

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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"No reform, moral or intellectual, ever came from the upper class of society. Each and all came from the protest of martyr and victim. The emancipation of the working people must be achieved by the working people themselves."

—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

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Threepence

COLONIALISM'S "NEW LOOK"

IT must surely be clear to Governments that the political after-effects of modern wars are as far-reaching and unpredictable as the physical wounds and scars of the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The first world war brought in its wake social upheavals throughout the continent of Europe. World War II saw the growth of a new Imperialism in Europe, but this time the deepest unrest was to find its expression among the people in the colonial empires, and, we think it fair to add, in the consciences of those men and women in the metropolitan countries in whose name their governments had made promises of independence for the colonial peoples. The declaration of independence for what a well known demagogue once described as "the brightest jewel in the Imperial crown"—India, was the signal for a redoubling of agitation throughout the colonial world against the white man's continued rule. And during the ensuing years hardly one of these subjected territories has not expressed in one way or another, passively or violently, this urge to be rid of the white man. To the extent that we have been able to follow developments it would seem that the central governments of France and Britain have shown more realism in their approach to these problems than the settlers, which is of course not surprising. Imperialism in its 20th century context must develop a "new look". The times when it was possible to physically occupy these territories and treat native populations as slave labour have passed or are rapidly coming to an end. Modern Imperialism is more subtle, more long term, in its outlook. The dollar (or sterling) is taking over from the Livingstones and the Kiplings as the weapon of exploitation, and the Nationalist movements once freed from the principal enemy—the white man—throw up their own ruling classes, their own elite who adopt many of their former enemies' vices and few of his virtues. The native masses, once the instruments for agitation against the foreign invaders, become the victims of their own native exploiters, who see in the development

of their countries only incidentally the raising of the general standards of living. It is the whole process of capitalist government all over again, in which foreign capital is the principal instrument (at this stage) for its realisation.

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WE think it is in this light that the apparently sensational events in Tunisia and other African territories (not excluding Egypt) must be viewed. Whilst France and Britain have been fighting losing battles in Indo-China, Tunisia, in Malaya and Africa, staving off as long as possible the inevitable, and in the process losing precious time, the United States have been penetrating the world's territories with investments which at the end of 1952 stood at the astronomical figure of \$36,546 million (that is more than 12 thou-

sand million pounds sterling). The progress of dollar imperialism is most impressive:

U.S. INVESTMENTS ABROAD	
1939	\$12,480 millions
1946	20,618 "
1947	28,927 "
1951	35,075 "
1952	36,546 "

★
THE days of Beaverbrook and Colonel Blimp are numbered. We now enter the era of dollar (or sterling) imperialism. The workers in the colonies are changing masters. To quote Tolstoy, the chains are being transferred from the ankles to the wrists. Only if the workers in the colonies can be made to realise this in time can they in the hour of their "liberation" be spared the horrors of Western civilisation and progress!

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Democracy, Mutual Aid... But

THE investigation division of the Senate Appropriation Committee (incidentally, how do they manage in America to keep tabs with all these multi-named inquisitorial organisations?) has recently prepared a report (aided by the aircraft manufacturers?) which alleges that American foreign aid is being used to develop the aircraft industry of Britain. It argues that Britain is trying to obtain a privileged position through the use of governmental subsidies which are being financed indirectly by American taxpayers. The report suggests that if it is decided to continue the policy of aid, then it should take the form of equipping American air frames with British engines. According to the committee, this new policy would be preferable to the present programme for three reasons:

1. The combination of American airframes and British engines should result in supersonic fighters far superior to the Javelin Hawker, Hunter, and Swift.
 2. American aid would no longer be used to build up production lines in Britain to turn out planes not comparable to the suggested American-British combination.
 3. American money would be used to strengthen its own aircraft industry and make jobs for American workers instead of contributing to the British programme for civil jet expansion.
- There we have it. Whilst it is pointed out that "nothing in the report is intended to reflect upon the good faith of the British government", just the same it is obvious to the investigators that the British in using the aid for the construction of planes are at the same time being able to develop the industry, and presumably by keeping up, or being ahead of American development, represent a threat to American industry. That "Democracy" should have the very latest in fighting planes, *ca va sans dire*, but still business is business!

Underdeveloped ideas for the "Underdeveloped Territories"

IN the House of Lords last week, Lord Faringdon drew the attention of the Government to cases reported in the press in which a resident magistrate in Kampala was reported to have sentenced fourteen Africans convicted of robbery with violence to a total of 132 years' imprisonment and 312 lashes; in another case to have sentenced each of three Africans to fifteen years' imprisonment and two of them to 24 lashes, and in a third case to have sentenced two African footpads to seven years' hard labour and 24 lashes each.

He asked whether such sentences were not at variance with the policy of the Government to bring colonial practice into line with that in this country, and whether the Government would draw the attention of the Governor of Uganda to

these cases and request his co-operation in making this policy effective.

Lord Mancroft (Lord-in-Waiting) replied: "It would not, of course, be proper for the Minister to call in question the exercise of a court of law in Uganda of discretion vested in the court in awarding sentences, and it is to be assumed the awarding of corporal punishment in these cases is in accordance with the law in force in Uganda. As you are aware, however, it is the policy of the Government to encourage the progressive reduction and ultimate abolition of corporal punishment in colonial territories, and the Government has the matter very much in mind."

More C.P.ers Arrested in America

THE F.B.I. announced last week that five Communist Party leaders in Denver and Los Angeles had been arrested on charges of "conspiring to teach or advocate the overthrow of the government". J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F.B.I. announcing the latest bag said that the total arrests made since 1949 under the Smith Act was 115.

... And Three in West Germany

Last week the West German Supreme Court found three Communists "guilty of agitating against the republic, the grounds given being that they had called for a referendum against re-armament, the court ruling that such a referendum was contrary to the West German constitution.

Perhaps the word *referendum* has assumed a new meaning in the post-War II era, and that a consultation of public

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 30

Loss on "Freedom"	30 × £15 = £450
Received in 30 weeks	£273
GAP	£177

July 18th to July 31st

Shepton Mallet: M.P. 3/-; London: M.S. 2/6; London: Anon. 1/3; London: H.W. 7/-; Esher: J.S. 5/-; London: J.J. 9d.; McKeesport: J.R. 1/1/1; Hoddesdon: A.R. 5/-; Sheffield: H.W. 5/-; Toronto: per A.M. 9/1/11; Rossendale: W.G. 2/-; Iraq: P.G. 7/6; London: P.Q.* 2/6; London: J.S. 3/-; London: Anon. 3/-; London: W.E.D. 5/-; London: C.H.C. 1/-; N. Geelong: per G.P. 15/2/6;	Total	28 18 0
Previously acknowledged		243 16 11
1954 TOTAL TO DATE		£272 14 11

GIFT OF BOOKS: Warrington: J.H. Stroud: S.L.R.

JAPAN

NOISY demagogues like Joe McCarthy have their usefulness for democratic Government at certain periods in political history. It may be that they outlive their usefulness when political and economic needs call for a change of emphasis, and although McCarthy appears to be on the black list at the moment he will be encouraged to re-emerge should the cold war hot up between the S.U. and U.S.A.

McCarthy's crusade against Communism has not been confined to America. It has extended to Britain in the form of his opposition (which found considerable support in the Senate), to Britain's policy of trade with 'Red' China. (We have pointed out in this connection that the United States could afford to be 'ideological' in her refusal to recognise China since she has not needed the Chinese market for her goods).

Recent reports from a fact-finding mission sent to Japan and Korea by Eisenhower should, however, mark a subtle change in American foreign policy and we can look for a check, if not a public attack, on McCarthy's noisy opposition to British trade with China.

While the front line campaign of 'no trade with the enemy' has been allowed to flourish, the 'realists' have been placing the economic facts of life before Eisenhower. The findings of the mission to Asia headed by three conservative governors reveal that Japan's pressing problem is self support. They write:—

"To accomplish this all-important economic necessity Japan must have access to resources and markets in Southeast Asia... It is difficult for the free world to absorb the full output of a vigorous Japanese economy (our italics). Therefore, we recommend limited and controlled trade with Red China as well as increased trade between Japan and her non-Communist neighbors. The former must be so restricted and so regulated that it will help develop a program of self-subsistence for Japan and not build up Red China's war machine... This does not mean that recognition of the leadership of Red China is recommended or contemplated. In no way at all does this imply diplomatic recognition of Red China, but it does recognize the fact that Japan's largest neighbor, situated closest

opinion has in fact become a crime.

A curious paragraph in a *Manchester Guardian* editorial on *Decision in Tunis* (Aug. 2) underlines this general totalitarian trend. Dealing with Mr. Mendès-France's chances that his proposals would be accepted by Parliament, the *M.G.* points out that:

"He (Mendès-France) bids high and proclaims himself ready to go if he does not succeed. He will probably not be made to go while those who might force him out feel that he still has public opinion behind him. This has its dangers, especially in France; if M. Mendès-France seems too plainly to appeal to the public over the heads of Parliament, Parliament might come to resent him. It might also be said that M. Mendès-France has come in just when the French public was unusually weary of Government inaction and unusually ready for decisive policies." (Our italics).

What a commentary on Parliament!

Dangerous Red

MRS. ANNA ZAZULIAK, a Canadian citizen has been deported by the American authorities because of her membership of the Communist Party. Mrs. Zazuliak has spent thirty-four of her 53 years in the United States and has two children.

We wonder why this woman has become an undesirable character after having been unmolested by the authorities for over 30 years?

Queuing for Democracy

NAIROBI, AUGUST 1.
Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru tribesmen queued with their European employers to-day to obtain permits to remain in Nairobi. This new registration is an attempt to clear the city of Mau Mau adherents. From midnight to-night, any tribesman found in the city without one of the new passbooks will be liable to arrest, and the employer of such a man will be liable to a fine of £200 or one year's imprisonment or both—*Reuter*.

to her shores, and one of her best prospects for trade, is the 500 million Chinese."

Visitors to China have been startled to see American cars on the streets of Peking and their reports have indicated that some trade is already being carried on between Japan and China. Now that it has American blessing and made public even the thick-skinned politicians of the Pentagon will be unable to castigate Britain for trading with China while the American satellite, Japan, does likewise.

It seems that America is in the same position in relation to Japan as Britain is with Germany. On the economic level they both fear these countries re-emerging with such strides since the war. Their collective fear however of Russia's political expansion leads to the re-arming policies of both these countries, which in the case of Japan, have already reached enormous proportions. Competition between Germany and Japan is another factor to be taken into account. Information from a Japanese business man reveals that the Government for example has put an embargo on German sewing machines and possible purchasers can only negotiate with the sterling areas. (Sewing machines can be bought from Japan at a third of the cost of British and American makes).

Army, Navy and Air Power for Japan

Nine years ago Japan surrendered nearly 8,500,000 soldiers, 102 warships and 3,000 warplanes; now she has officially started re-arming under the pressure of America whose dictated constitution vowed a few years ago that—"Land, sea and air forces will never be maintained". (The same broken vows were made by our politicians about Germany).

After the Korean war broke out General MacArthur "who had persuaded and forced Japan to forswear arms, urged Japan to reverse itself".

The speed with which Japan has built up her fighting forces is a result of American aid and policies. Even the patriotic American magazine *Time* admits that there was considerable resistance on the part of the Japanese people to re-armament. It reports:

"So sharp was the Japanese distaste for rearmament, and so intense the politicians' fear of a new group of militarists, that the constabulary had to be called the "National Police Reserve". In the new military semantics, divisions were "regions", officers were "superintendents", tanks were "special vehicles". After Japan signed a peace treaty with the U.S. (September 1951), the police became the "National Safety Force" and expanded to a 110,000-man army, a 10,000-man navy. Last week Japan took the final step, and its force was changed from "Safety" to "Self-Defense". To help with the change-over, the U.S. House of Representatives last week voted to hand over to Japan some \$500 million worth of U.S. weapons already in the islands. Next month Japanese troops will replace the U.S. 1st Cavalry Division in Hokkaido, the major Japanese island nearest Russia."

The post-war pattern of politics in Western Europe is duplicated in Japan; *Time* reports:—

"A look at the second line of command shows how dizzily history's penulum has swung back. The new air operations chief helped plan the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is a former official of the Home Ministry which ran Japan's Gestapo-like Kempeitai (Thought Police). The secretary of the JCS was once secretary to Premier Hideki Tojo, hanged 5½ years ago for war crimes. Half of the new army officers and three-fourths of the naval officers fought against the U.S. in World War II."

R.M.

Have you asked for VOLINE'S NINETEEN-SEVENTEEN at your local PUBLIC LIBRARY

A FORGOTTEN ANARCHIST

Anselme Bellegarrigue

AMONG the early anarchists the name of Bellegarrigue is the least known. This is not surprising in view of the fact that until he appeared in France during the 1848 Revolution, at the age of about twenty-five, virtually nothing is known of his life, except that he had been in the United States. He appeared in France on the 23rd of February, and the following day was in Paris. Outside the Hotel de Ville he encountered a young worker who mounted guard. The young man was black with gunpowder and almost hysterical with joy. "This time they won't steal our victory!" he shouted. Bellegarrigue retorted, "They have already stolen it. Haven't you nominated a government?"

This incident, whether true or not, is certainly characteristic. Bellegarrigue did not feel overwhelmed with joy over the rising of February, no more than did Proudhon. Circumstances were to prove him right up to the hilt.

Bellegarrigue's stay in the United States had a great influence over him. At this period the United States was still the land of the free. The boundless continent stretched open before the immigrants who came seeking a new life, where they would be unencumbered with the institutions and conventions of old Europe. This led to a definite buoyancy and optimism, but there was a reverse side to the medal. Bellegarrigue's thought occasionally mirrors too the brutality and indifference to the sufferings of the failures than an aggressive individualist society will display.

This American influence appears throughout his work. He seems however, as far as theories went, to owe nothing to anyone but himself. Anarchists are inclined, faced as they are with a very hostile and contemptuous world, to call in to their aid all the professors and philosophers under the sun. Displaying

a remarkable respect for authorities, as if to compensate for their contempt for authority, is a natural result of living in a society where everything seems to be against anarchism. Not so Bellegarrigue however. Even if he does bring in some theoretician it is only to refute him, and not even Proudhon escapes.

In his dealings with theoreticians he felt impelled to interrupt their discourses with his favourite slogan, "To the facts! Let's stick to the facts!" The title of his first pamphlet bore the title *Au fait, au fait!!* He looked upon Proudhon as no more than just another journalist, and did not even seem to realise that it was he who had introduced the word "anarchist". He regarded himself as the pioneer, and considered that it was Proudhon, in his paper *Voix du Peuple*, who followed him.

Yet he owed a certain amount to Proudhon, at least it seems probable. His phraseology had a Proudhonian ring. "Anarchy," he wrote, "is order. Government is civil war." He wanted to suppress all governmental institutions at once, but not by violent means, for he considered that a violent revolution or revolutionary war would need a leader, and hence a government of some sort. The people would make its own revolution not by means of war or political parties but by "the force of inertia, the refusal of help." This refusal of co-operation would of course lead to the collapse of all law and government. Bellegarrigue favoured what we would now call a campaign of civil disobedience, or non-violent resistance, to be waged, not against one particular government, as has been the case up till now, but against the whole concept of rule and the institutions which it sets up.

He opposed centralisation, and favoured instead the growth of communes. But for him the commune was not an artificial construction but a thing of natural growth, an institution born out of the needs of people in their ordinary lives. He speaks of it as "a fundamental organism" or a "primordial existence which has resisted all the destructions and disorganisations" of life. It was the natural method of social organisation. "In front of the mayor and the municipal council the individual governs himself, for it would never come to the mind of a communal assembly not supported by a *prefet* to interfere in the affairs and industrial interests of those who have elected them."

In fact Bellegarrigue's theory was not an extreme form of socialism. Like a large body of American anarchist thought it was an extreme form of liberalism. Bellegarrigue was a European Benjamin Tucker. In line with this outlook is his indifference to the question of class conflict. He scarcely noticed this question. For him the revolution would come and the State would simply collapse and go out of existence if everyone would consult, and act only for, his own interests.

In fact he saw in the socialist slogan of that day "the right to work" only a means of increasing helpless dependence on the State. It limited people's initiative, remained within the limits of existing wealth without contemplating the possibility of creating more, and "in making the social question one of jealousy instead of emulation and courage, one has encouraged the belief in the effectiveness of governmental initiative on the spreading of wellbeing. From this comes the necessity of government."

This sounds faintly reminiscent of the arguments of some present-day Tories. However, it has some truth in it. The creeping tentacles of the welfare State can penetrate even into the anarchist movement, and in fact there are signs that they are so doing. The individual according to Bellegarrigue had to make his own revolution. "He takes his courage in both hands, and you see him searching for an outlet within present society, which is his domain. . . . This issue he will find irremediably proportionate to his merit. . . . He works, then he speculates, he speculates then he gains; he gains then he possesses; he possesses then he is free. He sets himself in opposition to the State by means of possession, for the logic of the State rigorously excludes individual possession. . . . Liberty begins with the first ecu."

Some of his pages recall Stirner. "I deny all; I only affirm myself. For the sole truth that may be demonstrated materially and morally by sensible, apprehensible, and intelligent proofs, the sole truth, striking, not arbitrary nor subject to interpretation, is myself. I am: that is a positive fact. All the rest

Continued on p. 3

The Cicada & the Ant

THERE is an old fable, made famous by La Fontaine, about an ant and a cicada. During the Summer the ant was busy storing up food for the Winter, and when this season came the cicada who had done nothing but sing, went begging to the ant, only to be sharply rebuked and sent away empty-handed.

As a description of human types and a transcription of human events fables have now been superseded by methods vastly superior in everything but poetical precision. The ant and the cicada are still the liveliest symbol of two attitudes to life which often crystallize in ethos, social classes and types.

If the fable were used as a psychological test, asking the persons to be analysed to express their sympathy or antipathy with the behaviour of either animal, the results would be quite interesting. Even among anarchists the test would be revealing. It would define a division truer to thought and feeling than any labelled heretofore by social-individual, theoretical-practical, and similar pairs of antinomys. The same test at different answers from the same person because it lays bare a bipolarity (I almost said an inner contradiction) not only in anarchist thought but in existential situation.

The cicada stands for freedom, and the ant for prevision. If life were unmixedly benign like the Summer in the fable, and if no Winter followed, then that of the cicada would be unquestionably the most sensible and the happiest choice. But there is Winter in life. Winter of many and cruel sorts, and prevision is the first condition of survival into Summers to come. It entails sacrifice, contraction and control, a bartering of the present for the future, an actual and irreparable, though supposedly partial and rewardable, loss of happiness and freedom.

Prevision is conscience, that is guilty conscience. It is part of that original rupture and knot which alienated man from nature. No wonder, therefore, that floating to the rhythm of blood and seasons, abandon to the immediate call, and throbs in unison with the primeval slime should be contemptible in its sight, below man's stature and never to be mentioned with words in which he sculptured his own world and glorified his worth.

Let the cicada type of man live cicada-like, and the ant type ant-like. This counsel of anarchist wisdom is hardly practicable because the modern human situation is considerably more complex than that of the fable, and the one to give the counsel would have to be very careful, being himself inside the fable, that is an ant or a cicada. The ants have conquered most of the available space, and have enforced strict rules about sing-

ing, so that the cicadas have a strong case to lodge against them. But on the other hand, the Summers or amenities of life are very much the product of ants' toil so that according to justice nobody should be entitled to their usufruct who does not contribute to their maintenance and manufacture. The scales of justice are either equally loaded so that no decision is possible, or unequally loaded so that there is a decision which is of necessity unjust.

We can take the cicada's singing as aimed at pure enjoyment and exercise for its own sake. It may bring enjoyment to others, but only incidentally, and certainly not to the ants who do not want to be disturbed in their work, and if needing services from other species, keep them safely in their ant-hills as cattle or pets. Joy of release or of gratuitous achievement, sensual pleasures, games, arts and philosophies, all that is not consciously intended to, and directly benefiting, the survival chances and capacities of the species is a cicada activity. So is every action that can be termed irresponsible, the actions typical of children, and we can appreciate an ant-like society putting up patiently with a parasitical and wasteful behaviour in children who will soon be converted into useful citizens, but bitterly resenting and dealing drastically with the same behaviour in grown-ups.

Many other types figure in the fable gallery of mankind, and some of them have played a central and most decisive rôle. But at the present time the ant and the cicada are the most important because, although with the least power of decision and initiative, it is in their name that decisions and initiatives are taken. Insofar as there is an ideological conflict, all the more tremendous if anything because ideologies are lies, the opposing terms could not be better exemplified than by the ant and cicada outlooks. Western civilization justifies itself with such fruits of enjoyment as we took the cicada's singing to represent, while communist civilization makes the

ant's prevision and provision its tyrannical end-all. According to Communist theory toil is the basis and song an irrelevant superstructure, the needs of the belly come first and those of the spirit may never come. The most sensitive guardians of Western traditions say instead unblushingly that toil is worse than useless if it does not yield fruits of enjoyment, and that one song of the spirit is worth far more than any number of satisfied bellies. There is no question of priority for, as far as we know, the cicada and the ant are equally old, and song may have come before as well as after toil.

The cicada represents freedom, and the ant necessity. Human societies with a history, feeling in varying degrees the call of both, have tried or bungled their best in search of a solution that would reconcile their claims. Thus three kinds of solution have been put forward, one spatial, one temporal, and the third ideal. The first divides society into classes, allowing a few cicadas to sing and making the ants toil hard; the second kills off all the cicadas, and makes everybody toil harder still, allowing no singing until all the toiling and killing has been done; and the third rests on the assumption that every man can and ought to be both an ant and a cicada, earning his bread and singing his song each day.

The third solution could be the anarchist one. But as I pointed out above, even among anarchists minds are divided in their allegiance. Some are all for freedom, and believe that necessity can be ignored without dire social consequences. Others believe that necessity can be encompassed by freedom as though the two were not antithetical, and others still, aware of the grip of necessity, would like to find a formula by which freedom would be distributed as a result proportionate to submission to necessity. Is a unity of outlook on the relationship between freedom and necessity to be achieved, and efforts to be converged towards a clear statement of the third solution and the finding of practical means to prepare the ground for its realization?

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

A Guide to the Books of the next six months

Autumn Reading

CHARLES HUMANA'S second book, *A Lover for Lucia*, which has just appeared (Longman, 10s. 6d.), is called by the publishers "a brilliant novel of love and intolerance in a changeless Italian village". A fictional account of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, by Howard Fast, *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti* is to be published by The Bodley Head at 12s. 6d. William Faulkner's new book *A Fable*, (Chatto and Windus, 12s. 6d.), "dramatises the emotional and intellectual problems of pacifism". *Rain and the River* by John Atkins (Putnam 10s. 6d.), is a story of village life in the tractor and television age. *Lord Love Us* by William Sansom is a collection of his "prose ballads" (Hogarth Press, 12s. 6d.).

THE founder of the first co-operative colony in Palestine, which became the model from which the Kibbutz movement developed, has written an illustrated account of the difficulties and achievements of land settlement in Israel. *Village by the Jordan* by J. Barratz will be published by the Harvill Press in October at 12s. 6d. *The Secret Roads* by Jon and David Kimche, will be the story, never before told, of how a Jewish underground movement transported tens of thousands of refugees to Palestine, in defiance of the mandatory authorities (Secker & Warburg, 18s.). *The Absorption of Immigrants* by S. H. Eisenstadt is a sociological investigation, mainly of the Jewish community in Palestine (Routledge & Kegan Paul, about 25s.).

TWO publishers announce books about George Orwell, one by Laurence Brander (Longmans, 12s. 6d.), and one by John Atkins (Neville Spearman, 18s.). An early novel of Orwell's *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*, has just been reprinted after eighteen years (Secker & Warburg, 12s. 6d.).

ALLEN & UNWIN will be publishing *World Population & Food Supplies* by Sir John Russell which surveys the production of food and the distribution of population, and *Hungry People & Empty Hands* by Professor S. Chandrasekhar, Director of the Indian Institute for Population Studies, is concerned with reducing the gross disproportion between countries like India and the virtually empty Australia. *The Challenge of Man's Future* by Harrison Brown (Secker & Warburg, 21s.), is an analysis of the

problems created by the world's rising population. *Man and the Land* by Dudley Stamp is among the new additions to Collin's "New Naturalist Library at 25s. *Development of Tropical and Sub-tropical Countries*, edited by A. L. Banks, considers the problems inherent in the development of tropical Africa, particularly technological development, food production, health, welfare and education (Edward Arnold, 20s.).

FLAUBERT'S *Dictionary of Accepted Ideas*, the celebrated collection of platitudes and clichés, has been translated for the first time by Jacques Barzun who, the publisher says, "over a number of years, has perfected each phrase to convey exactly the devastating wit and irony of the original". (Max Reinhardt, 10s. 6d.) Darrell Huff's *How to Lie With Statistics* (Gollancz) is a light-hearted book with illustrations by Irving Geis. The funniest book this Autumn will be *Statues* by George Molnar, a book of cartoons to be published by Phoenix House at 10s. 6d. which consists of designs for Needed Statues, private, public, decorative, useful, pretentious, monumental, companionable and educative.

THERE will be a variety of sociological and anthropological books. Watts are publishing *Science & Social Action* (15s.), by Professor W. J. H. Sprott, "an account of what science can contribute to urgent problems that were formerly at the mercy of guesswork or prejudice in the political arena", and *Social Change in South-West Wales* (21s.), by Tom Brennan, E. W. Cooney, and H. Pollins. *Social Structure and Personality* the report of a study made under the auspices of the Unesco tensions project, in social structure, and personal interrelations in Australia, is in two volumes, 1. *In a City*, by O. A. Oeser and S. B. Hammond (Routledge, 30s.) and 2. *In a Rural Community*, by O. A. Oeser and F. E. Emery (25s.). The Edinburgh University Press will publish *Lewis & Harris: A Study in British Community* by Arthur Geddes. *Indian Village* by S. C. Dube describes the social structure and trends of social change in an Indian village community (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 21s.). *The People of the Sierra* by J. A. Pitt-Rivers is a study of life in an Andalusian village (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 18s.).

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Obtainable from
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LONDON, W.C.1

MUSICAL CHAIRS DISCORDANT NOTE

THERE is something ironic in the presence of Dr. Cort and Antoni Klimowicz aboard the same ship. Both are political refugees, but fleeing in opposite directions. Both are headed for disillusion. What must each be thinking as he eyes the other? Do they both realise that they are just pawns in the propaganda game?

Cort's case is a curious one. He is undoubtedly a genuine political refugee, but his goose was cooked the moment he declared his status. Had he been prudent enough to have had strings pulled behind the scenes on his behalf there is little doubt that he would have been permitted to become a British citizen with no fuss. By exposing the facts of the matter he made it certain that the authorities on this side would show him no mercy. It is simply not expedient to recognise that a powerful ally indulges in political persecution. To have accepted Dr. Cort on his merits would have been to incense the American witch-hunters and drive a sharp wedge into the Western bloc which the Russians would have lost no time in hammering home. So Dr. Cort had to be sacrificed on the altar of Anglo-American solidarity. Not willing to be the star performer in this act of ritual slaughter Cort has been left with no option but to embrace the other Dracula.

From Russia's point of view he is now even better propaganda material than if he had been granted asylum in this country. To offset this blow the British authorities have had the good fortune to find Klimowicz on the very boat that is taking Cort to his land of Milk & Honey. So we have the comic opera situation of 120 police backed by a destroyer standing by at Chatham naval yards serving a writ of *habeas corpus*, ostensibly to ensure that one ordinary chap gets an even break, while a few feet off stands another chap who is being cold-bloodedly left to the clutches of a Bear because he was not keen about the idea of being torn to pieces by an Eagle.

It may be unkind to attribute too great a Machiavellian skill to our own authorities. Nevertheless, we cannot help wondering whether we should have been treated to this dramatic "rescue" in the last reel under other circumstances. It would, after all, have been a lot simpler, but far less spectacular, to have served the writ 24 hours earlier.

Which only goes to show that neither government gives a damn about the rights of the individual as proclaimed with a magnificent flourish of trumpets in the preamble to the United Nations Charter. Each side is deftly pulling the chairs away from under its intended victims and then with sublime cynicism asks us to look only at the virtuous way they are putting the chairs back under their opponent's victims. All in the name of Truth, Justice and Humanity. R.T.G.

LEVITSKY'S ODESSEY

SERGE LEVITSKY the Stateless man who was allowed two weeks shore leave by the French authorities last month (FREEDOM, 31/7/54), pending replies to his appeals to France and the United States, has now been put back aboard the liner in the absence of any definite answer from either country. The ship left last Saturday for Rio de Janeiro and this was Shanghai-born Mr. Levitsky's fifteenth Atlantic crossing in twelve months, and who knows how many more crossings he will have to make before the stupid bureaucratic mind comes to its senses.

Theatre

SIX CHARACTERS IN SEARCH OF AN AUTHOR

"Shall we have a play extempore?"
—KING HENRY IV.

"Six Characters in Search of an Author" is presented upon the stage of a theatre unprepared, except for the preliminary rehearsals of a play. The audience on taking their seats might suppose that the manager had forgotten that a performance was due to begin. A producer with his company, his stage manager, electrician and prompter, etc., assemble, as though for a preliminary reading. As they make ready to begin, there appears an usher announcing the arrival of certain personages, who almost immediately enter. These are the six characters in search of an author; they are not living persons, but characters created in their author's brain for a play that he began but never finished. They are looking for an author to present them on the stage, so that they may live the life for which they were created. The reason that they have come there, we learn as their spokesman explains, is that their feeling of frustration at being abandoned in the middle of their destiny will not let them rest. By the end of the act it is agreed that the six characters shall enact their drama, and that it shall be recorded and presented by the producer and his company.

In all of his plays Luigi Pirandello shows that custom, convention, authority and fear have twined about us like strangling parasites, and that the greater part of contemporary social and political life has no reality, no being, at all: it is just bogus. He stresses the contrast between concept of life and sentiment of it. Unlike other beings in the universe that live by abandoning themselves to the warm flow of instinct, man is capable of formulating a concept of his existence and of his self, a trait that creates a clash between intellect and instinct. Other beings live, man sees himself through an infernal machine called logic. "A fact is like a sack which will not stand up when it is empty. In order to make it stand up we must put into it the reason and sentiment which caused it to exist." Man looks at his fellow-men, not as unique, undefinable individuals, but as fixed and unchanging entities in which he crystallizes definite types: this man is honest, this man is dishonest; this man is moral, this one immoral; another serious, still another funny; and so on through all the categories that authority, morality and hypocrisy have invented in apprehending and cataloguing a reality that, being made up of living individuals, rebels at the falsity and tyranny of these clear-cut and ironclad concepts.

In his subtle and searching style Pirandello is as passionate in his hatred of authority, which controls our lives from the cradle to the grave, as Ibsen and Ernst Toller. The question of how a man ought to live is one to which there is no authoritative answer: it has to be decided by each individual for himself. As the Father, one of the six characters says: "Every true man, sir, who is a little above the level of the beasts and plants does not live for the sake of living, without knowing how to live; but

A Comedy in the Making by Luigi Pirandello (at the St. James's Theatre).

he lives so as to give a meaning and a value of his own to life." Pirandello is always seeking for hidden personality: he is not interested in the ordinary outside mask which men show the world. Before him, in Chiarelli's plays the mask and the face had already the broader meaning of the social form, identified with tyranny, and the individual soul which it sought to crush. In his best-known plays Pirandello elaborates on this antithesis. We see a central group of people who are "real". They suffer, and need freedom, not analysis. Around these are grouped unreal busybodies, who look on, criticize and hinder. The individual should refuse to render an account of his or her life to anyone, whether society, the State, friends or Law. In *Vestire gli ignudi (Clothing the Naked)*, which is the first Pirandello play to read since it does not lead one off on the false trail of relativity and truth, the mystery is dissolved, as in *Right You Are* it is not, and the result is the destruction of the protagonist. But this mystery, constituted by the illusions without which the heroine could not live, is not the Mask. The Mask is the social and anti-human tyranny of, for example, a novelist for whom the heroine's unhappy lot is grist to the mill.

The Mask is the spirit of authority, law, written and unwritten, tradition and custom which force us into a common groove and press our lives and habits, even our thoughts and feelings into a uniform mould and fashion them into sameness. The Mask is the interference of the mechanical, the external, the static, the philosophical, with our lives. Thus not only the smug moralist of *Naked* and not only the disingenuous truth-seekers of *Right You Are* are the Mask. Pirandello himself—and every novelist and playwright—is the Mask. His material is the flux of suffering; his art stops the flow; its stasis is at once its glory—in immortalising the moment—and its limitation, because life, being essentially fluid, is inevitably misrepresented by art. By contrasting the real and the imagined, the genuine passion and its theatrically simulated counterpart, Pirandello directs our gaze upon the inadequacy of the supposed "realism" that has so long dominated our stages. In his essay *Umorismo* (1908) he insists that, whatever the illusions, "man does not have an idea, an absolute concept of life, but rather a changing and varied sentiment according to time, case and circumstance." But at present men are hedged in with a thousand prohibitions and taboos, their minds and hearts are weighed down with outlived canons and codes, their will are thwarted with imperatives of thought and feeling, with "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not" of behaviour and action. In *Six Characters* we see that words, actions, the whole apparatus of feeling and conduct, far from revealing the truth of personality, often obscure and defeat its expression. As Thoreau says: "Our life is frittered away by detail. Simplicity, simplicity, simplicity!" Let each of us resolve to be himself, "to play a part no longer," to no longer do anything for the world, for God's sake, to do nothing for "man's sake", but to do what one does for one's own sake.

Pirandello's preoccupation with the

real but secret personality of his creatures, shown in conflict with the idea that others may have of them, or with the social conditions that impose upon them a succession of unreal attitudes, or with their own words and actions that go against the grain of their hidden selves is dramatically presented in the second act. The six characters about to begin their story suddenly realise that an essential character, incidental to their drama, is missing. The father suggests that the stage should be set in a rude imitation of the scene in which this character played her part in the story. Ostensibly she was a dress-maker, and in compliance with the father's suggestion, the actresses allow their hats and cloaks to be hung up in imitation of the shop in which she carried on her trade. "Drawn hither, perhaps, by the objects of her trade, who knows she may appear among us," says the father. Suddenly to the consternation of all the actors, the woman appears, evoked by the setting for which she was created, called into being, as it were, by the subject and by the demand of the moment that she should be there to act and to speak in a manner predestined and foreordained. Her apparition, ghostly in its obedience to an unerring mechanism, proclaiming that she is the shadow of the event, the helpless puppet of the life for which she was created, is perhaps the greatest thrill in the modern theatre—an apparition that sums up the whole enigma of existence, a dreadful interrogation flung at every human soul who beholds it.

In drama, life wears a double mask: the mask imposed by the dramatist and that imposed by stage production. In the *Six Characters* the three levels of reality are played off against each other throughout, and a fourth level is implied when we find one character judging another by what happened on one shameful occasion, in other words by one isolated fact, which, wrongly taken, imposes a Mask on the face of the real man.

Pirandello came to regard the State with those anarchistic suspicions that coloured many of his statements and determined his continual satirization of morality and social conventions, especially of so-called respectability. The six characters in the phantasmagoria in which they move represent the wasted lives and the plight of human beings in authoritarian society. The stage manager represents hypocrisy and materialism, mediocrity and tradition, the tyranny of power, property and public opinion. The

worst evil we have to contend with in this world is authority. At this deeper level Pirandello is asking that the human soul be left a little territory of its own—Marxists, behaviourists, psycho-analysts, materialists and believers in God all try to deny it this—which was also, perhaps, one of the themes of Franz Kafka. Oscar Wilde anticipated Pirandello when he wrote in *Intentions*: "A truth in art is that whose contradictory is also true... The truths of metaphysics are the truths of masks."

Human beings do not exist in categorically well-defined embodiments. This is the plea of the father in *Sei Personaggi*. It is said that no two blades of grass are alike: much less so are human beings. Each of us is unique, unrepeatable, our minds are as different as our faces. Yet in spite of this diversity of physiological, mental and spiritual make-up and of a thousand and one differentiations of character we compel people to be alike to-day. An individual cannot be categorically said to be serious or light-hearted. The truth is that the same individual can show himself staid and proper with one person and lighthearted with another who awakens the joyous side in his or her nature. August Strindberg writes in his famous preface to "Miss Julie", "The summary judgments given by authors: this man is stupid, this one brutal, this one jealous, this one stingy, etc., should be challenged by naturalists, who know the richness of the soul-complex." Reality does not consist of its material and factual aspects, but our sentiment of it, i.e. how we mold it to make tolerable an intolerable situation. This is the main theme that runs through *Right You Are*. The mind, the human spirit, the Promethean spark, the lightning of the individual being can never be quenched; if the mind will be itself and the centre of surrounding things, if men will refuse to obey, then tyranny will have to yield. Where is the soul of man? Pirandello asks. What is it that persists and remains identical, in spite of the inconsistencies which express it, the mechanical reflexes of word, phrase and habit to which it is a slave? Men model themselves on their fellows and conform to the age in which they live. They are ignorant of the reality behind their habits and gestures, and yet convinced that somewhere the reality is to be found.

Few dramatists are more difficult to translate than Pirandello, on account of his style. No translation of *Six Characters* has yet been entirely satisfactory, but Frederick May's new version which the St. James's Theatre has produced is admirably clear and lucid. Ralph Michael acts with great delicacy and skill as the Father and Mary Morris makes a memorable figure of the Stepdughter. D.M.M.

A Forgotten Anarchist Continued from p. 2

is abstract and falls within the domain of X the unknown quantity of mathematics; I do not have to bother about it... I have no ancestors; I am the first man, I will be the last; the world began with my birth, it will end with my death... It cannot be possible that there should be on earth any interest superior to my own, to which I ought to sacrifice even a part of my own interest."

In an age when talk of fraternity and altruism was the fashion, such thinkers as Stirner and Bellegarrigue did not fail to shock, thought when people talk in this strain to-day it is not regarded with the same horror. It is not surprising that Bellegarrigue's ideas were not very popular.

His pamphlet *Au fait, au fait!* was published at the end of the year 1848 both in Paris and Toulouse. Hating centralisation and believing as he did in local autonomy and the communes, it was natural enough for him to leave the capital, and go to settle in the latter town. There he collaborated with the daily paper *La Civilisation*, continuing his fight against the State in its columns until the end of the year 1849.

Evidently he tired of this, and returned to the Parisian area, settling at Mezy, near Meulan. In association with some friends he founded "The Association of Freethinkers" ("L'Association des Libres Penseurs"), and they decided to live in this village, which was conveniently close to Paris, where their works could be published, but far enough out into the country for them to escape urban existence, and enjoy a more natural form of life. The association proposed to issue a series of pamphlets for the people.

Only two appeared, of which one, *Jean Mouton and the Tax Collector* was the work of Bellegarrigue. The police began to take notice and their agents come in the guise of sympathisers to sit at the communal table. Then one of the comrades, Jules Cledat, was arrested. Evidently some sort of conspiracy was feared by the authorities. The group did not long survive this incident.

Bellegarrigue undiscouraged, returned to the attack. He started a paper, *Anarchy, Journal of Order*, but it only came out twice, once in April and once in May, 1850. Owing to lack of funds the paper ceased publication. From that time he returns to the obscurity from which he came. A book by him appeared in 1853 entitled *Women of America*, which he wrote for the benefit of a young girl who had fallen in love with him, and wished to marry him. He regarded marriage as a restriction on his liberty and would not enter into it.

After the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon in December 1851, France was not a particularly healthy country for those of radical opinions, and Bellegarrigue left for America, whose boundless horizons still attracted him. This time he headed not for the United States but for Central America. It is thought that he may have been for a time a school teacher in Honduras, and even a minister in the government of the tiny state of San Salvador. This would not be so inconsistent as it at first sight seems, for he had always believed in some sort of local government, as we have seen. San Salvador is such a small state that he may have thought it worth stretching a point. After that trace of him is lost.

His form of anarchism is almost as exotic on the soil of Europe as Voodoo. It was a product of a state of things existing for a short time only in the United States. He had hardly any following in Europe, and his ideas seem to have left no trace behind them. The extreme form of individualism he favoured, mitigated though it was by his enthusiasm for the communal institutions, seems to me to be a blind alley. I would be inclined to say the same for Stirner.

However, one of the advantages of anarchism is that it gives scope to all sorts of theories to suit all tastes and temperaments. In a world where the individual is ceasing to be of any importance Bellegarrigue has undoubtedly a message for us.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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IT does no good to despair of humanity; still less to be dogmatic about its apparently suicidal tendencies. The resilience of ordinary human beings and their surprising ability to react healthily to the most unhealthy circumstances gives cause for optimism even though the masters of the world—and the fact that millions of 'ordinary' human beings follow them—would indicate the opposite.

From America, the home of the gadget and the mass-production method, citadel of canned food, juke boxes and duodenal ulcers; from the 'Air Conditioned Nightmare', comes what seems to me to be one of the few constructive and promising trends of their frightening post-war era.

A Human Reaction

The "Do-it-Yourself" craze which has swept America is not based on any social ideology or political theory. It simply appears as a human reaction against an increasingly inhuman society—the individual hitting back at an economic and political set-up which swamped him as a person under its mechanical conformity.

What has actually happened is that millions of Americans have found the satisfaction and joy of getting down to doing and making things for themselves and for their own use. To-day, instead of buying a new table, an increasing number of Americans—men and women—are just as likely to buy a set of tools and the timber and set to make it for themselves.

And it doesn't stop at simply carpentry. The ambitious do-it-yourselfers have built themselves houses, boats, cars and airplanes—and when they have finished one project, they turn to another.

The spread of do-it-yourself activity in America has had some slight attention in Britain. Some months ago the B.B.C. made a brief mention of it in a news

DO IT YOURSELF

commentary, and the Press has noted it in a perfunctory manner. Perhaps I am inclined to read too much into it and give it a significance it does not really merit, but being presented with a full picture of the phenomenon in the American magazine *Time* (2/8/54) has confirmed my first interest rather than dampened it.

How—and Why—it Began

Time points to the beginning of the movement as a result of wartime experience. Men and women learnt trades and gained abilities they never had before. Housewives returning to the kitchen after a few years in a factory were no longer unable to fix a washer on a tap; husbands who had handled the equipment of war could now tackle running repairs, improvements and extensions in the home and in the garage.

But it is clearly deeper than that and *Time* realises it:

'Furthermore, the whole character of U.S. life has been undergoing a complex change. As mass-production techniques have broken jobs into smaller and smaller parts, the average American worker has often lost sight of the end product he is helping to build; his feeling of accomplishment has been whittled away as his job has become only a tiny part of the whole production process. In the same way, the meaning of the tasks performed by white-collar employees and executives often becomes lost in the complexities of giant corporations; it is hard for them to see what they are really accomplishing. But in his home workshop, anyone from president down to file clerk can take satisfaction from the fine table, chair or cabinet taking shape under his own hands—and bulge with pride again as he shows them off to friends.'

Not only that. The healing powers of constructive work are demonstrated in plenty of cases:—

'One Dallas doctor, a do-it-yourself addict himself, often advises patients to "go home and start doing things themselves." A harried executive who took up woodworking in his spare hours to ease the tension swears that it kept him from suicide. In Minneapolis an elderly dowager recently walked into a hardware store to look at power tools. "For your husband, Madam?" asked the clerk. "Good heavens, no," said she. "I want them myself." Her doctor had told her to take up knitting, but she thought woodworking sounded more interesting.

'One successful Zion, Ill. jewelry-store owner, Wesley Ashland, cured himself of a nervous breakdown by building his own home. He got out in the woods, found a plot with a small ravine and creek, oaks, elm, hard maple and hawthorn. He drew his own design for an L-shaped ranch house, planned it so that he could save all but two of the trees. He built a bridge over the ravine with 340 bolted railroad ties, and laid a 350-ft. winding lane, bought saws, an electric drill, a jeep, and an old concrete mixer. He built a concrete and limestone house, worked through the winter in 10°-below-zero weather. Inside the four-room house all closets were cedar-lined, all screens and storm windows handmade of aluminium. He did all the plumbing, wiring and paneling himself. To him, the backbreaking work "is a relaxation." Now, at 60, he is healthier than he has been in years.'

'What About the Lazy Man?'

The ever-recurring objection to anarchism of the lazy man in a free society also finds another answer in the attractions of do-it-yourself:—

'For example, Sid Bernstein, 35, came back to Los Angeles from serving in the Air Force in India in World War II de-

termined to spend every free hour lounging in his backyard. He managed to do so for 2½ years. "I could look across the street and see a poor boob mowing his lawn, carrying ladders into his house and unloading a lot of junk from his car," recalls Bernstein. "I felt sorry for the guy, honestly. I wondered why he was knocking himself out on his day off."

'But one fateful day Lounger Bernstein was persuaded by his wife to paper a wall. "It was easy," says he. "They make wallpaper with glue on the back, and all you do is dip the stuff in water and roll it on." Bernstein soon bought himself a \$12.75 home-carpentry set and nailed up a shelf. "Did a good job, too." In quick order, he reversed a bothersome living-room door, made a plywood table for his son's electric-train set, laid a tile floor in the bathroom. "Great stuff—it's got suction cups on the bottom—no trouble laying it down." Last week ex-Lounger Bernstein was busy building a brick wall for his backyard, a wall bookcase, and planning a handsome new cabinet for the hi-fi* set he had just bought.'

Social & Individual Production

For Anarchists, this whole activity provides ammunition for our arguments and food for our thought. As one who has always urged, not a complete condemnation and wholesale overthrow of modern technology, but the rational working out of a balance between machine and hand, between social and individual production, the do-it-yourself craze in America seems to me to represent just such a synthesis.

Some things, requiring special equipment, knowledge and skill, will, I feel, even in a free society, have to be produced on something like mass production methods. But, clearly, many individual

*High-fidelity reproduction.

to show how heredity and early training played their part in the creation of the authoritarian personality, and, conversely, how it is necessary for a freer formative period in order to produce a libertarian human being, harmoniously balancing intellect and emotion.

Comrade Fanaroff showed the irrational, psychotic basis for nationalism, patriotism and going to war, and how repression created by religion, conformity and authority found its unhealthy outlet in these ways.

The discussion which followed was, as after all the lectures, lively and searching. For many of the opponents—and some well-wishers—the diversity of opinion and approach in the Anarchist movement is a source of either scorn or despair. Anarchists, however, are proud of it and find it, allied with tolerance and solidarity, a source of strength.

Function of the Summer School

These Summer Schools are organised, not as propaganda meetings for converting the unbeliever, but as opportunities of more extended discussion among Anarchists themselves. Many of our comrades are more or less isolated from other Anarchists and have little opportunity for close examination of our ideas with people of like mind.

In these terms, it can fairly be said that this year's gathering was as successful as ever. Our ideas had a good shaking up in four provocative lectures from very different points of approach, and the sharp and critical discussions gave opportunities for all to state their views.

This was the first Summer School at the Malatesta Club, and the London Anarchists were gratified by the approval for the Club from our provincial comrades. These latter came from all over the country: Sheffield and Middlesbrough, Gosport and Southampton, Exeter, Preston and Glasgow (one of our Glasgow comrades coming direct from the Anarchist camp in Italy), while we have now resident in London anarchists originally from Liverpool, Bradford, Birmingham and the Isle of Man.

The Club organisation stood up well to the week-end's work, and a vote of thanks was carried by acclamation for the comrades responsible for the catering—chiefly Joan Sculthorpe, Mary Canipa and Jack Robinson—who did most efficiently the buying, cooking and serving of meals for the whole gathering.

A special thanks should also be given to those comrades who so generously provided accommodation.

The whole effort seemed a pretty good example of anarchist organisation.

THE ANARCHIST SUMMER SCHOOL

THE eighth Anarchist Summer School since the war was held over the August Bank Holiday week-end at the Malatesta Club in London.

On Saturday afternoon the first lecture was given by Geoffrey Ostergaard, speaking on 'Anarchism & the Labour Movement'. He compared the aims and methods of the Anarchist movement with the Trade Unions, the political parties of the "Left" and with the Co-operative movement, and discussed the relationship between anarchism and syndicalism.

The Speaker's arguments led him to three points of conclusion: One, that, as Malatesta had maintained, Anarchism should not be confused with Syndicalism, although inter-relation between the two is beneficial to both; two, that Anarchists should participate wherever possible in the Labour movement without becoming involved in reformism; and three, that Anarchists should seriously consider the Co-operative movement, for all its faults, as a fertile field for Anarchist ideas, since its basis is more libertarian than other sections of the Labour movement and it could be used as a means for preparing workers for a free society.

These arguments naturally aroused some controversy. Those comrades who had worked for Co-op Societies were more than somewhat sceptical about their libertarian basis, but Comrade Ostergaard held his ground, maintaining that Anarchist influence could be made in other organisations without our movement losing its own identity.

Marxist Mythology

On Saturday evening, Tony Gibson spoke on 'The Mythology of the Class Struggle', showing, by ample document-

FACT & FICTION

NEW DELHI (W.P.)—Disturbed by such criticisms as "India always votes with the Communists," or "India never backs the United States," Indian government researchers have compiled figures to show that such attitudes in the U.S. are not warranted by the facts.

Citing United Nations records, they assert that out of 66 votes on the question of Korea, India voted with the U.S. 32 times, and either abstained or voted against it 34 times. In the eighth session of the U.N. General Assembly, India backed the U.S. on 27 occasions, and the Soviet Union on 19 occasions. The government statement points out that on 14 occasions, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. supported each other. The voting record, of which this is a summary, is set forth in the utmost detail, issue by issue and vote by vote.

ation and charts illustrating the movement (or lack of it) of the social classes since Marx's day, that the old theoretician's analysis and conclusions on the class struggle were more in the nature of myth than science.

In spite of the evidence of subsequent history, the class struggle still formed the basis of theories of those Marxist organisations which still thought of themselves as revolutionary. And even many Anarchists, Comrade Gibson pointed out, are guilty of thoughtlessly using the mythology of the class struggle.

In the discussion, the point was made that Britain, economically, did not exist only within the British Isles. Correctly, the British Empire should be regarded as the British economic unit, and it could thus be shown that the British ruling class had 'exported its proletariat' and that Africans and other colonial peoples had suffered Marx's prophecy of degradation in the stead of the workers in Britain.

Tony Gibson, however, was able to show that imperialism did not fit into Marx's pattern of economic progress, anyway, and that taking the world view, Anarchism, based upon the understanding and analysis of power, was being proved more correct than the economic determinism of Marx.

Wider Interests

On Sunday morning, John Hewetson spoke on 'The Sociological Aspects of Anarchism'. In this lecture he ranged over a very wide field of human interest and activity, and showed the contribution that Anarchism had to offer to each, as well as indicating how Anarchism itself can be strengthened by the work of non-anarchists in other fields.

'Some sort of general grasp of all these matters,' said Comrade Hewetson, 'will enable our movement to support the positive and progressive trends in society and to assist in the demolition of out-moded superstitions and prejudices which stand in their way.'

Some objections came up during discussion that some of the subjects dealt with (soil erosion, for example), were too removed from the lives of ordinary workers to be of value to them. But the speaker had already said that he was 'very far from suggesting that they should replace the traditional questions of solidarity in industrial action and struggle. But that it is a very serious mistake for our movement to ignore such questions... if one is to understand the trends of our time.'

Propaganda & Social Activity

The Sunday afternoon was devoted to the usual out-door propaganda meeting in Hyde Park, where our comrades from

the provinces were able to hear our London speakers at work on the home ground. The weather was rather dull and so the crowds were not as large as they could have been, but provincial comrades were able to see that the Anarchist platform attracts a lot of attention in the Park and is listened to with respect—except, of course, for the inevitable (and useful) heckler.

Sunday evening was devoted to a Social, when our resident jivers were somewhat restricted by the number of dancers on the floor. We were pleased to welcome our old friend Bonar Thompson, the well-known Hyde Park orator, who entertained us with a speech from 'Cyrano de Bergerac' and a monologue on the soldier: 'I don't think—I obey.' The evening ended with an informal sing-song, which could only have been improved by the singers knowing (a) the words, and (b) the tunes, of what they were singing.

The Roots of Authority

On Monday morning, Sam Fanaroff gave the final lecture of the Summer School: 'Man—the Anarchist'. This lecture was also illustrated by drawings (which had a mixed reception) and the speaker used them to demonstrate his thesis, built upon a psychological basis,

Herr John and East Germany

The desertion of Herr John to the Russian East, coupled with the Petrov and similar cases, has some amusing implications.

In an old fashioned war, fought under nationalist pretences, people just couldn't change sides. If you were British you stayed British, and a German was German, once and for all.

But now that we are enlisted under ideological banners, anyone with a grievance can change his mind, and his side (with a bit of luck).

If a British private gets 7 days' C.B. for dirty buttons he can declare he is a "Communist" and bolt for East Berlin at the first opportunity; similarly if Ivan Ivanovitch is in trouble for some offence, he can always decide that "Communism is a betrayal of humanity" and go West.

If the next war lasts five years, and if there is anyone left alive, probably the whole bunch will have turned their coats before it is all over.

The left wing world can be funny, but it's not half so funny as "Weltpolitik". Cambridge, July 27. J. W. SHAW.

FREEDOM

needs can be satisfied by individual effort.

Even this do-it-yourself activity depends to a large extent on pre-fabricated materials and small machine tools. Drills, saws, planes, small garden tractors, paint rollers, ready-gummed wallpapers, pre-cut timber, etc., must all be produced in factories before the do-it-yourselfers can get cracking.

And, of course, the craze itself has led to the business world cashing in on it. Supply of the tools, materials and books of instructions to what has become known as "the shoulder trade" (because the hobbyists carry their own goods home on their own shoulders) is already big business—estimated to reach \$10 billion a year by 1960!

Will They be Less Aggressive?

That is inevitable under a capitalist economy. Any human demand will find its exploitation. But as I see it, that is not the important thing. What matters is that millions of ordinary people are reacting in a healthy way against a machine-dominated system; they are relying on their own efforts to satisfy their own needs; they are developing their creativity and finding health and self-respect (and the respect of their neighbours, which is also important to people) at the same time.

Of course they are not anarchists, and millions of them never will be. Just the same, I fancy that people who find satisfaction in these ways are less likely to find interest in the sordid deserts of politics, will be less anxious to leave home to fight in foreign wars, will be less aggressive against fellow human beings.

If that is so, putting up a shelf in a Los Angeles suburb may be helping to make a better world.

P.S.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS
Every Sunday at 7.30 at
THE MALATESTA CLUB
155 High Holborn, W.C.1.
(Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall)

AUG. 8—A. Pomerans
"UP BOYS AND ATOM"

Aug. 15—E. Peake
Aspects of Anarchism—5
LAW & CUSTOM

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS
IN MANOR PARK
Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30 p.m.

(To be held at East Ham)
Apply to *Freedom Press* for details

GLASGOW

OUTDOORS

(Weather permitting)
MAXWELL STREET
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.
Speakers: Hugh McCutcheon
Mark Kramrisch
Hugh McKeefery

INDOORS

at Workers' Open Forum
50 Renfrew Street, Glasgow.
Every Thursday at 7 p.m.

THE MALATESTA CLUB

Gramophone Recital

Aug. 11—Simon Watson-Taylor
TRADITIONAL JAZZ

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