

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The more perfect civilization is, the less occasion has it for government."

—THOMAS PAINE.

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Threepence

HUNGER GOES DEEPER

MANY people to-day have said that the most important issue facing the human race to-day is the hydrogen bomb. Others regard the state of hostility between the Russian and American worlds as the source of the danger from the atom bomb, germ warfare and other destructive horrors as *the* great problem. There is, of course, no denying the decisive effect which these questions do exert on men's lives more especially among the middle class sections of both camps. But such problems are essentially political problems and have arisen almost wholly in the past 10 years.

For the poorer sections of the world's populations, and hence for the vast majority of mankind there is a still more pressing problem—that of hunger. Unhappily this problem has a much longer and more constant history and perhaps an even less promising future even than East-West tension and the atom question.

Despite the Welfare State and other manifestations of progress in a reformist world, poverty remains the main hallmark of Western and Russian society. Millions of workers in America must make wry faces at the conception of fantastic prosperity which non-Americans are led to hold. And how much more is poverty the lot of the millions of "non Europeans" in Asia, India, Africa and South and Central America? It is necessary to remember these facts from time to time in order to retain a sense of proportion, and also to try and gain more insight into the minds of the masses of underfed populations.

Progress Aggravates the Problem

Lord Simon of Wythenshawe drew attention recently to the significance of the fact that the world's populations increase by 30 millions every year, and quoted a journalist who wrote that "An extra hundred thousand persons turn out for dinner every day." The United Nations' Department of Social Affairs has recently published a study forecasting an increase in world population so vast that they envisage a general decline in the standard of living.

To a considerable extent this increase in population is due to advances in medicine. In India, for example, the virtual abolition of malaria by DDT has resulted in a population increment of five million every year. In general, as a result of medical advances, the trend over the past thirty years everywhere is for the expectation of life to increase. Hence the most humane kind of progress (in contrast to "advances" in industrialism or in military techniques) is contributing to the pressure of population on resources and to the maintenance and possible extension, in present circumstances, of poverty.

Lord Simon also drew attention to another trend—the fantastically increased rate of using up the world's resources. "Since the first world war the quantity of oil and coal used in the U.S.A. exceeded the total used throughout the entire world in all history before 1914.

American Anarchist Imprisoned

THE State continues to take its toll. The New York anarchist journal, *Individual Action*, reports that John Forbes, an American anarchist and I.W.W., has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment for refusing to register for military service.

Comrade Forbes enlisted in 1946 and served for twenty-one months. After his discharge he developed anarchist and pacifist views and became active in the Chicago area. He was also a contributor to anarchist and radical publications, including *Individual Action* and *The Industrial Worker*.

This savage sentence on the part of one of the so-called 'free nations of the world' should strengthen our resolve to continue the struggle against the State and its monstrous offspring—militarism. S.E.P.

Nature took perhaps 300 million years to build up the world's resources of coal and oil. We in our Golden Age are likely to use them up in 300 years. Each year we are consuming what nature took a million years to build. And when these resources are gone our Golden Age may end."

These two vignettes—humane and successful medical endeavour creating yet more poverty and misery, and the mad and thoughtless spending of natural resources—may well provide a more finally depressing picture than that conjured by the hydrogen bomb.

Control of Population in India

We have drawn attention to the Indian Government's attempt to control its population by a birth control programme. Lord Simon is right to praise Nehru as "certainly the first Prime Minister in the world who has said: 'We should be a much advanced nation if our population was about half what it is.'" The officially supported Birth Control programme is open to all sorts of criticism, but it remains an official admission of the existence of a problem of world magnitude. How vast indeed is shown obliquely by the voting of £500,000 by the Government of India "to begin a nation-wide campaign to help the women in the 500,000 villages to plan their families". A pound a village.

At the same time governments plan to increase food production. In revolutionary journals such attempts are often criticised (rightly) by contrasting the relatively small sums voted for this kind of

development compared with the sums spent on defence, as arms allocations are universally called. But a much more serious criticism is that vast units like nations cannot successfully plan either birth control or production campaigns. They have to be broken down into much smaller units first. Even then there is a world of difference between a small free community planning and executing the work of producing its own food supply and a "plan for agriculture" emanating from a central administrative body. There is a similar difference between asking a community to give up breeding from sheer despair at making children for a life of inevitable poverty, and a small and free community raising its children with a responsible attitude bred of the ability to control their own lives and future. A nation cannot think, but a small independent village can.

Lord Simon qualified his pessimistic description, quoted above, of the break-neck spending of world resources by adding "I must admit that several peers in the recent debate were optimistic that science would solve all our troubles for ever". Even if one could share the optimism of these peers, anarchists would still feel that to look on the problem in this way was quite wrong. One cannot go on looking to "science" to solve these problems. Men who have responsibility for their own lives may use science but they do so in the light of their own judgment and experience—which is a very different thing from the present-day conceptions of the ways to "apply" science. In all these matters the same conception is at work: that of placing responsibility for their own affairs within the hands of a small but independent population. In such a way not only may science be used, but the creative ability, such as each man possesses, may be brought into play as a vast cumulative store of energy for solving social problems.

This SHOULD Concern You!

IT is three years this month since FREEDOM became a weekly, and the last time we troubled our readers with our financial problems was last September. We look upon these as two noteworthy achievements, but which are too good to last! Yes, we are going to speak about FREEDOM's finances and we ask all those readers who value our journal not to stop reading now, for what we shall have to say concerns FREEDOM's future in a most vital way.

BY keeping careful records of the allocation of moneys received by FREEDOM PRESS we have been able to ascertain that last year the loss incurred in the publication of FREEDOM amounted to £15 (\$42) each issue, or at the rate of £780 (\$2,200) per annum. This is rather more than our previous estimates, but even so it does not seem to us a mean achievement, that of publishing a weekly journal such as ours in which no space is given to paid advertisements and to make a loss of less than £1,000 a year. And we do not think it is asking too much of our sympathetic readers to expect them to "subsidise" us to that extent. On the whole our readers are more generous in their criticism and their praise than in their material assistance!

WE realise that our paper is read for a whole variety of reasons, and readers' attitudes to its continued publication will vary accordingly. We know there are those who read it avidly each week in the hope of "catching us out" on something or other or of discovering a "bourgeois heresy" of which they had long suspected us of being guilty. There are others, such as the gentleman from the "Inferno Press",

who took the trouble to write last week, all the way from San Francisco, to tell us that one of the reasons he reads FREEDOM is "to be amused". Other amusing pastimes in which some of our readers engage is the counting of mis-prints (and knowing this, how could we disappoint them?)

Naturally we do not expect that what we have to say will be heeded by these ulcerated little McCarthys. But we do believe that there are sufficient sympathetic readers, people who consider that it is important that our work should continue, for a serious appeal not to go unheeded. And this is the position. At the end of 1953 our debts amounted to nearly £700 (\$2,000). Against this we had more than £500 owing to us of which, unfortunately, £150 had to be written off as bad debts. Also, of course, we had added to our stock of literature three important titles all of which were selling steadily but too slowly.

To ease the burden of these debts we have raised two loans this year (amounting to £300) as a means of satisfying our more pressing creditors but the situation is only temporarily eased, and unless something positive happens during this breathing space, we shall again be pressed by our creditors, but this time without the possibility of staving them off by raising further loans.

Now, so far this year, our records show that though we had received nearly 300 more letters up to April 30 than during the corresponding period last year, the actual cash received is £243 less. This is made up as follows: FREEDOM sales and subs—£25; F.P. literature—£28; Special Appeal—£41; Book Mailing Service—£149. Taken over the whole year this drop in income would re-

Balance Sheet of a Trade Union

WHAT a long way the Trade Union movement has travelled since the time of the Chicago martyrs! The sorry balance sheet was presented at the opening session of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, C.I.O. fortieth annual convention held in Atlantic City last week by the Union's president, Mr. Potofsky to an audience consisting of 1,500 "impressed" delegates representing 385,000 workers and 200 clothing manufacturers, who were the Union's guests!

If one looks upon those 1,500 delegates as shareholders then our description of the president's report as a sorry balance sheet is ill-chosen for he announced that the Union was worth more than \$250 million (£84,000,000)! The "success" story of the A.C.W.A. was thus told by Mr. Potofsky:

"We were a penniless, obscure organization forty years ago," he said. "We had to borrow money to furnish our first offices, composed of three rooms in Union Square in New York City."

Today the union controls eight insurance funds and two insurance companies (all self-managed), with reserves of more than \$108,000,000; two banks worth more than \$90,000,000; housing developments valued at more than \$23,000,000.

Among them the international union and its numerous locals and joint boards in this country and Canada have assets in the neighbourhood of \$23,000,000. Another \$6,000,000 to \$10,000,000 is invested in buildings, health centres and other properties, bringing the Amalgamated's total worth to well over \$250,000,000. In fact, some sources believe the figure may be nearer to \$300,000,000.

Two years ago, the last time a comparable estimate was made, the figure was \$200,000,000.

Like any responsible organization with large amounts of money on its hands, the union pursues a cautious and conservative investment policy. Of the total assets of the international—figured at over \$8,000,000—more than \$5,249,000 has been put into United States Government

securities and \$680,000 in Dominion of Canada bonds.

Likewise the cradle-to-grave insurance program of the union is administered with a careful regard to security. The enormous reserves are invested in United States bonds only. Speculative investments are not countenanced.

"We are not fussy," Mr. Potofsky said. "We think that nothing but the United States Government bonds are good enough for our funds."

Besides the cost of its day to day operation (these figures were not included in the press report) the union spent more than \$1,200,000 in the last two years on contributions to health drives and institutions, campaigns for the general welfare, educational activities and support of union members. Several large gifts were made to aid rehabilitation and development projects overseas, particularly in Israel and Italy.

Well satisfied with the state of the Company (sorry, the Union) the shareholders (sorry the delegates) went on to attack the Eisenhower Big-Business administration, which is an obvious thing to do if your Union votes for the Democratic ticket, and blame it for the growth of McCarthyism which, said Mr. Potofsky was encouraged because he was believed to be a political asset to the Republican party. That a major political party should descend to this level is a matter of deep shame."

The union president charged that Senator McCarthy had "done more for the Communists than they could ever do for themselves in this country." Further, he declared that McCarthyism was "an attack on the American tradition of liberalism and fair play just as communism attacks this tradition from another direction."

As to objectives, Mr. Potofsky urged the election next fall of candidates "dedicated to the economy of abundance, who believe in labor's right to organize and bargain collectively, who are pledged to civil liberties and who will put this country back on the track to full production, full employment, prosperity and peace."

And so the 200 manufacturers, guests of the convention, slipped off in their 1955 Cadillacs, to reassure their friends and co-directors that all was well with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. That so long as they had that 250,000,000 dollars mill-stone round their necks they had nothing to worry from agitators and anarchists in their ranks. Why, the A.C.W.A. had almost as big a stake in the capitalist system as they themselves! LIBERTARIAN.

present an actual cash loss of £450 or another £9 a week to the present loss of £15 p.w. on FREEDOM. If this present trend in F.P.'s income continues then obviously we shall not be able to carry on and it is this fact that we must bring to the notice of interested readers in good time; in three months' time it may be too late.

IN the first place there is the question of promptness in renewing subscriptions and settling bills. There are some subscribers who seem to be under the mistaken impression that F.P. is in a better position to wait than the Postmaster General or the Collector of Taxes. This is not so! If therefore you have received a subscription reminder or an account for bundles of FREEDOM or literature and have not dealt with them please do so without further delay.

Secondly, we need more support for FP publications from the readers of FREEDOM. The sales of Voline's *Nineteen-Seventeen* for instance (which has so far only been advertised in FREEDOM) have been pathetically low—less than 50 copies, in spite of the fact that this is an important book containing much material which is new to libertarians. If such lack of response continues we shall obviously be discouraged from undertaking the publication of more large-scale works in the near future.

Thirdly, a not inconsiderable source of income for our work has hitherto come from our Mail Order Service. As the figures given above show this side of our activities has suffered considerably during the first four months of the year. May we remind readers that we can supply any new book that is in print

promptly and welcome any enquiries for out-of-print second-hand titles. By taking advantage of this Service you are at the same time helping F.P. to carry on.

Fourthly, though there is a small improvement in FREEDOM sales over last year we are still far from having enough readers to pay our way. Are we really to believe that our readers who enjoy FREEDOM have no friends who might also be interested in becoming subscribers if they knew about the paper? We need these new readers; we need comrades who are prepared to do street-selling regularly; we need at least a thousand new readers, if only to avoid these periodical financial crises.

Fifthly, and in the meantime we must draw attention to our *Special Appeal* fund. To meet the loss on production costs of FREEDOM we shall need a minimum of £750 this year. If the present rate is maintained we shall barely reach the £400 mark. We thank those friends who regularly contribute and appeal to those who never do to help us reach the figure aimed at. The more contributors the smaller the task. We have indicated some of the ways you can help, so if you value FREEDOM, do something now.

We are not exaggerating when we say that the whole future of the paper depends on the response to this appeal during the coming weeks.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS is little read to-day; and yet *The Science of Society* remains one of the classics of libertarian literature. It presents a philosophical case for the freedom of the individual from all external coercion in a more capable manner than many of the commonly read Anarchist books. Andrews maintained that the pernicious influences which have so far prevented the harmonious blending of individual and social instincts, of the individual and society, are authority and government.

Andrews was a linguist of amazing ability, and was reputed to be master of thirty-two languages, including Hebrew, Sanskrit, and Chinese; he was also a spelling reformer and invented a universal language, precursor of Esperanto and Volapük, which he called Alwato. Andrews is frequently spoken of sneeringly as "an eccentric philosopher"; it is true that he is frequently obscure—deliberately so in many cases. "The Basic Outline of Universology" is a vast, chaotic volume, difficult to read, but Andrews was simply a religious and economic radical born years before his time. He became increasingly interested in philosophy and sociology, and during his later years perfected his scheme of "Universology", with its ideal society called "Pantarchy", which is really Anarchy. Andrews was married in New Orleans in 1835. Removing to Houston, Texas, in 1839, within three years he rose (perhaps "stooped" would be a better word) to an outstanding position at the bar. However, he became very unpopular because of his fearless opposition to slavery. In 1843 his house was mobbed, and he, with his wife and infant son, managed to escape only by a dangerous twenty-mile night drive across flooded prairies. He immediately went to England, in the endeavour to raise the money necessary for the purchase of the slaves in the form of a loan from Great Britain to Texas. Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston and other influential men were, at first, favourably inclined towards his project, but dropped it when Andrews was repudiated by Ashbel Smith, the Texan *chargé d'affaires*.

In the first part of *The Science of Society*, published in 1851, *The True Constitution of Government in the Sovereignty of the Individual*, Andrews writes: "Governments have hitherto been established, and have apologised for the unseemly fact of their existence, from the necessity of establishing and maintaining order; but order has never yet been maintained, revolutions and violent outbreaks have never yet been ended, public peace and harmony have never yet been secured, for the precise reason that the organic, essential and indestructible natures of the objects which it was attempted to reduce to order, have always been constricted and infringed by every such attempt." Anarchists maintain that the State is at present playing a very abnormal part in the social

Stephen Pearl Andrews

life of so-called civilized nations, interfering with things which brook no interference, undertaking the management of things it knows nothing about, and assuming tasks for which it has not the least fitness. Disaster and failure follow its footsteps; the history of the State is the history of human oppression and intellectual disfranchisement. It is an engine of destruction, constitutionally incapable of constructive functions, because it is an artificial mechanism imposed on men from above by some rulers, and never pursues any other ends but to defend and make secure the interests of privileged minorities in society.

Andrews is never tired of showing that individuality is the essential law of order. "When every individual particle of matter obeys the laws of its own attraction, and comes into that precise position, and moves in that precise direction which its own inherent individualities demand, the harmony of the spheres is evolved. By that means only natural classification, natural order, natural organisation, natural harmony and agreement is attained. Every scheme or arrangement which is based upon the principle of thwarting the inherent affinities of the individual monads which compose any system or organism is essentially vicious, and the organisation is false—a mere bundle of revolutionary and antagonistic atoms. It is time that human system builders should begin to discover this universal truth. It is self-evident. Objects bound together contrary to their nature, must and will seek to rectify themselves by breaking the bonds which confine them, while those which come together by their own affinities remain quiescent and content."—*The Science of Society*. The moralist will bid us observe un-

swervingly the law. He makes a virtue of routine. His claim is that we must act by principle; to do which we must attribute an unvarying value to our actions, and always cling to the same qualities as though they had at all times the same meaning. His very first step is the sacrilegious attempt to prevent us feeling that the parts which make up the machinery of our life are subject to a delicate and incessant shifting, so that the performance allotted at a given moment to a given part will, at another moment, devolve on a different one whose function has, perhaps, been directly opposite. What does the experience of life teach us? What do we learn by watching many men, seeing many countries, tasting of many events, bitter and sweet? Just this: that the way we thought right was only one of many ways that lead to the same end; the ideas we thought necessary to the working or private or public economy, can be replaced without disadvantage by quite contrary or different ideas; the customs we deemed as sacred are local fashions; the conditions without which we fancied life unbearable can make way to conditions no less rich in vital stuff. From beginning to end, our history, if we have any, is one of emancipation from the tyranny of forms. The smooth, regular and unobstructed running of the social machine requires the annihilation and removal of the State, this immense wreck, which so many are seeking to remodel and reconstruct for the purpose of adapting it to new uses; but the State is not, as Socialists would have it, a social institution administered in an anti-social way. It is an anti-social institution, administered in the only way an anti-social institution can be administered, and by the kind of person who, in

the nature of things, is best adapted to such service. To attempt to cure society by State medicine is to intensify its suffering and make its recovery more and more doubtful; the deeper the State with its countless agencies penetrates into the sphere of activity of social life, the more its leaders, "the professional criminal class", succeed in changing men into mindless automatons of their will, the more inevitably will [it] become a vast prison in which at last there will be no breath of freedom. The State must die, if society is to live; men must cease to obey, if they are to be free.

"I assert that it is not only possible and rationally probable, but that it is rigidly consequential upon the right understanding of the constitution of man that all government, in the sense of involuntary restraint imposed upon the individual, or substantially all, must finally cease, and along with it the whole complicated paraphernalia and trumpery of Kings, Emperors, Presidents, Legislatures and Judiciary," writes Stephen Pearl Andrews. The Anarchist revolution is the only true revolution; it is the only revolution which will be beneficial to the people, because it will destroy at the root every vestige of Statehood and authority and will annihilate and State traditions, institutions and classes. The policeman's bludgeon, by which authority supersedes justice; the fantastic uniforms of our kings and soldiers, hopeless substitute for manhood and courage; the wigs of our learned judges and men of the law, vain semblance of wisdom—all these and more shall be pitched into huge bonfires that will glow as the rising sun through the streets of our cities, and at which the and hungry souls. "When mankind poor shall warm their half-starved bodies graduate out of the period of brute force, that man will be the greatest hero and conqueror who levies the heaviest tribute

of homage by excellence in any department of human performance. The avenues of distinction will not then, as now, be open only to the few."—*The Science of Society*. Andrews does not claim that the mere abolition of the State would instantly result in the world's regeneration, but he maintains that nothing short of such abolition will be sufficient to enable those factors and forces upon which the world's regeneration *does* depend to come into full play. Men of the law want a formula out of which all others can be spun; this is a mistake into which they are always falling. They want a supreme principle whence authority flows. Wherever, and under whatever form, I meet this despot, he is my enemy. If you think that at least on practical grounds he is invulnerable, and that the principle of morality must be bowed down to, you are mistaken. What you look upon as the necessary safeguard of mankind, the Anarchist considers the source of the greatest harm among them.

"If, now, Individuality is a universal law which must be obeyed if we would have order and harmony in any sphere, and, consequently, if we would have a true constitution of human government, then the absolute Sovereignty of the Individual necessarily results. The monads or atoms of which human society is composed are the individual men and women in it. They must be so disposed of, as we have seen; in order that society

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WE HAVE BEEN HERE BEFORE

The causes of the last war with Russia, overwhelmed by verbiage, and wrapped up in coatings of protocols and dispatches, at the time are now patent to the world. The independence of Turkey was menaced by the Czar, but France and England would have cared little if Turkey had been a power whose fate could affect in no degree the commerce, or the reputation of the allies. France, ever jealous of her prestige, was anxious to uphold the power of a nation and a name which, to the oriental, represents the force, intelligence, and civilization of Europe. England, with a growing commerce in the Levant, and with a prodigious empire nearer to the rising sun [Japan], could not permit the one to be absorbed and the other to be threatened by a most aggressive and ambitious State.

William Howard Russell,
(Times Correspondent)
'The British Expedition to the Crimea' (1877).

Theatre

The Facts of Life

Roger MacDougall first made his appearance in London with *MacAdam and Eve* in 1950. He has also written two very entertaining and worthwhile plays, *Escapade* and *The Gentle Gunman*, the action of which takes place on both sides of the frontier of Ulster, and its conflict is centred in the activities of some I.R.A. rebels in 1942. This new comedy, *The Facts of Life* (at the Duke of York's Theatre) is rather disappointing, however; although it provides an interesting and very amusing evening, it is too trivial and is not nearly such a good play as *Escapade*. Its principle character is a schoolboy. This reminds one that in early youth, as we contemplate our coming life, we are like children in a theatre before the curtain is raised, sitting there in high spirits and eagerly waiting for the play to begin. In childhood we expect, in youth demand, in manhood hope and in age beseech. Could we foresee it there are times when children might seem like innocent prisoners, condemned not to death, but to life, the jailer of the soul, and as yet all unconscious what that sentence means. In the last scene of Jean Anouilh's play, *Antigone*, that sets before the bar of humanity a picture of the whole inevitable degeneration that living in this world must incur, the broken Creon says: In a hurry to grow up, aren't you? PAGE: Oh yes, sir. CREON: I shouldn't be if I were you. Never grow up if you can help it.—This attitude towards life may seem too bitter, too pessimistic, but for how many, many of us is it the all too terrible truth? In this monstrous society childhood means humiliation and suffering: the child has no rights and no liberties: it is treated as the property of its immediate physical parents. In short, its condition is that which adults recognise as the most miserable and dangerous politically possible for themselves, namely, the condition of slavery. Those who maim and blind the souls of children (the most horrible of all crimes) are held up for our admiration as excellent parents; the conventional good father deliberately imposes himself on his son as a god, and takes advantage of childish credulity and fear to persuade his son that what he approves of is right and what he disapproves of is wrong. In nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, parents instil into their children three bad things: the terror of public opinion, and, flowing from that as a fountain, the desire of wealth and applause. However, *The Facts of Life* is not concerned with these sad, tragic and horrible aspects of childhood: it is a very light comedy. Allan Peters, an actor, and his wife are very anxious about their fourteen-years-old son, Jonathan, because he absents himself from home twice a week from tea-time till supper-time. When they try to get the truth from him, and question him with

much earnestness, Jonathan always insists that he only goes walking, because he likes it and it is good for his health: although according to his school reports he is hopeless at every subject except mathematics, he shows himself a master at the art of deflecting questions. We are expecting an extraordinary explanation of the boy's mysterious disappearances, but it is not really very interesting to learn that he has been using his mathematical genius in order to calculate, almost invariably accurately, the winners of dog race meetings. The play does keep going—but only just. It will be seen that this material, if amusing, is rather thin for three acts. Jonathan's mother and her relations want him to become a cricketer, when he grows up, to keep up the family tradition: his father and grandmother want him, for the same reason, to become an actor: but

all their hopes are shattered, because he is "a stutterer and a butterfingers", and has no interest in either the theatre or the cricket-pitch. How many people have grown embittered and frustrated, twisted their true personalities, wasted and ruined their lives and their opportunities for real happiness and self-development, through moulding themselves to fulfil their parents' ambition for them, and conforming to their conceptions of how one ought to live. When they learn that Jonathan has made a fortune, they are all delighted, and the father says at the end: "We're all going to the dogs." *The Facts of Life* is obviously not intended to have social or philosophical significance, but this ending rather suggests approval of the materialistic aims of the acquisitive society. The whole comedy turns on the disarming ingenuousness of Lance Secretan as the boy. D.M.M.

Film Review

All the World Loves a Rebel

IT is one of the myths of English life (one of those myths that have more power than any truth) that the English are a rebellious people, so when Ealing Studios show the English—or Scots in revolt against authority everyone takes it as being true. Thus we have the success of such films as "Passport to Pimlico" where a London suburb declares its independence, "Whisky Galore" where a cargo of whisky is disposed of under the noses of the customs authorities and "Laxdale Hall" where a Scots village resists all attempts to dispose of it as redundant. Now comes another film, "Conflict of Wings" from Group Three which makes the same point—although a little less skillfully—and succeeds by its appeal to the rebellious nature of cinema-goers in general and Britons in particular. The film tells the story of a Norfolk village whose bird sanctuary is threatened with taking over by the R.A.F. as a rocket-range. Various legal expedients are resorted to, to stop this, all are of no avail until the villagers *en masse* march out on to the range as the planes are swooping to fire. The pilots see the people and withdraw. This is not quite so revolutionary as it would seem since the only reason for wanting the withdrawal is a regard for the birds, one seagull called Perdita being the particular recipient of cloying commiseration. There is also a local myth that the birds are the reincarnated souls of dead Roman children and the sanctuary is called 'The Island of Children' for that reason. Thus the proposed rocket range is not only cruelty to our dumb friends but blasphemy against honoured myths of our Roman friends. Also it is illegal for the R.A.F. to take the island since although it is not a registered bird-sanctuary, the eel-catcher has not got undis-

puted rights, the island is church property (given to the church for assistance in putting down Jack Cade's rebellion!)

So the makers of the film are able to put over the point of objection without the villagers breaking the law or bringing in any obscenities such as the idea of peace through resistance to militarism and authority. To make assurance doubly sure the R.A.F. officers are given a marvellous build-up, the colour process is very flattering to them and they make speeches full of dark hints, or rhapsodise about the glories of flight. At the end of the film they reveal that they are going to Malaya hence it is necessary for them to learn rocket firing very quickly, hence they need the Island of Children.

It is a pity that the obvious great dramatic values of conflict between mechanistic

authority and the integral life of the village people had to be softened by concessions to various susceptibilities. The requisitioning of land by the various armed services is a permanent and growing problem with its incessant inroads upon agricultural land, dispossession of wild life and beauty spots, and its totally disruptive effect upon community life. The only ultimately effective answer of any population lies in mass non-violent resistance as practised by Welsh Nationalists a few years ago, or as by the Irish against the imposition by the authorities of a new postmistress (see "Battle of Balinglass" by Earl).

Group Three has done many good films. "Conflict of Wings" with a little more care and a few less concessions could have been one of them. J.R.

MAT KAVANAGH

Louis Adeane writes:

He used to come over from Southend occasionally and stay a week-end, and his son Sean (if I remember rightly) was for a short time a community member. Mat used to cut the communal hair. He was well-known to the anti-war ILP-ers, PPU-ers, etc. of the district, for he used to speak on Southend sea-front most Sunday mornings. He was also a fairly constant member of the Southend Forum, which was a sort of club, the associates meeting once a week in a small, dirty room in a poor part of the town, for a lecture and talk. Mat was the speaker more than once. I suppose his true home was in such places, and on the outdoor platform. The difficulty in writing about him is that he is memorable for what he was rather than for what he did.

What he was is particularly hard to express, because he was so unselfish. He appeared to be the romanticised Agitator incarnate. All egoistic peculiarities were taken into his rôle; he was like an actor completely immersed in his part; perhaps it was the part or performance which impressed the memory—and such a part, being traditional and familiar, could be described in a paragraph. What the inner man was, only a close friend could know. I think his gentleness (which made him seem more tolerant than he really was?) and generosity were individual modifications of the rôle; such memorable characteristics as his interrogative "mmm?", with a slow smile after it and a soft downward movement of the hand, were cast for him, as it were. But perhaps these distinctions are specious; he would probably have thought so.

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PROFESSIONAL STATUS

IN the nineteenth century the revolutionary was a figure of a certain type which has remained in imagination to this day. He was a man holding with passionate energy certain ideas which dominated his life. He expressed these ideas in his writings whether of an agitational day to day nature published in one of the many revolutionary journals or in more permanent theoretical works. And he also expressed them in action at certain specific historical moments when revolutionary movements were on the move. Both Marx and Bakunin were revolutionaries of this type. Their strength lay in the power of their writings and in the personal influence which they wielded over like-minded but less outstanding men and women.

It will be seen that Marx conforms less well to this general picture than Bakunin or Kropotkin or Malatesta, and it is true that the Marxists tended to identify themselves increasingly with particular political parties which sought power by capturing men's votes and developed typical party machines for manipulating and maintaining such power. Thus Lenin was already further advanced in this way as leader of the Bolshevik wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party than Marx was as leader of the International Working Men's Association. The older type of revolutionary, exemplified by Bakunin, continued to appear only amongst the anarchist movement. Such men were Makhno in the Russian revolution or Durruti in the Spanish movement.

Marx and Bakunin are sometimes referred to as "professional revolutionaries", though the term is much more applicable to Lenin (to whom it is of course also commonly applied in fact). But since 1917 the conception of the professional revolutionary has received such impetus and development, that Marx and Bakunin, by comparison are seen as possessing unquestionable amateur status!

Consider, for example, the life of Chou En-lai the Foreign Minister in the Chinese Communist Government. (But one might equally consider that of Marshal Tito, of Earl Browder, or of the German Communist leaders).

Chou En-lai was the son of well-to-do parents who entered the radical movement as a student after an education on the Western pattern. He was imprisoned for a year at the age of 21 and went abroad to Paris afterwards. There he was a founder of the Chinese Communist Party abroad and was soon in Moscow receiving a special training. By the age of 30 he had returned to China as assistant to the Russian General Bluecher who was military adviser to Chiang Kai-Shek, then Commander-in-Chief to Dr. Sun Yat Sen. (The present Viet Minh leader was assistant at the same time to the Russian political representative at Canton).

Chou En-lai was put in charge of organizing the workers of Shanghai for the uprising which was to hand over the city to the Kuo-Min-Tang in 1927. It was after this that Chiang Kai-Shek turned on the Communist Party and carried out the massacre of workers which earned him the nickname of "the Butcher of the Chinese Revolution". Chou En-lai the same year organized the unsuccessful uprising in Canton under the strict direction of Moscow. From then onwards he has been the Moscow representative with the Chinese Communists, though his survival in that rôle is probably due to his joining forces with the less orthodox, more self-reliant, and therefore probably successful Mao Tse Tung who founded his power on the revolution-

ary potential of the peasants. (There is a parallel here with Tito).

Such men as Chou En-lai abound in the Communist insurrectionary movement. Paid, trained and directed by Moscow, they are real professionals, though the term revolutionary is hardly applicable to men whose outlook could scarcely be further from that of Malatesta or Bakunin, or even of Marx himself. Without anything of the moral structure of the true revolutionary they are the servants of an apparatus. To the Communist sympathizer they are the "realists" who recognize that to get anything done you have to have such a machine and the funds to run it. The funds come from taxation of the Russian people. This outlook looks to the apparatus for strength where the older revolutionaries looked to the revolutionary possibilities of the peoples.

But the consequences of this professional subordination to an apparatus have been deadly to the revolutionary movements and have ended in the increasing enslavement of revolutionary peoples. Nor do the effects end there. For with the development of complicated powerful and efficient movement of subversion, the governments of the West have inevitably responded by building up a counter-apparatus of secret police, political police, supported by changes in the legal structure which have been utterly destructive of civil liberties.

Hence the true revolutionary figure, and the spontaneous revolutionary movements find themselves beset on the one hand by the professional "revolutionary" and the apparatus behind him, and on the other by the vastly increased police network. The consequences of Leninism have indeed exacted a high price from the suffering populations of the world. The doctrine of "professionalism", more than any other factor, has defeated the revolutionary tendency in an epoch rich with revolutionary possibilities. It has set the clock of human liberty back who knows how many decades.

The Absurdity of Catholic Anarchism

OBJECTIVE readers of George Woodcock's review (FREEDOM, April 24th) will be more interested in the wider implications of some of his comments than in his personal sympathy with Hennacy and the Catholic Worker group.

One may share Woodcock's respect for the individual struggle of a man against authority, but clearly Hennacy's self-styled title of Catholic-Anarchist is absurd, and implies that he is either not fully acquainted with anarchist ideas, or is ignorant of Catholic teachings as propagated by the Church.

There are several points arising out of the review however, which are fundamental to anarchism, and might be worth while discussing.

The first one is largely a matter of interpretation; I have always understood the "one man revolution" to mean the physical struggle of an individual standing alone against that which he opposes. This does not mean the same as Tolstoy's idea that "the revolution within each man is really the important and primary revolution"—a point of view with which most anarchists would agree. Is it not one of the basic tenets of anarchism that the revolution starts with the individual, and only then are we capable of carrying out and sustaining a struggle in co-operation with other men in the economic and social field.

Neither Tolstoy or Hennacy effected this "revolution within". This is surely what they precisely failed to do because of their inability to free themselves from an authoritarian idea, however much in both cases an attempt was made to give it another name.

This is one of the reasons why anarchists "snipe" at the Catholic Worker, and will no doubt continue to criticise its absurdities if necessary in spite of the reproaches from certain quarters whose only answer to a logical argument is the use of the new swear word "undignified". There is a tendency among some pacifists to shut their eyes to all sorts of nonsense so long as the people perpetuating them are opposed to war. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the pacifist movement as a whole is so ineffectual.

The observation that "everywhere there are Catholic priests getting on with mutual aid jobs and doing things Anarchists should be doing" reminds one that it has always been a policy of the Church to aid the poor whenever it can—though not to abolish poverty. The

reasons for this policy cannot be gone into fully here. Suffice to say that quite a large proportion of the Church's income is derived from the poor. It is rather like getting the benefit of a "free" health service paid for out of taxes we have already contributed to the State.

It is true that Father Pierre for instance, organised quite an extensive campaign to collect money and goods from people outside of the Church. What support however, would anarchists have got for such a campaign? There are very few rich anarchists who could salve their consciences by throwing a crumb to the poor. Further, the resources of wealth at the disposal of the Church are enormous; why don't some of the energetic priests commandeer some of this? Because, among other reasons, the return in terms of advertising would not make it worth while.

Most anarchists I know of are frustrated because of their inability to put their 'mutual aid' ideas into practice but they are not free in the sense that they are bound by the limits of economics. I hope G.W. will show how it can be done however, by setting us an example.

On the question of the State, Woodcock's view that as long as Hennacy puts up a jolly "good fight against the State" he does not feel like being self-righteous about the 'eccentricity of his banner' is rather dangerous. One is reminded of the famous statement made by Churchill that he would shake hands with anyone prepared to kill Germans. In other words Woodcock is using the kind of tactical arguments he has so righteously condemned on other occasions in the columns of FREEDOM. One recognises that when the argument about the State is applied to Hennacy it is relatively harmless, but if such a sentiment were adopted as a principle, G.W. would find on his side, most Tories as well as the Catholic Church who will always criticise the State when it takes too much power into its hands, thus depriving Mother Church of its rightful position!

Incidentally, is one justified in asking what Hennacy thinks of the famous pronouncement of the workers' Pope, Leo XIII, when he appealed to all "princes and rulers, not to refuse the Church's valuable aid . . . but on the contrary to unite themselves more closely with an institution that is the source of so much good for States?"

In conclusion, there does seem to be a

tendency among 'libertarians' in their dislike of the State to underestimate the effects of religious dogma on the minds of men. They argue that religion is a personal matter, and only the concern of the individual man. No Catholic priest would agree with this, and certainly no Catholic who does not submit to authority on the question of dogma would be tolerated. On the question of social behaviour, in exceptional cases, the Church might yield for reasons of expediency.

One cannot enter into a discussion of Christianity and Anarchism within the scope of these few remarks. It is enough to reiterate for the moment that Christianity, as interpreted by the organised Churches, is a life-denying and authoritarian creed and has no affinity with anarchism.

Intelligent theologians are well aware of this, and less harm would be done to our revolutionary principles if some of the adherents to anarchism had the same understanding. R.M.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS

Continued from p. 2

may be harmonic, that the destiny of each shall be controlled by his or her own individualities of taste, conscience, intellect, capacities and will. But man is a being endowed with consciousness. He, and no one else, knows the determining force of his own attractions. No one else can decide for him, and hence Individuality can only become the law of human action by securing to each individual the sovereign determination of his own judgment and of his own conduct, in all things with no right reserved either of punishment or censure on the part of anybody else whomsoever; and this is what is meant by the Sovereignty of the Individual, limited only by the ever-accompanying condition, resulting from the equal Sovereignty of all others, that the onerous consequences of his actions shall be assumed by himself.—*The Science of Society*. My ideal, whatever it may be, has no business to interfere with my neighbour's. Nor is the spiritual life of the community to be sought in the conformity of all to the same type; it must be sought in mutual intelligence. Goodness in our relations with others consists with discovering them, and, if need be, for them, the purity of the design hidden or gradually fashioning itself in them. True sympathy is not reciprocal congratulation on a common ideal, together with the goodwill of like loves like; true sympathy is fine perception.

The writings of Stephen Pearl Andrews were valuable propaganda for the cause of philosophical anarchy. He summed up the justice and sanity of anarchy against the tyranny and violence of all usurped authority in these words: "When all men shall be content to govern themselves merely, then, and not till then, will 'The True Constitution of Government' begin to be installed."

In *The Basic Outline of Universology*, he writes: "SOCIAL INTEGRALISM is the Theoretical, and PANTARCHISM the Practical Co-Ordination, Combination and Co-Operation of a true Social Organisation." "The Ultimate and Harmonious Order of Society must rest precisely upon this BASIS of Individual Freedom, or must in other words be compatible with it. Louis Napoleon has uttered the great phrase, 'Contented Nationalities as the basis of national harmony'. The greater conception still is *Contented Individualities as the basis of the Order and Harmony of Society*."

When persons voluntarily unite for the purpose of carrying out a common design, or supplying a want equally felt by all, little difficulty is experienced in maintaining harmony among the sovereign members of the association. As long as one finds it to his pleasure or interest to be a unit of a particular body, he is certain to zealously guard it against dissolution or partial derangement. Co-Operation is unity of action, springing from inner conviction, which finds expression in the vital solidarity of all. Only Anarchism can free us from the curse of the political machine which feeds on the slavery, sweat and blood of its victims. Whether you are rich or whether you are poor, whoever you are and wherever you are, you have an enemy—a terrible and inexorable enemy that is starving your soul—and your enemy is "the king of beasts"—the State.

Stephen Pearl Andrews died in 1886. Most of his energy during the years he lived in New York was given to the cause of Free Thought; he was a prominent member of the Liberal Club and active in the early days of the Rationalist magazine, the *Truth Seeker*. D.M.M.

What Price Salvation Now?

GEOFFREY WILLIAMSON, the author of "Inside Buchmanism, has just revealed (*Tribune*, 7/5/54) how pressure was brought to bear on him and on a firm of publishers in an effort to suppress the book. Moral Rearmament like most religious bodies resents critical comment or objective judgment being passed on it. Originally this sect founded by Dr. Buchman was known as the Oxford Group Movement. It compromised itself before the last war by support for Hitler and then it conveniently changed its name. Besides a Christianity full of high moral purpose its main belief is in the value of confessing one's faults in the group. In addition M.R.A. inculcates reactionary political ideas, providing an ideology for bewildered capitalists. Men with power and influence are deliberately proselytised, so big businessmen and trade union leaders are especial targets. At Caux in Switzerland the movement has a settlement where likely converts are singled out for an intensive treatment of persuasion and Christian brotherhood.

Meanwhile at Harringay Arena, Billy Graham is busy applying the methods of Hollywood and high-powered salesmanship to the cause of evangelism. His technique is to create a highly emotional atmosphere by oratory and hymn-singing until under pressure of exhortation large numbers are 'saved'. It would be interesting to know how many of Billy Graham's converts stay 'saved'. Apart from his publicity methods Graham has nothing new to offer, merely the old revivalism and a naive acceptance of the American way of life. That adult men and women in a civilised country are prepared to adopt these outworn, unrealistic beliefs but even more surprising these modern missionaries live very comfortably in the best hotels and ride around in powerful cars while none of their followers so much as question the rightness of this.

Whether or not religious experience can be considered valid a study of Christianity shows a development from the

religion of an oppressed minority to one sponsored and supported by the rulers. The idea of spiritual revolution has been replaced by humility and obedience to authority. The Nineteenth Century 'gods' of progress and science have failed. Two world wars and the hydrogen bomb have finished them off. Faith in civilisation proved false and the mental confusion that resulted left a vacuum that the preachers seek to fill with their quack panaceas. The Western World faced by the threat of Communism is totally lacking in beliefs and values on which to base its opposition. From America comes the attempt to enlist Christianity as the ideology of capitalism in the struggle for power.

Of course the labels Christian and Communist in this rivalry should not be taken at their face-value. They provide the opportunity for the propagandists to ladle out a number of pre-digested ideas to fool the simple-minded folk who are not prepared to think for themselves. It is basically an economic struggle between groups of power-seekers. The real fight, which underlies the more spectacular one, is that of the individual against the State. Oppressive laws, taxes and war-making all injure the individual, who is damaged by his ruler's follies and the State's stranglehold on him. Man's aims must be freedom and international brotherhood. These can never be gained by means of God or Master. F.T.

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THE STATIC SOCIETY

IN reply to Doug Wilson and M. A. Leadbitter I must point out that I do not advocate going back to the past. But I suggest that we can learn from the past. Our civilisation, instead of accepting the gifts of science that benefitted it and rejecting those that did not, has tended to swallow industrialisation whole. This is probably due in part to the fact that European society had lost much of its communal life before the industrial revolution took place. The industrial revolution introduced, for the first time in history so far as we know, the concept of Progress, according to which not merely was humanity to do everything bigger, better, more efficiently, and faster than ever before, but that this was inevitable, and anyone who opposed or pointed out the dangers of this was a sort of traitor. It became axiomatic that this technical advance was for the good of humanity, or it would be in the long run. Unfortunately the rush of scientific development caused many to overlook the needs of human beings.

It seems to me that human needs consist of the following: Creative and satisfying work, a satisfactory sex-life, a community to belong to, and sufficient food and clothing. Life should not be all play of course, but it should not be all work either. Now the excessive industrialisation existing in our society frustrates all these needs. What is more it could not run at all without authority. Our great megapolitan societies could not run on anarchist lines; they are too complex. The primitive communal societies may, as they exist at present, be full of superstition and authoritarianism, priests and witch-doctors, etc. But generally they are far more libertarian than anything we know, and their organisation is not incompatible with anarchism. I certainly do not advocate that we do away with all machines; we should develop a society in which they can play their part as the servants of man. At present they are his masters. We can only build an anarchist society by studying primitive societies in which the community is still a reality. These societies with all their faults gratify human needs better than our own as a rule. I do not maintain that these societies are Utopias, but there is no doubt that they provide for their members things that our society does not. Things that are more important than television or spaceships, in my opinion.

The Noble Savage is a reality. He is not as noble as some of his admirers would like perhaps, but he is to be preferred to the all-too-numerous ignoble products of our civilisation. I admit without shame to being unadventurous. I do not think that the majority of people are very fond of any but the mildest adventures either. But in the free society those who wished to explore space could do so. I am sure however that they would constitute a very small minority. The trouble is that at present the whole of our Western civilisation is engaged on a great adventure, the end of which no one can foresee for certain, but which does not seem to be very inviting. Into this adventure we are all dragged willy-nilly because the scientists hold the power. This may well be the result of an authoritarian social system, but such rapid progress must have serious dangers even in an anarchist society. After all, private property and the State were the outcome of technical advance, I suppose.

Previous civilisations have advanced much more slowly than we do to-day. In the East until recently progress was extremely slow. New inventions came

gradually into use. Maybe the result is that these countries do not have much say in world affairs, as Comrade Leadbitter says, but since having a say means having sufficient military might to make oneself feared I do not think this is an argument against my thesis.

Comrade Leadbitter writes: "Man is an animal who thrives on experiment. If he becomes satisfied with his environment and no longer wishes to advance in any way, he withers." But all over the world there exist today communities that have not advanced much over thousands of years, and still survive into our present era. Their inhabitants are healthy

and as happy as human beings can be in this imperfect world. I think that we have more than enough scientific inventions to make the good life within the reach of all. I do not say that we should now call a halt. I do not believe that it would be good thing to try to stop all change. But I do think that it would be desirable to go more slowly, to try and think out in advance just what each new line of research might lead to before rushing headlong into it. I would feel safer in a world where there was no atomic energy, even if it were an anarchist world.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Letter from Holland

The crux of Europe's problem is: to avoid a Third World War. In comparison with this, all other questions are but second rate.

—MAURICE DUVERGER.

This recommendation was given as early as September, 1951, not only in France and the Netherlands, but elsewhere. Notwithstanding it is perceptible that generally little is done to comply with it, as we see that armament and war preparations are still being forced ahead to greater extent and one can perceive that this activity is obvious in obedience to the Will of a Master, who can talk cleverly about liberty and democracy, yet demands liberty for self-interest.

★

There was an election recently. Of the ten parties that participated, a small party, the "Socialist Union", is the only one with clear, correct conception of socialism and its purpose.

The big parties do not aim at peace and universal disarmament. Instead, they strive and act to maintain the status quo. The public at large does not know. Ignorance is its characteristic. It cannot discriminate between right and wrong; judgment is superficial; it is satisfied with nice promises and hot air stuff. On account of the ignorance of the majority, who cannot choose the right candidate and his programme, the chaotic condition is to continue.

Furthermore we observe that in the cities and provinces (counties) where the population is predominantly Roman Catholic, the "Catholic People's Party" carries the most votes, whereas the "P.v.d.A." (Labour Party) has obtained the majority votes in the cities and provinces (counties), predominantly Protestant and liberal.

This contradiction should make us think. We can conclude therefrom, that the majority of people regard what was

considered good and right by ancestors, as good enough for the people to-day. Hence very little progressive is accomplished.

Who has the right insight? About this question there are many opinions. However, there is a very small number of thinking people, free of dogma, but with progressive ideas and purposes, and in truth humanitarians. This very small minority can only work as a leaven, influencing the community through the propagation of progressive ideas and ideals, as among others, FREEDOM is aiming.

TH. N.

University Anarchist Federation

Readers may remember that a few weeks ago a note appeared in FREEDOM suggesting the creation of an Anarchist organisation among University people.

This has now borne fruit, and the University Anarchist Federation has been formed to co-ordinate any activities or initiatives by anarchists in Universities throughout the country.

A Bulletin has been published, boldly named *Anarchy*, supplies of which are available from Freedom Bookshop, although students, lecturers and any other workers connected with or interested in University life are requested to apply direct to:

PHILIP HOLGATE,
Reed Hall, Streatham Drive,
Exeter.

Malatesta Club

We regret that omitted from our acknowledgements for goods donated, last week, were:

London: J.L., several useful kitchen items.
Bradford: F.R., metal gadget specially made for ventilating system.

THE POWER OF SONG

A COUPLE of weeks ago, an article appeared in FREEDOM pointing out the simplicity of the anarchist philosophy. Correspondents have praised articles which they have considered written in a straightforward, jargon-free manner. The fact that these have been considered relevant enough for special mention seems to point to the fact that there exists a feeling that anarchism in this country is in danger of developing into an esoteric cult, and the concept that the revolution which will bring about the Free Society can come only from the working masses of the world is being lost sight of.

However much theorising and speculating is done, the free society is not getting any nearer, and the simple message of anarchism is in danger of becoming bogged down by feckless intellectualism.

I have just been looking through a little book of songs published by the I.W.W. in 1945. Many of the songs seem crude and sentimental until one remembers the courage of the old-time Wobblies and the meaning songs such as these had for them.

Times have changed since then, but the problems are still the same fundamentally. A few decades of wishy-washy reformism have undermined the resistance of organised working men and women. The unions, which promised so much, have become corrupt, and their leaders far too powerful even to retain the pretence of representing the members. "Socialism", as dispensed by the British Labour Party, gave the workers a few plums, but they were either sour or rotten. More than ever before the people who produce the wealth of the world need to be shown what immense latent power they have in their struggle to achieve the freedom they desire.

The wobblies rallied workers with songs. Parodies of well-known popular or folk songs, and of hymns. The communists have taken over a lot of the I.W.W. songs, and have even kidnapped Joe Hill himself!

All over the world, those people whose work is long and tiring, monotonous and soul-destroying, sing at their work—often their only means of protesting against the conditions under which they work and live, and of showing the unity of their protest.

The power of the wobbly songs—and of all songs that come from the people—is that they were able to bring together working men of all types; educated and illiterate; white and coloured. Many of them could not understand, and were not interested in, the historical philosophy of their movement, but they knew and sang their songs because they were sym-

bols of their united fight for the freedom they wanted, against the "freedom" offered them by political parties and the like.

The revival of the singing audience at open-air meetings would, I am certain, do a good deal to remove the feeling that anarchism is only for the long-haired. Songs such as those that the wobblies sang put over in the simplest way the basic ideas of anarchism. But more important still, such a revival would spontaneously create the very quality that the anarchist propagandist wants to get over to his audience, namely, the feeling that they are experiencing a common emotion with a common aim in view.

If the old songs are out of date, and the figures lampooned by the wobblies long dead, then why not write new ones using tunes which are well known nowadays? The man who wrote the parody of The Red Flag which contains the lines, "The working class can kiss my ass—I've got the foreman's job at last" was doing a similar sort of thing in reverse. Perhaps he was a disillusioned libertarian. P.A.

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MAY 27.—Hugh McCutcheon on
THIS I BELIEVE

EXETER ANARCHIST GROUP

An anarchist group has been formed in Exeter. Readers in the area are invited to: Meetings every Wednesday at 7 p.m. at 109 Portland Street, Exeter. Correspondence to: Philip Holgate, U.C.E.W. Exeter.

READERS IN HERTS

If any readers residing in Herts would be interested in weekly discussion meetings, to be held in either Welwyn Garden City, Hatfield, St. Albans, or Hertford, will they contact:

G. HILBINGER,
89 Hollybush Lane,
Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

Authority Lacks the "Human Touch"

MOST people recognise that the conditions under which vast numbers of human beings live in the "backward" areas of the world are still bad, and vaguely demand that something should be done to raise standards of living and of health. But there is a marked tendency to assume that the Welfare State, the achievements of mass production and full-employment (more or less) have solved the problems in the Western world once for all. Statistically it can in fact be shown that conditions have markedly improved during the past fifty years. But this vast centralised machine for catering for Mass-Man just cannot deal with the human, individual problems which could be solved so simply. But it is like trying to crack a nut with a sledgehammer to expect the Machine to deal with the individual case of Mr. Jones or Mrs. Smith. And since some of us still believe in the individual, we cannot close our eyes to those cases which reveal the inhumanity of man to man in this age of mass-man and mass production.

★

LET us start with one small example. The following item was printed in the *News Chronicle* last week:

"Hutment dwellers at Nacton, near Ipswich, say the rural council is forcing them to be bad neighbours to an ex-infantryman and his family.

"They have been ordered to refuse drinking water to 36-year-old Clifford Allen, his wife Maria, 27, and their son Peter, who live in a caravan on the site.

"The Debden, Woodbridge, council say the Allens are trespassers because the caravan is their without permission.

"Workmen tore up the water pipes a fortnight ago and since then the family has been without water.

"One neighbour, 32-year-old Mrs. Dorothy Bright, said: "I dare not give them water. If the council caught me doing so they might take away my hutment."

"But Mrs. Doris Pearce, aged 36, said: "I refuse to be a bad Samaritan by order of the council.

"When no one has been about I have been letting Mrs. Allen have a little water. But it is a great worry as we do not know what action may be taken against us."

"Mr. Allen, disabled in a torpedoed troopship in 1943, said: "I applied to the council for a house. I was refused because I am not a local man, so I rented this little caravan and brought it here."

"Mrs. Allen said: "I am almost out of my mind with worry. Peter has walked miles with a jug to get water at some outlying farm.

"I cannot cook and often we cannot have a cup of tea. Washing is impossible. It is inhuman."

Mr. E. C. Cooper, chairman of the council estates committee, said last night: "I have instructed our sanitary officer to find out who gave the direction to the neighbours that they were not to supply water to the Allen family.

"We are always receiving complaints from the water company about the amount of water consumed."

Here we have on the one hand successive governments boasting that so many millions of people throughout the country have running water, and yet being unable to deal in a human way with the problem of one unfortunate family who, through no fault of their own have been obliged to make their home in a caravan! Water supplies, it appears are not available to trespassers. When publicity is given to the case the officials shift the blame onto other shoulders including that of saying that the water company has been complaining about the quantity of water consumed, as if it were due to Mr. & Mrs. Allen's extravagances!

★

ONE of the boasts of the United States is how well millions of children are cared for from birth, through school into adulthood, yet the Machine which claims credit for this is unable to cope with the problem of a few thousand waifs who wander across the continent unwanted and unloved. Last Saturday's

New York Times reports Mr. Heman Stark, director of the California Youth authority as saying that California receives an average of 2,000 of the waifs a month. Other States, including Florida, also get such children.

The children, Mr. Stark asserted, were "just loose kids" who have no parents. In some cases, "official agencies finance the children's crossing of state lines." After one state pays them to move to the next, the second state gives them a small sum to move on again.

When the waif army gets to California the youngsters are rounded up as well as possible, the speaker explained, and are shipped eastward in four trains a year with older boys involved in criminal cases. The latter are accompanied by policemen.

At each key city en route a passenger car is detached from a train and the children are scattered back to their home communities. Those wanted for criminal offenses are turned over to local police.

The State Machine knows how to deal with millions of children who have been moulded into the mass pattern of "American youth" but breaks down when confronted by a few thousand "problem" children, and all it can do is to seek to pass them on to other equally impotent authorities, and when they can wander no further, they are periodically rounded up like cattle and distributed among the various States to resume their wanderings. What an imaginative way of dealing with human problems!

R.

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