics or reveals himself less than human, the free individual takes cool stock of the situation and methodically sets about making the best of a bad job.

In everyday life the difference still shows. The serf spends too much of his nervous energy trying to maintain the precarious balance between his infantile appetites and his fear of authority to be creative, warm and sympathetic. His imagination is stunted because he has never exercised it for fear of discovering what a tool of authority he is. He deals with all his problems in an orthodox manner since he denies his right to solve them personally. If no conventional approach exists for a particular problem then his ossified shell of an adjustment collapses. He is a psychological cripple;

that pathetic piece of debris of an authoritarian system—the rigid personality.

No wonder he finds wars satisfying. For once he can vent his bursting spleen with social approval. In less exciting times he still has the privilege of passing his neurosis in to the next generation. While he is denied the ecstasy of being world dictator he can enjoy the more modest pleasures of being oberführer to his own children. If he is still a child he can always kick the cat.

As a policeman he can take it out on that poorly organised species of social driftwood, the petty criminal. Andspecial treat—on May Day or bonfire night he can get in a sly dig at his nominal employer, the man in the street. As a priest he shepherds his meek flock with glib promises of a ticket to the Land of the Sugar Plum Fairy, and ferocious threats of hell-fire and brimstone for the backsliding or heedless.

As a schoolmaster he is in a unique position to indulge his delusions of gradeur. Armies of little folk running to his Centurion beck and call. Cowering before his august majesty. Snivelling for mercy. Fawning at his feet for his benevolent nod of approval.

Thus are the dragon's teeth sown. Like it or no, each of us reaps the whirl-

With so many snares and pitfalls besetting the path of the embryo citizen the wonder is not that there are so many delinquents, but that there are so few. Rebels against authority we need, but the delinquent or criminal is doomed to defeat. He is, in the words of Robert Lindner, a "Rebel Without a Cause". In kicking against authority he has neglected to see what he is fighting for. In rejecting authority he has made the mistake of abandoning society.

To be a successful rebel one needs allies and a set of ideals worth struggling toward. If we are to live in this society we must come to terms with it, while maintaining the right to think for ourselves and doing everything in our power to make it more worth living in.

To a certain extent we are obliged to compromise with authority, and insofar as we do so we are corrupted by it and our ideal tainted with expediency. This

is the price we pay for living in an imperfect world and being less than perfect ourselves. What will count in the long run is the sort of compromises we make. It may well be expedient to do what the man in the funny blue helmet says, even if it happens to be stupid, such as waiting for the lights to change when there is no other traffic in sight, but we can refrain from relieving our exasperation and feelings of inferiority at the expense of others. Even if children at large must still be left to the barbaric rituals of the State miseducation system we can at least treat every child we meet with sympathy, consideration and respect, as far as the mutilated victim can still appreciate and accept these civilities.

In more concrete terms, just what can we do here and now to propagate anarchist philosophy and prove the feasibility of non-authoritarian organisation?

If every reader of FREEDOM left his copy in the morning bus or train after he had finished with it we might find more new friends than we thought could have existed. If those of us who think we might have something of interest to say got down to putting it in writing more often, the pages of FREEDOM would become more varied and stimulating and a richer cross-fertilisation of ideas would ensue. If those who believe that an anarchist club would be a sound scheme only said so and indicated the extent of the financial and active support they would be prepared to show, then the idea might materialise that much quicker. In other words, if we really believe in anarchist ideals then above all we must try to live them.

Ultimately anarchism will come about because people like ourselves persuade the dupes of authority to open their eyes and strike out on their own initiative, by demonstrating the possibility of selfrealisation. The benefits of self-determination are clear enough, it is the risks run in attaining them that keep most people in a mental strait-jacket.

By taking intelligent risks and accepting responsibility for the consequences the militant anarchist can most directly encourage the despondent and timid to take heart and to stand on their own two feet.

BOB GREEN.

Anatomy of Nonsense

THE Home Service recently broadcast a discussion under the title Anatomy of Terrorism. Anyone expecting a penetrating analysis, or even a reasonable discussion of the causes of terrorism must have been keenly disappointed.

The three gentlemen taking part in the discussion were obviously not chosen for their knowledge of history or human behaviour, but for the fact that two of them had served the British Government in Kenya and Malaya. Their understanding of these two unhappy countries was as limited as their capacity for objective thought.

As might have been expected, focus was on the "terrorists" of Malaya and Kenya, and to the question-Are terrorists born or made?—one speaker postulated that primitive peoples took easily to terrorism because they were "naturally prolific" therefore contemptuous of human life which could be so quickly replaced. Mau Mau was a direct result of the witchcraft and superstition of the primitive mind. (One wonders if the experiments carried out by the Nazis on their victims were an aspect of European primitiveness?)

With this display of prejudice and ignorance one of the silliest discussions broadcast was started.

No mention was made of the prevailing conditions in Kenya which are largely responsible for organisations like the Mau Mau-surely an important omission in a discussion of this kind.

Much was made of the Malayan Communist-inspired terrorists, and the speakers obviously felt happier discussing an organisation known to be communistled. In this way they could argue that the Malayan terrorists were not really a nationalist movement but were directed from a foreign country, thus helping to dispel the suspicion that the Malayan people have a legitimate grievance.

What form of terrorism the Malayan movement took we were never told, and we can only assume (accepting their own definition of the word) that it follows the same pattern as General Temlar's, who terrorised whole villages as a form of reprisal because some of the inhabitants refused to disclose the whereabouts and activities of Malayan rebels. The reluctance of these gentlemen to discuss the methods of the terrorists is therefore understandable.

One of the speakers referred, somewhat indignantly, to the fact that many of the guerilla leaders were trained by the British to "deal with the Japanese" in the last war. The obvious implications of now denouncing these British-trained terrorists seemed lost on the trio.

It was reluctantly admitted, in the one reference to the Russian terrorists of the revolutionary period, that perhaps some of them believed that what they were doing was right according to their standard of values. But of course their values were totally wrong and worthless.

There seemed to be no answer to the question (and no attempt was made to formulate one). How is it possible for a terrorist movement to take hold of a whole people? An honest discussion on this would have meant admitting that there are serious defects on "our side". No patriot would want to admit this. To tear away his illusions would leave him bare and unprotected.

Anarchists have always pointed out that when stooges of Governments commit or approve atrocities they always claim that they are doing so for Democracy, the Fatherland, Christianity, Justice and Truth. The "enemy" of course, is always a terrorist or prompted by unworthy motives.

The participants in this discussion may honestly believe that what they are saying and doing is right, while the other fellows are wrong. They are suffering from the delusions of our time common to people who passionately identify themselves with one country and one race. The fact that they agreed that terror would have to be met with force-but "Christian and Democratic force"proves that they are not really opposed to terrorism as such. When they are the dispensers of it, it becomes virtuous.

This is not to say that the "opposition" is always right from the anarchist standpoint, or that we support terrorism. Anarchists have committed acts of violence in the past, rightly or wrongly, and will no doubt do so again in the future, with the intention that such acts will further the cause of anarchism.

If this is necessary, what we can do to prevent ourselves falling into the same morass of dishonesty and piety as the patriot, is to admit that violence, being no part of the anarchist philosophy, does not become virtuous because it is being used by us. R.M.

Positive Anarchism

ALL the articles and letters in FREE-DOM recently on why there are so few Anarchists seem to have been written in a mood of patient despair. They dwell on the negative aspects of Anarchism and on all the obstacles to it. That there are still Anarchists, however few, in spite of conditioning and coercion by authority can only mean that there is something basically anarchist in the human spirit, which springs up again even though it is repressed. Anarchism has a positive side which must be stressed to bring new people into the movement. It would be a mistake ever to forget that Anarchists offer a new approach to problems as varied as War, Industry, Sex and Education. For too many of us Anarchism is a school of thought rather than a way of life. Some frustration is almost inevitable for the sensitive or libertarian person in this society. Therefore it is imperative that each one of us should seek to lead his life and earn his living in a way that is compatible with his principles.

As an attempt to sum up the positive beliefs we hold I set out an 'Anarchist

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Who will do the Dirty Work?

Syndicalism-The Workers'

ERRICO MALATESTA:

Vote-What For?

HERBERT READ:

Anarchism

Vol. 1, 1951, Mankind is One

Creed', which at the very least can serve as a basis for discussion:-

"I believe in myself and in mutual aid that holds society together. I affirm that life is worth living, freedom worth fighting for. I assert the right of every man to lead his life in his own way, that no one may force his will upon another by power, position or wealth. I believe in a free society where man can be spontaneous and happy, free of tyrants, petty or great, and I will work with that aim always in mind."

This covers the fundamental belief that man is enslaved by government and can only gain freedom by ridding himself of his rulers. Whilst we wish for an Anarchist society in our times we must admit that it is unlikely, consequently we should endeavour to gain and maintain freedoms in this society. Two World Wars have discredited the liberal ideas of reform and progress in a so-called democracy. Science, the panacea of the 19th Century, has produced the atom-bomb and the tempo of life has changed to suit the machine not the man. What the masses of the world need is a chance to lead creative lives as individuals. The greatest obstacles are hunger and poverty. Human resources and energy could wipe out these grim perils, were they not diverted into the military machines and into profit-making for the great industrialists. The rulers and militarists, like most of their subjects, are blind to the possibility of any other type of society. An opportunity exists to show people where their true interests lie. The present is a challenge. Anarchism can show itself not as Utopian but as a body of beliefs firmly based on human needs and realities.

Coventry Controversy

Altho' Philip Sansom has earned the right as much as anyone in the anarchist movement-and more than most-to have his opinions, on the many dilemmas we are faced with, seriously and carefully considered as the product of much thought and experience, I must disagree with his stand over the engineers' boycotts.* For us to accuse a solitary blackleg of cowardice has about as much substance as to accuse a rebellious conscript of the same. We know that in fact the pacifist needs more courage to stand out than the man who does as he is compelled. And to bring the analogy closer to the situation of a strike, nine times out of ten (so the tribunals find) the man who won't fight is not a pacifist, but objects to-and won't take part inthis particular war. As anarchists we maintain that a genuinely free community such as Britain claims to be should be satisfied to have an 80% war if 20% don't want to join in. The chairman of

WHEN IS A BEER A BIER?

How do we know when a bier is not a beer?

Why, dear M.G.W., it's really very clear: In the same way that we know That the corn doesn't grow in a field, but has its root* In a tired and aching foot.*

*And if we spell as we hear Visual rimes will disappear. EDWIN PEEKE. London.

NOTEBOOK

as he would consider him inefficient. But flesh" at whatever cost.

A SORDID GAME

IN his opening speech in the much publicised trial of Lord Montague and others, prosecuting counsel said that:

"As a result of certain investigations the kit of various aircraftsmen and NCOs was searched, and there was found on December 16 last year in the kit of an aircraftsman called Reynolds a letter which I hope to prove emanates from Lord Montague."

The words which we find so revealing are "which I hope to prove". Why "hope"? Will the prosecutor feel awfully disappointed if he cannot prove that the letter emanates from Lord Montague? Perhaps we give too much importance to the use of the word "hope" in this context, yet the little we know of the legal profession and the police convinces us that especially in the much publicised trials there is a kind of battle of wits between the leaders of the two sides-the prisoner being just an excuse for the Considerations of humanity and justice human. are of secondary importance. The police

Continued from p. 1

of course are most anxious that a verdict officialdom has to demand its "pound of of guilty should always be recorded for they are responsible for all the investigations and for providing the prosecution with the evidence. When a prisoner "gets off" it is assumed that someone has bungled the job and it means a black mark for that someone. On the other hand a conviction is generally followed by some complimentary remarks from the judge about the "efficiency of the police", and someone is on the road to promotion. Not to mention that a successful prosecutor also gets his reward by receiving more briefs and eventually perhaps his appointment as a judge. Curiously enough, many successful defending counsel also round off their careers as judges!

If there were more love and less 'justice" in the world (and assuming that in such a world the criminal courts still existed) one could imagine that instead of "hoping" to prove the guilt of the prisoner, everybody concerned would be "hoping" they had been mistaken. Sheer utopia? Maybe. But ask yourselves which of the two attitudes you honestly game-which each is anxious to win. consider to be the more decent and

LIBERTARIAN.

the tribunal earnestly argues with whoever forces him, Philip or myself, and tells us "But it's got to be all or nobody". Our reply to that is "If the dissidents are only 5% they don't make any difference; if they are 20% they should be taken into consideration; if they are 40% should there be a war at all?" And I feel that similar arguments apply to a strike. If the proportion of blacklegs is large enough to endanger the strike then it suggests to me that it was large enough to endanger the strike votes.

An argument of more fundamental importance (but which I have left till the last because it always carries less weight!) is that if a man is determined enough to defy a majority he can stick it out as long as he likes. Particularly since what starts as a disagreement becomes, when force is applied, a bigger issue for the man concerned—that of his independence of action, the repudiation of an affront to his autonomy. And the sourness of a boycott would, I feel, break me first if I was taking part in one, rather than the victim sustained by righteous indepen-

V. MAYES. Manchester, Jan. 16.

[*This letter was received before our correspondent had seen P.S.'s contribution in last week's FREEDOM-EDITORS.

I would like wholeheartedly to endorse the views expressed by A. R. Lacey.

How can an anarchist (as Philip Sansom appears to do) consistently oppose the rights of governments to control other people whilst defending trade unionists who try to force their colleagues to "toe the line".

Surely as anarchists we oppose any and all forms of coercion whether by intimidation, force or boycott and by whomsoever carried out.

CHARLES SLATTER. Penzance, Jan. 16.

Anarchism not a Religion

Anarchism is not a religion as is sometimes stated.

Religion is based on faith, anarchism, a theory of freedom, is based on knowledge—of human character and capacity. The passion that sustains anarchists is not merely the hatred of tyranny or even love of anarchism, but the love of lifeseen as a creative adventure. As all are conscious of the need for food, so anarchists are conscious of the need for freedom-in order to attain creative fulfilment.

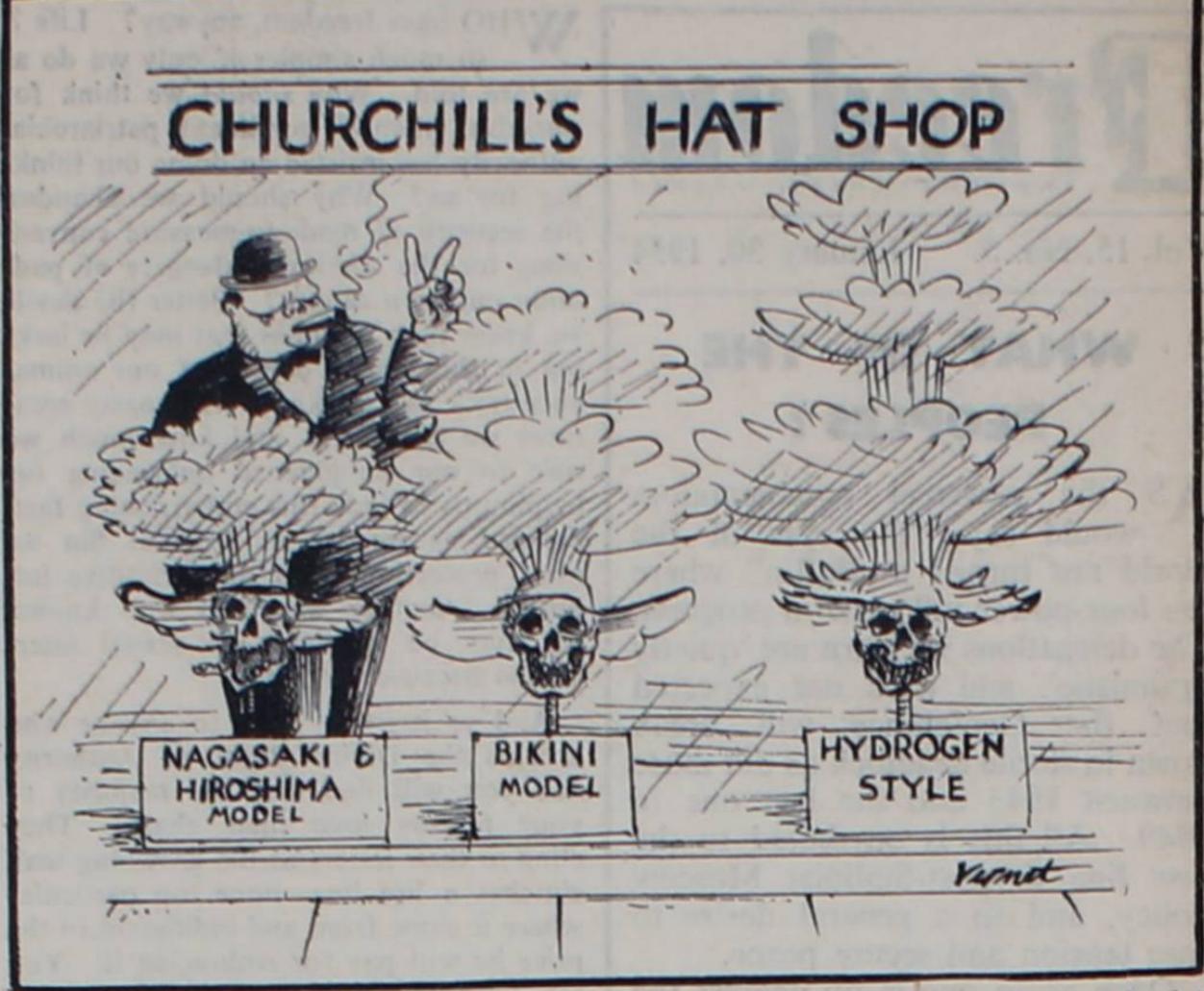
MAY ROSE. S. Woodford, Jan. 18.

BERLIN Centinued from p. 1

farms were stripped of cattle and stock as part of reparations, thereby reducing the entire region to poverty). Yet both times German industry has rapidly recovered. British industrialists are more than a little dismayed at German penetration of British markets, but the German Minister of Economics, Professor Erhart is obviously unwilling to accept the unpleasant extensions of this revived trade rivalry. "Germany," he said to Terence Prittie, "knows it is to her interest that British economy should flourish. For Britain and the Commonwealth provide between them the best markets of all for German goods."

The picture that is beginning to unfold therefore is an intensified version of the old pre-war (1914 and 1939) economy of sharpening trade rivalry, with the addition of America as a much more serious additional rival. The western bloc is thus torn by economic competition, beneath the surface of political agreement, with Western Germany, Britain and America playing leading rôles.

The situation is not very different, however, on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Russia has encouraged the development of industries in the satellite countries of eastern Europe, but has kept the dominant position by ruthless appropriation of the profits. Hence, these satellite countries, especially Czechoslovakia, possess many powerful economic reasons for wishing to separate from the Soviet Union. The mechanism is different, but the cohesion of the Russian bloc is just as flimsy as in the competitive West, with political unity imposed from above, while economic hostilities provide the underlying reality.



"Sir Winston Churchill is doing his utmost to give rearmament a new look." -News Chronicle, 13.1.54.

Why So Few Anarchists?

THE eagerness of the discussion on the reasons for the low number of anarchists seems to suggest not only concern about that low number (that is always present), but also perhaps a wish to combat the lethargy, which it is claimed, has taken its toll of some of our propagandists over the past year or so. The lethargy may itself be due to our paucity in numbers, though I do not think this is wholly true, as might appear at first glance. I think it boils down to a question of courage and discipline, but first let me hazard an explanation of the lethargy.

I would say that it is the ability to pick out essentials, which is the most distinctive trait of an anarchist, or rather an anarchist who accepted anarchism through reason and bases his theory of anarchism on empirical evidence, though this conscious process may be preceded by intuitive thinking, as it was I suspect in my own case. I agree with Giovanni Baldelli's guess "that a good number of the present readers of FREEDOM came to anarchism before being reached by specifically anarchist literature" (FREEDOM, 9/1/54), but further guess that this was through intuitive thinking. When these inarticulate libertarians came into contact with anarchists and specifically anarchist literature, the alacrity of their acceptance of anarchism was no blind leap nor swapping politics as a psychological expedient, as it might have appeared to their non-anarchist friends, but a flowering of their intuition into conscious reason. I am reminded of someone who accepted anarchism after looking up the word in the Encyclopædia Brittanica. Given two persons approximately equal in education, upbringing and environment, I feel sure that the one who is better able to select the essentials in a superficially unrelated array of data, would be the more likely to accept the political doctrine of anarchism. On the other hand, the emotional anarchist, that is to say the negative rebel without courage and intelligence, who sees in anarchism a glorious opportunity for "bitching" about everything and who is in the forefront of action for action's sake, need not have this selective ability and usually hasn't.

In picking out the essentials, I believe the anarchist comes to a fuller realization of the dangers of our lop-sided economy than the majority of politically-conscious people. He is more aware of the coming disaster unless we attain population control and a vastly increased food output, and that even given the beginning of a replacement of producing for profit by producing for needs now, it may be too late to avoid much starvation and misery. I know that others are also aware of our mid-twentieth century plight. Fred Hoyle, the astro-physicist, in his recent book "A Decade of Decision", makes a frantic plea for the emigration of 25 million people from Britain at the rate of a million a year, so conscious is he of the danger. But no more so than anarchists. And a reluctantly growing feeling among them, perhaps fearfully pushed out of mind and unadmitted, that it is getting too late, though this may be inaccurate and exaggerated, may well lie at the roots of any lassitude in the movement.

In parenthesis, I suggest that apart

SOUTHAMPTON

If any comrades in Southampton cr the surrounding districts are interested in the forming of a group in Southampton could they please contact Freedom

from a normal flagging of energy to be expected from time to time, there is a waning of enthusiasm after the initial bright flash of the new vision of anarchism down to a steady flame, and I think the nearness of that flame in intensity to the first flash on becoming a professed anarchist is indicative of courage or lack of it.

Courage (not, I need hardly say, the military kind, which is often cowardice in disguise anyway) is my main consideration. I see it, with discipline, as at least part of the answer to any problems of weakness in strength and quality. The question now arises—can courage be cultivated? To a certain extent I believe it can, if we recall the cardinal anarchist principle of mutual aid and trust. But the mutual aid must be genuine not ersatz. For instance, the poor reception to the suggestion of a club in London with all its obvious benefits for our London comrades, is a clear example of bad discipline and seems to suggest that the mutual co-operation of a number of anarchists is not all that it could and should be. Without a disciplined solidarity I can see no end to the "drought season for anarchists" as Norman Mailer puts it in his novel "The Naked and the Dead", where incidentally the problem of our time is, in my opinion, posed as essentially one of courage.

Middlesbrough, Jan. 13, Doug Wilson.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting HYDE PARK Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM Alternate Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m.

FEB. 10.—"PERSONAL CHOICE" Readings from Revolutionary Literature

GLASGOW

INDOOR MEETINGS every Friday at 70 p.m. at 200 Buchanan Street. FEB. 5—Frank Waters COMMUNITY OF LIVING. FEB. 12-Jim McLachlan IS MONEY THE WAY TO SUCCESS? FEB. 19—Hugh McKeefery CHRISTIANITY—THE MYTH. FEB. 12-Mormon JUGGERNAUTS IN SOCIETY.

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