

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 15, No. 36

September 4th, 1954

Threepence

"Every one is by nature constituted to be his or her own government, his own law, his own church—each individual is a system within himself; and the great problem must be solved with the broadest admission of the right of individuality which forbids any attempt to govern each other, and confines all our legislation to the adjustment and regulation of our intercourse or commerce with each other."
 —JOSIAH WARREN.

Soldiers and Politicians--

ALL ARE MURDERERS

WHEN Mr. Hector McNeil, former Minister of State in the Labour Government attacked his colleagues for having undertaken the trip to "Red" China he is reported as having said "You don't dine with murderers". This of course went down very well with the American audience to which it was directed. Now we think Mr. McNeil is right; any man of honour does not allow himself to be wine and dined by murderers. But what we are certain of is that Mr. McNeil did not realise the full implication of his forceful words or he would never have uttered them. Are the "murderers" only to be found among the leaders in Russia, the satellite countries and Red China? Has Chiang Kai-shek ceased to be the "butcher" since he became America's fifth column in the Far East? Is warmonger Syngman Rhee, who not only has his full share of the responsibility for the massacre of his countrymen, but insists that he should be now provided with atom-bombs to start up another conflagration in his unhappy country—is he not a murderer? Yet he was given a royal welcome in the United States quite recently. Has General Franco, the man who in the first place plunged his country into a struggle in which more than a million died, and who for the past fifteen years has maintained a rule of terror—has he ceased to be a murderer as a result of his military alliance with the United States? Is Marshal Tito no longer a murderer because he changed sides?

a potential murderer. Every person who engages in war, from the General to the Private, from the prime minister to those fanatical women who distributed white feathers . . . all are murderers.

What terrible, yet significant words were those of the French Commandant Olivier Le Mir (leader of a French battalion in Korea who lost both his legs on the field of battle) which he uttered calmly but firmly: *La guerre est une chose*

très désagréable. Assassins à gages, on peut le dire de tous les soldats ("War is a very disagreeable thing. Hired assassins, one can say it of all soldiers").

Before Mr. McNeil utters such words as "You don't dine with murderers", may we suggest that he examines his conscience and his career as a journalist and politician. Next time he feels tempted to say such things he may be content to bite his lip and remain silent.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

Interfering in Internal Politics

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S statement that if the Chinese Communists attempted to invade Formosa they would have first to run over the United States 7th Fleet is of far-reaching significance, for it means that America's declared policy is one of direct interference in the internal politics of a country. The present régime in China emerged in 1949 from the struggle between the Communist forces and Chiang Kai-shek, that is a civil war, in which Chinese fought Chinese; Chiang was defeated and retired with his followers to Formosa, to re-organise his forces in the hope that he might one day be in the position to again seize power from the present régime. America has since given Chiang her support, arming and equipping his fighting forces, and supplying dollars to keep him going. Skirmishes between the rival forces have been going on all the time. The news, therefore that the Chinese People's Army had successfully landed on the Nationalist held island of Quemoy was not so sensational as to deserve the banner headlines given to it by the *News Chronicle* (27/8/54) (except that this "voice of Liberalism" has recently been competing with the gutter press for circulation through sensationalism). Such skirmishes will continue. After all no one denies that Chiang's planes occasionally carry out raids on the Chinese mainland. It only has international significance in so far as the United States interferes in

the internal struggle between the Chinese politicians.

The dangers of equating every internal struggle as one between communism and anti-communism, can be better illustrated if for one moment one considers the position of Spain to-day. In spite of fifteen years in power Franco has neither subdued nor has he gained the popular support of the people. A resistance movement still operates. The possibility of a rising, perhaps sparked off by some political move, will presumably be interpreted by the Americans as an attempted "Red" coup, and all facilities will be given to Franco—including American troops?—to suppress the uprising. In other words, one can visualise the rôle of America in the world as one of interference in the internal affairs of countries to maintain the *status quo*, except of course when the régime in power is not to their liking, in which case, such as in Guatemala, they will support the rebels.

KEEPING AN EYE ON BUSINESS

THE American embargo on the supplying of certain goods to Russia and the satellite countries has recently been re-examined, and the list of prohibited goods is being gradually whittled down. After all, business is business, and America needs markets just as much as any other industrial country. In explaining the reasons for reviewing the list, Mr. Harold Stassen, director of the

THE VISIT TO CHINA

What Lies Behind It?

"WE have," said Lord Palmerston, "no permanent friends and no permanent enemies; only interests." There would be less confusion and misery in the world to-day if those words were more widely known and understood for what they are: the nearest summing-up ever made of the nature of international relationships between States.

Treaties between States are always a matter of expedience. Loyalty or friendship do not come into it, nor does ideology—as witness the 1939 pact between Hitler and Stalin, or the 1954 alliance between the countries composing the "free world"—including Franco's

Spain and Tito's Yugoslavia.

We have pointed this out often enough, and often enough been proved correct. It is not difficult or unreasonable, then, to believe that, since the nature of the world's statesmen has not changed, the present line-up of world powers will remain as it is only as long as everybody is satisfied with it. As soon as any major power sees any advantage in shifting its position—the shifting process will begin.

Britain's Peculiar Position

The position of Britain among the "great" nations is a peculiar one. She is the sole remaining country with an empire of any consequence based upon the old pattern of imperialism (even though this pattern is changing) and is the only "great" world power to-day which is not itself a large nation. America, Russia and China, now becoming the dominant world powers, each have populations and territories vastly greater than those of Britain, whose influence remains solely through her commercial interests and through what support she can still call upon from her empire.

Britain, as she has developed, depends upon trade with outside countries as neither America, nor Russia nor China do, for all these have within their own frontiers resources enough to give them self-sufficiency in basic necessities, although all are, of course, interested in getting from outside anything which could be of use to them—especially Russia and China, who have still a lot of industrial leeway to make up.

With this in mind, one can then expect to see Britain operating an international policy in accordance with her position—finding allies where she can, playing off one against the other, taking one step back here in order, she hopes, to take two steps forward there.

Some time ago we pointed out in these columns that there was nothing permanent about the Anglo-American alliance; that there was, in fact, more ground for economic rivalry between Britain and America than between Britain and Russia and that, if it suited Britain, we might see a turn-round in foreign policy which

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Labour's Colonial Policy

LABOURITES have since 1947 felt very proud of the great achievement of their government in granting independence to India. They conveniently forget (and so do the Tories) that Sir Stafford Cripps was brought out of the political wilderness and sent to India by Winston Churchill during the war in order to buy Indian support in the war by the offer of eventual independence.

It should also give Labour Party members cause to think less superficially than usual that, in respect of the Suez Canal Zone, the Conservatives have adopted what was virtually Labour's own policy. In other words, just as the preservation of capitalism at home demanded a degree of nationalisation, so the preservation of imperialism demands a degree of self-government in the colonial territories.

The Labour Party has now published an official Statement of Policy on Colonial Affairs, in which this is ably demonstrated. Labour aims at a transfer of power to an established system of democratic government (i.e. on the British model) as soon as is practicable in most (not all) colonial territories, by arrangement between the British Government and responsible leaders (i.e. those prepared to work with the British Government).

The Labour Policy amounts to nothing more than widespread mild reformism, suggesting nothing that would radically alter either the economics of the countries discussed or their class structure. It is a simple application to colonial problems of the managerialism that is the basis of Labour policy and will no more bring freedom to the people of the "Commonwealth" than it has to the people of Britain.

Even that is assuming Labour will try to implement its policy if returned to power next time. But, as the *Manchester Guardian* drily points out: It is only when a party has the responsibility of office that it is driven to contemplate the distasteful limitations of political freedom.

Miners Deny Colour Bar

WE did not hesitate to criticise strongly the miners of Bullcroft Colliery, Yorks, when, a couple of years ago, they refused to allow Italian workers in their pit.

Neither do we hesitate now to approve of the action by other Yorkshire miners who have specifically denied that there is any colour bar at their colliery.

A Jamaican, Fabian McIntosh, as a labourer in Britannia Colliery, Pengam, Wales, applied for a job at Denaby Main Colliery, near Rotherham, Yorks, because he had heard that houses were available there—and he and his wife and two children are living in cramped circumstances.

McIntosh was offered a job, but as soon as the Coal Board's area labour officer learned that he was a coloured Jamaican, he wrote back:

"Much as I regret it, I have to inform you that now the circumstances are known it is not possible for you to come to Denaby Main Colliery as the men will not accept either coloured or foreign nationals."

It now transpires, however, that the N.C.B. official was speaking without having made certain exactly what was the attitude of the men at Denaby. For at a union meeting three days after the

facts were publicised, the miners bluntly denied there was any objection to coloured workers in their pit. The only condition they put upon McIntosh's coming

to Denaby was that those men already there in need of accommodation should get Coal Board houses before anybody coming to the colliery from other areas.

In that matter, the colour of the newcomer would have no effect on that decision. And that seems to us to be fair enough.

Unions Could Elect Officials

It is deplorable that the area labour officer should have blundered in this way (although the Bullcroft incident may appear as a justification for his assessment of the miners' attitude) and only points once more to the lack of consultation and understanding between workers and management in nationalised industry.

This is more than anything the miners' own fault. If they felt about it strongly enough they could claim and get for themselves a far greater say in the running of their own pits. A simple, reformist and unrevolutionary first step could clearly be for the unions to claim the right to elect their own labour officers. But we fancy that would be too radical both for the N.C.B. and the miners' own leaders, who know their rightful places and are humbly prepared to accept them. But what do the miners themselves think?

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The Useful Mediocrity The Ideological Crisis of Our Time

AS IT HAPPENED, by C. R. Attlee. Heinemann, 16s.

THE publisher's blurb writer has done his best to convince the potential reader that poor old Clem's autobiography is worthy of attention. The Labour Party's accession to power in 1945, we are told, was for Britain 'the most important single political event of this century' and in the centre of 'the social upheaval' which it created, 'directing it with quiet authority', stood the figure of Clement Attlee. 'Written with charm and balance, without rancour or histrionics, these memoirs', the blurb continues, 'reveal that rare combination—a great yet modest man, commenting freely on the vital events of his lifetime'.

I quote at length from the wrapper because the blurb is in fact the best and brightest thing about this incredibly dull, banal and unenlightening volume. Political autobiography as a form of literature is not, it is true, the most rewarding kind of reading but one expects at least a few fireworks, one or two sparks of illumination, a genuine grain of substance among the chaff of comings and goings, doings and mis-doings that make up a politician's life. But not, apparently, from Clem. Instead we are given a dry recital of events which every newspaper reader knows, interspersed with trivia about the Attlee family, half a dozen jokes of the most puerile kind, a scrupulous recording of all of Clem's election results and lashings of quotes from that most platitudinous of all forms of speechifying—a live politician's tribute to a dead one. Almost the only revealing thing to be found in these pages is the immense inverted egoism—the egoism of the mediocre—which characterises the present leader of the Labour Party. On several occasions Clem, the elder statesman, sees fit to record that, as a boy, he had no predilection that he would one day hold the highest office in the State. Evidently Clem knows that he was not born great and that he did not achieve greatness but he is quite sure, for all his alleged modesty, that it was greatness that was thrust upon him.

There is only one interesting question concerning Attlee and of course he himself does not ask or attempt to answer it: How could a man of such mediocre abilities achieve and retain the position of leader of the most powerful Labour Party in the world? The Labour Party has never been short of power-hungry aspirants for its leadership; why, then, did it have to pick on such a nonentity as Clem and why have all attempts to oust him from the leadership come to nought? The answer lies not in the character of the man himself but in the conditions in which the party found itself in 1935 and since. A man of Attlee's background and calibre would have stood no chance in the early days of the party's history. To build up a mass political party one needs at the helm demagogic word-spinners like Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald. But once the organisation has been built up

such leaders become largely superfluous and, when they are not sincere demagogues, even dangerous. The party during its bureaucratic phase needs the solid, safe and respectable leader: the sort of man who can wear a top hat and not feel ridiculous or self-conscious. MacDonald's defection in 1931 was a great psychological blow to Labour Party supporters. They reacted by choosing as leader a man whose sincerity, if not his ability, was above question: George Lansbury. But Lansbury didn't fit the bill either. His stubborn pacifism was an electoral drawback in a period when the Labour Party was forced to make up its mind on the question of rearmament. Major Attlee (who relates that he once replied to an American Ambassador's query whether he did any big game shooting with: 'Yes, Shooting Germans') had no positive disqualifications for the office. Bred in the middle class 'dogooder' tradition, his sincerity was not in doubt, while in policy matters, particularly on the question of rearmament, he was a sound middle-of-the-roader.

Attlee's chief contestant in 1935 and since was Herbert Morrison—Laski's protégé in the intrigue to replace Attlee in 1945. Superficially Morrison was a more obvious choice. The ex-errand boy from Brixton who had built up the London Labour Party and who was the chief architect of the new managerial brand of socialism had substantial claims to the office. But a bureaucratic party mustn't appear to be led by party bureaucrats and Morrison has always been the Labour Party's bureaucrat *par excellence*. As it turned out, Attlee's middle class trappings have proved a useful electoral asset to the Labour Party. Between the wars it became obvious to the party hierarchs that the Labour Party would never win enough working class votes to put it into power; it would have to win a substantial section of middle class votes as well. In other words, the Labour Party had to be transformed in the eyes of the electorate from a working class party into a 'national' party, representative of all sections of the community. And under Attlee's leadership it succeeded in this object. So much so that in the 1945 election Attlee, with some show of justice, could reply to Churchill's Gestapo election speeches with the accusation that it was the Conservative and not the Labour Party which was the real 'class' party (cf. pp. 142-3).

This is no place to consider just what interest or set of interests the 'national' Labour Party now stands for. The great 'social upheaval' (did you notice it?) which the Labour Party brought about between 1945 and 1951 undoubtedly cost the party a number of middle class votes, although not so many as usually estimated. But so long as Clem remains boss (and he'll keep the job just as long as he wants it) the great British middle class can rest assured that it has nothing to fear from the Labour Party. As if to underline this fact, Attlee records in his closing paragraphs that the last important event to happen to him was

CONSIDERING that the internationalist spirit and feeling has diminished among the world's proletariat, almost to the point of completely disappearing, in violent contrast to the unusual increase of nationalist prejudice, which during the last few decades has made itself felt in an exaggerated manner in every country, and the way in which capitalism has been able to absorb an enormous number of workers, binding them tightly to its interests and prerogatives, with the incentive of the more or less quantitative sharing in the profits of the more prosperous industries and initiatives, we suggest to our libertarian militants that they investigate the lack of internationalist and ideological stimulus that is met with, unfortunately, among the organised workers, since it is an undeniable fact that in the social world of labour, something has happened similar to what took place during the formulation and propagation of Christianity in the first centuries A.D., causing the total disappearance of the pagan polytheistic forms.

At that time, it was necessary to fill the vacuum left behind by the collapsed cosmogonic and moral interpretations of antiquity, with something that would generate courage to pursue the ascending march of human evolution towards new stages of redemption from the oppressive yoke that the soulless and merciless ruling classes of that time wielded over the unfortunate human rebels.

Development of Christianity

It was thus that Christianity turned from liberated eagerness and expressed the clamour of a doctrinal fervour far more just, but to the same extent that the brotherly religion of the enslaved and oppressed became political, confusing itself with the State, this in its turn became more and more dogmatic, theological and intolerant, protecting itself with privileges, and absolute powers, completely arbitrary, on the pretext of being the immovable manifestation of the authority of God on earth. In the same proportions as the religions were making themselves more materialistic, with the automatic determinism that was causing the increase of their exorbitant privileges and vested interests, they were losing the essence of their redemptive universalism, and becoming involved in the proud ambitions and warring gestures of their respective national States, until

his presentation in November 1953 with the Honorary Freedom of the City of London. ('My wife and I drove in a victoria from the Law Courts to Guildhall and were very kindly received.')

This book is obviously intended as a sedative for the nervous business man who has (quite needlessly, it may be said) worked himself into a frenzy over the vapourings of Slogger Bevan; but it may perhaps also be recommended to any anarchist who suffers from insomnia. G.O.

they reached the point of praying to the God of the battles for the particular and selective triumph of each of the armies clashing over a rivalry of interests and works of destruction. The dead letter of their doctrinal postulates remained, but without the enlivening spirit of the early times, in which each believer could and had to put faith into his convictions without the jargon, complicated liturgy and sacerdotal hierarchy of the following centuries.

The First International

In the early days of the First Workingmen's International, the conditions of poverty and interminable hours of toil were such that a pathetic appeal to their desire to liberate themselves from such misery and subjection, was enough to spread among the masses an irresistible desire to ameliorate their sub-human conditions, in the face of usurping capital, which, in its most audacious and expansive form, could see before it a world full of possibilities to augment its fabulous profits and invested power in all parts of the earth.

But at the same time as the conditions of poverty of the plundered masses were being diminished, during the dawn of industrial manufacturing, brought about by the invention of powerful productive

machinery, the spirit of rebellion against the capitalist system was beginning to decrease, until the present time, when we now see an inversion of the rôles of emancipation, for capitalism is stealing the reformist rôle of the Union organisations, and has robbed them of their programme, and by making its own the narrow progressive aims of craft unionism, is drawing world labour to the support of its own economic and privileged stability by means of institutions of social security, and the allurements of sharing in the profits which are obtained as surplus value from the labour power which the workers realise, and the amount of capital invested in the gigantic industrial projects which are found chiefly in Europe and America.

As the working class is becoming more specialised, and consequently tied to the industrial development of the nation in which it is rooted, it becomes dissociated from the fate that falls to the other workers in the rest of the world, great numbers of whom are becoming modern pariahs, who because of the industrial backwardness of their economy, can only be destined to serve as the sub-class base, to provide raw materials to feed the limitless voracity of the industrial imper-

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Two Bulletins from Paris

THE frequency with which duplicated bulletins appear in the anarchist movement is not solely an English phenomena, as is shown by two recently launched publications from Paris: *Jeunes Libétaires*, and *Jeune Revolutionnaire*.

Of these, the first, produced by an independent editorial committee, is an excellent journal, with an approach corresponding to that of the majority of the British movement. It is written in a very readable style, and deals with varied topics. The current issue, (No. 8) contains articles on Imperialism, Education, The use of atomic energy, and the famous 'Genevieve' of Dien Bien Phu, in addition to news of libertarian activity.

Jeune Revolutionnaire, produced by the Youth Commission of the Libertarian Communist Federation, has a rather different tone. The contents are interesting and well written, and include criticism of the psychology of militarism and the hierarchical structure of industry. For me, however it was marred by the enthusiastic self-praise, and the frequent injunctions: "Comrade, do this! Comrade do that!" which take up a considerable amount of its space. A good feature is the idea of reserving a page of each number explicitly for writers whose views differ from those of the editors.

It is perhaps, easier to assess various tendencies within the libertarian movement when viewing them objectively from another country. A dilemma, which

is well brought out by the periodicals cited above, seems to lie between attracting the support of politically-minded people, and weaning them from their political ideas. Slogans such as "the F.C.L. is the true revolutionary party of the French workers" may attract some converts from the C.P. to the anarchist organizations, but they will not change the attitude of such converts from authoritarianism to anarchism.

As Andre Prunier comments in *J.L.*; with half a dozen people and a rubber stamp, it is possible to form a Revolutionary International, with a Congress, Council, and Bureau, and sections in several countries. On the other hand it is far more effective to get together in small groups and do something positive, in however small a way, instead of issuing calls to everyone else, but the rate of growth, and the visible return on such activity is not so exhilarating.

It is natural and healthy that different groups of anarchists lay stress on differing features of our philosophy, and provided they can refrain from mutual vilification, the varying tendencies in the French movement could act in a complementary manner.

The addresses of the respective editorial groups are: *J.L.*—Emile Beaucarne, 146 Boulevard de Charonne, Paris XX; *J.R.*—Robert Joulin, 145 Quai de Valmy, Paris X. P.H.

THEATRE

The Wooden Dish

THE characters of *The Wooden Dish*, a new play by Edmund Morris (at the Phoenix Theatre) are, like those in the best American plays, real, living human beings. They are certainly far more alive than many of the drearily conventional, respectable people in the audience. Lon Dennison is an old man, who is unwanted by his family, and is regarded as a nuisance. One of the characters says later on in the play: "There are two worlds—the young and the old. Why can't someone build a house large enough to hold both?" Old people, like children, are often lonely, unhappy, ignored and unwanted. Children create their own amusements and joy in their imaginations and illusions: old people in dreaming of the past, of the days when they were not ugly and feeble and tired. Then they could at least hope to be happy, to be able to live their own lives, according to his or her own courage, energy and self-faithfulness. *The Wooden Dish* is a drama of frustration and conflict in the Dennison home on the outskirts of a city in Texas. The old man's daughter-in-law, Clara, is tired of having to go on looking after him, to have to listen to his talk until she is nearly going out of her mind. She realises that she is already middle-aged, and has never really been happy for one day in her life. She wants some pleasure out of life, instead of doing the same things day after day in this drearily empty existence. If she doesn't start to do the things she wants to now, it will be too late. And so she persuades her husband, Glenn, to send the old man to a commercially run place called the

Aloma Heights Haven for the Aged. There is an excellent scene, when the representative of this so-called Haven, comes to arrange about it, which shows the heartlessness of American business and Mammon-worshipping way of life. The representative is falsely sentimental about the old people, but it is obvious that he doesn't think of them as human beings, but only hopes they will stay alive as long as possible, because that means they will make more money. "For a dollar, he'd tell you anything," Glenn says afterwards. He feels that it is wrong and contemptible to send the old man away, it is almost like passing a death sentence on his father to force him to go to this tomb, to wait for death. Would he like his children to treat him like this when he is old and helpless? He decides not to go through with it, but he has a violent quarrel with Clara, who threatens to leave him unless the old man is out of the house by the end of the week. Her daughter, Susan, thinks she is selfish and callous, and at the final curtain she picks up the wooden dish the old man was given for his meals, because he broke everything else, and says to her mother: "I'll keep this to remember. Some day you'll be old, too."

But it is not really fair to condemn the wife. The real causes of the loneliness of old people and all the harshness and cruelty among men and women, and the old and the young, is the false society in which they live, authority and property; people drift along from the

cradle to the grave doing what other people do for no other reason than that other people do it, and knowing nothing of freedom and generosity, of courage and cowardice, or indeed of anything except how to keep hunger and concupiscence and greed within the limits of "good taste" except when their excesses can be concealed. Custom is substituted for conscience and self-reliance. In *The Wooden Dish* we see that the analysis of old and unhappy people is the most difficult of all studies: for in proportion as the strength of the dominant passion or passions is quenched in the bitter still waters of the harbour of superannuation, the small influences of life grow in importance. As, when, from the breaking surge of an angry ocean, the water is dashed high among the re-echoing rocks, leaving little pools of limpid clearness in the hollows of the storm-beaten cliffs; and as when the anger of the tossing waves has subsided, the hot sun shines upon the mimic seas, and the clear waters that were so transparent grow thick and foul with the motion of a tiny and insignificant insect-life undreamed of before in such crystal purity: so also the strong sea of youth is left to dry in the pools and puddles of old age, and in the motionless calm of the still places where the ocean of life has washed it up, it is dried up and consumed by myriads of tiny parasites—and lives within lives, passions within passions—tiny efforts at mimic greatness—a restless little world, the very parody and infi-

tesimal reproduction of the mighty flood whence it came, wherein great monsters have their being, and things of unspeakable beauty grow free in the large depths of an unfathomed ocean.

But Pop Dennison goes at last to the haven for the Aged with courage and dignity; he rejects his grand-daughter's offer to look after him, he does not want to restrict her life. Tragedy is restful, and the reason is that hope, that foul, deceitful thing, has no part in it: when there is no hope left, then man gains a wonderful peace. Man needs such courage in the face of the strange, disinterested universe in which he exists he does not know how or why. Infinity, the explanation of the universe is within us and around us always: the unseen ghost of eternity is here in the stillness and the suspense. And yet our eyes are blind as they stare into the unknown. Man's courage is a tragic, baffling courage, too, because we remain ultimately helpless, dependent on unseen forces, not God, something far more amazing than the human-mind limited conception of God, the unknown explanation, which enables him to live in the strange twilight of mystery. Whoever in the night of existence thinks that his own body, even his own consciousness, is alive only by virtue of incomprehensible power, that the lurking powers of destruction within him are momentarily held in equilibrium—to him, with bated breath, the entire universe seems a house of cards. Mr. Wilfred Lawson as Pop Dennison gives his finest portrayal since he acted some years ago in Strindberg's *The Father*. D.M.M.

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PRAYERS & MORE PRAYERS

TO a primitive mind, to a simple person untrained in the subtleties and double-think of religion, the call to the nation issued by the leaders of the Church last week to pray for the continuation of the fine(?) weather so that the harvest may proceed, is to say the least puzzling.

The kind of weather we have been experiencing in these islands is mild compared with the flood disasters in Central Europe; or the tragedy in the Yangtze Valley or the widespread floods in N. E. India. Peiping has broadcast that the water level in the Wuhan cities is some *ninety-seven* feet, and is even higher than the disastrous level in 1931 when China was known to have had the worst Yangtze flood in her history. In N.E. India it is estimated that 12,000 square miles in Assam and 10,000 in Bihar have been submerged, and has caused extensive damage to crops, property and cattle besides displacing millions of people. In Nevada, the second earthquake in two months has caused heavy damage to the vital irrigation system in the Fallon area, threatening disaster for more than £300 million of field crops. And this list could be added to with such tragedies as that of the 2,000 people who were drowned by a cloudburst in Persia.

To the simple-minded person the question that poses itself is: if it is believed that prayers may induce God to stop the rain, presumably it was he who was responsible for starting all the trouble in the first place. If not what?

But it is not as simple as that. Stuart Morris, secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, commenting in last week's *Peace News* on another call to prayer—that of President Eisenhower when he appealed to the World Council of Churches for a world-wide campaign of prayer for a “just and lasting peace”—points out that whilst he does not deny the efficacy of prayer yet for such a method of promoting peace on earth (and presumably fine weather as well) to succeed, depends on “the kind of God to whom it is addressed and the sort of peace which is desired”—and we assume that the same can be said of the weather. Now Stuart Morris' approach is obviously the right one, for the continuance of the God myth, for whatever the results God can never be wrong. In his opinion the purpose of prayer is to seek to “set-free God's will”. Its success is dependent on “a knowledge of God's purpose and is in harmony with his methods”. Since God has proved himself more elusive than either Malenkov or President Chou, it is not surprising that in spite of unending trial and error to find out something of his “purpose” and “methods”, Man is still like the Sorcerer's Apprentice vainly seeking the magic formula to stop the floods . . . and the wars, and the misery!

We have always defended the fundamental right of the individual to hold whatever religious ideas are to his liking, but we also reserve the right to pour scorn on those ideas when they are publicly propagated in all seriousness as the cure-alls either for natural disasters, or man-made evils such as war. When the seas broke through the defences on the East Coast, or on the Belgian and Dutch coasts, it was not prayers that prevented a recurrence of the disasters, but the building of bigger and stronger sea walls. The disasters in China, India and Central Europe, are not phenomena of the atom-age, as other escapists would have us believe, but natural calamities which have been known to occur through the centuries, and which

could, we are sure, be minimised if the same engineering skill, knowledge and money were applied to these problems as has been lavishly expended in the development of the Hydrogen Bomb.

THE resurgence of religion, where it occurs, is simply a manifestation of man's fear and feeling of helplessness. It was said last week, at the Assembly of the World Council of Churches held in Evanston (Illinois), that more people are now attending church services than for many years past.

“Among the many reasons advanced by observers for the rise in church-going is the one which asserts that ‘church-going is a good American habit,’ and that the all-pervading American culture is taking the churches along with it in its present high boom and prosperity. The present international situation is also said to be a reason for turning towards religion, with fear as a driving force in the popular mind.”

With “fear as a driving force in the popular mind”, Governments and dictators can sleep in peace. Religion is the antithesis of responsibility. Governments believe in the opium of religion for the people (whether it is God-worship or Stalin-worship makes no difference) and until this is widely realised—and acted upon—we shall be no more free, or free from disasters than the sun-worshippers, and tree-worshippers (on whom our do-gooders have spent unbounding energy trying to sell them God-worship) were with their methods!

An International Congress Next Year?

A CIRCULAR from the C.R.I.A. (Committee for International Anarchist Relations)* addressed to all Federations, groups and individual anarchists draws attention to the fact that one of the missions of the C.R.I.A. is to make the necessary preparations for and to organise an International Anarchist Congress when comrades from any country should express the desire for such a Congress to be held. In 1953 the Spanish comrades in exile made such a request, and their proposal was supported by the movement in Sweden, Bolivia and the Bulgarians in exile. Further support and suggestions have come from Italy and Argentina, suggesting that the Congress should be held in 1955.

In its circular, C.R.I.A. announces that a Pre-Congress Commission has been in existence since June whose function it is to put together all documents that may assist in the preparation of the Congress. It is pointed out that owing to the hurried organisation of the 1949 Congress many important problems were not dealt with and many others were discussed by small committees thereby not obtaining a complete, world opinion on the subjects discussed.

C.R.I.A. suggests therefore that the questions to be discussed should be considered very carefully so that the level of the Congress should equal or even surpass that of the

*C.R.I.A., Maison des Sociétés Savantes, 28, Rue Serpente, Paris VI, France.

famous Amsterdam Congress of 1907.

C.R.I.A. also suggests that in the Americas and Asia, national and continental congresses should be held to this end. It also seems essential that comrades from Africa and India should attend the International Congress.

The C.R.I.A. bulletin, which it is hoped will be issued in four languages (French, German, English and Spanish) will be the co-ordinating organ for all the pre-Congress activity.

In calling for widespread support in the preparation of the Congress, C.R.I.A. suggests that national and continental Commissions in agreement with their respective organisations should undertake the following tasks:

1. The study of local, national and continental problems of international interest which could be included in the Agenda of the Congress. These will be sent to C.R.I.A. which will translate and issue in its Bulletins.
2. Obtaining and transmitting to C.R.I.A. all documents referring to previous congresses, or projected congresses which were never held. Such material may be either of direct interest to the Congress or have historic interest.
3. Detailed reports on the organic life of each organisation or group. Such information should include numerical strength, channels of

expression, influence in the life of the country, relations with workers' organisations, possibilities of activity or existing difficulties, general situation of the country from the political, economic and social points of view.

4. Establishment of a pre-Congress fund for the purpose of (a) the publication of the C.R.I.A. bulletin in various languages (b) expenses of establishing contacts on a national and international scale (c) to assist those countries unable to send delegates through lack of funds.

It is one of the functions of a journal such as FREEDOM to communicate to its readers such documents as the C.R.I.A. circular, and the Proposed Manifesto for an Anarchist Federation in the United States, (printed elsewhere in this issue).

We purposely refrain from commenting on either at this stage, because we feel that having acted as a link between the C.R.I.A. and the English-speaking movement we should now, at least in the preliminary stages, use some of our space as a forum in which our comrades can express their views on the proposed Congress and make suggestions as to the practical questions involved . . . at any rate until such time as the work of the Congress, so far as Britain is concerned, is undertaken by a group formed for this specific purpose.

No Tickets Please!

ON a train journey the other day my neighbour in the carriage was reading a weekly paper which contained an article with the headline *Why Shouldn't We Travel Free?* Being interested in travelling free I bought a copy of the paper at the end of my journey. The article turned out to be an account of a proposal by Mr. William Keystone who for many years was concerned with railway administration, to solve the problems of British Railways by making travel “free”, financed in much the same way as the National Health Service.

There would be, in Mr. Keystone's plan compulsory weekly contributions from the 24 million people who constitute the working population, and from industry which for this purpose embraces “manufacturers, producers of minerals, (such as the Coal Board), importers of manufactured or made-up goods and of food-stuffs, and farmers, all of whom are directly concerned with rail freightage. Individual contributions would be graded according to personal income. In the case of industrial contributors a special scale of payments would be fixed, based in each instance on the volume of business—to be assessed either in relation to annual turnover or profit.

“The total annual operating cost of British Railways is around £600 million. To provide this money, together with an initial surplus of, say, £180 million, the average weekly individual payment would therefore amount to about 12s. 6d. without taking the higher-scaled industrial contributions into account. These would, however, considerably reduce the wage earners' share.”

The first saving which would be made by the adoption of Mr. Keystone's scheme would of course be the abolition of tickets and advertising. The booking offices would close down, and the booking clerks, ticket collectors, audit and accounts clerks, who, according to George Woodcock's pamphlet on railways,* number nearly a hundred thousand, would be looking for useful jobs.

“Because a considerable surplus of income had been budgeted for in the early years, one of the most urgent steps to be taken would be a revision of rail wage structure. Broadly speaking the basic wage would be raised to the level of that in other industries, and increment scales introduced on the basis of efficiency and experience to give greater incentive. The British Transport Commission would, in addition, be able to afford to invest in new rolling stock and go ahead with the much needed repairs and maintenance of stations and permanent way, etc. Within a couple of years or so the railways could become our pride rather than our shame.

“Yes, this is all very well, but what about me?” says the farm labourer who has never moved far from his own back

**Railways and Society* (Freedom Press, 3d.)

door. ‘Where's the value for my money?’ As a member of the lower income group his personal contribution to the scheme would be modest enough anyway. And there is no reason why, with the greater inducement to travel, he shouldn't take the opportunity of seeing something of the country in which he was born.

“In theory, however, he does not have to use the railways to get a reasonable return on his investment. For the general effect of free travel would be to reduce the national cost of living—possibly to such an extent that the smaller contributors would be repaid in full by way of reduced housekeeping costs. Since both raw materials and manufactured goods could be transported to factory and shop without cost, a substantial saving would be passed on to the public. And the free carriage of coal would, apart from directly benefiting the domestic consumer, have a far-reaching effect on the whole economy of the country. Our farmers, too, would profit from the fact that their produce could be distributed to a wider market. And exporters would be in a better position to reduce their prices to meet the growing competition in international trade.”

Mr. Keystone offers his plan as “a basis for discussion”, and he adds, “The public may not yet be fully aware of the extent of the crisis in the railway industry, but the time must come when the truth dawns on them and they will demand a solution. The railmen themselves have been demanding one for a long while now—and a few extra shillings in their pay packets once in a while is not going to keep them quiet indefinitely.”

IS this a good idea? Despite Mr. Keystone's sense of urgency, it isn't practical politics in the sense that either of the political parties would back it, but the same is true of most good ideas.

Any attempt to provide essential services on the principle of “to each according to his needs”, is to be welcomed as a step in preparing people's mental attitudes for the acceptance of a society not run by money, but when conceived in isolation, in the world as it is, there always arises the question of how it is to be paid for. So far as the National Health Service or National Insurance are concerned, I have, in the society in which I live, no objection to paying up to insure myself, my dependants, and everybody else, against the financial worries of illness, accidents, unemployment, births and deaths, but the free railway service is quite a different thing. I don't feel the same obligation to my neighbour if he wants to go to the Edinburgh Festival as I do if he falls down a hole and loses his health and his livelihood. And if Mr. Keystone tells me, as he tells his farm worker that I ought to travel more anyway I shall give him an appropriate reply. If he tells me that the costs of

the things I buy will go down, I shall still think that they will go down by the amount of my contribution.

The purpose of the scheme is to increase the income of British Railways, so that they can bring the railways up to date and can pay their employees properly. Since the individual contributions are to vary according to income, they will have to be treated as part of income tax, unless a new bureaucracy is to be instituted to collect them. But how then are we to guarantee that, when the desirable surplus is reached, it won't be appropriated by the Treasury for some other purpose, for instance, colonial punitive expeditions, which may be considered by the government but not by me, to be more urgent. This is exactly what happened with the Road Fund or with Purchase Tax.

If on the other hand the government considers railway modernisation and electrification to be as urgent as Mr. Keystone quite rightly does, it will make grants from the Treasury to the British Transport Commission for the purpose, from normal taxation, or, as is reasonable, but unlikely, it will reduce the income from the compensation stock held by the former shareholders whose unwillingness to “plough back” enough of their income in the days of private ownership resulted in the poor condition of the railways when they were nationalised.

THESE are some of the thoughts that Mr. Keystone's plan gives rise to. Another one is whether his cryptic remarks about the railway workers' attitude which I quoted in italics above, imply that he thinks in terms of changes in railway administration in the direction of workers' control. But among the most fruitful reflections which it prompts are considerations of what we might call the “natural economy” of railways. The steam locomotive as we all know is a most inefficient fuel user, but with other sources of motive power, the advantages, for many purposes, of rail transport of goods and passengers outweigh the disadvantages, and so far as this country is concerned it would be of inestimable value if we could reduce the ever-increasing volume of traffic on roads. Our society is fantastically complacent about the loss of life on the roads, and if Mr. Keystone's plan were taken seriously, a statistician could no doubt predict quite accurately the number of lives which would automatically be saved by making rail travel and transport “free” in his sense, or even by some financial juggling which would make rail fares and freight charges lower than their road equivalents.

But these are not the factors which would weigh most heavily in any official consideration of Mr. Keystone's proposals. They wouldn't win votes.

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A PROPOSED MANIFESTO

4

Anarchy means without government force. Anarchism teaches that man can live in society without compulsion of any kind. Anarchists aspire to a stateless society with natural federations of free communes and associated productive groups, releasing all the organic passions of man from the subjection of the State.

Our pecuniary power culture chokes the spontaneous energy of man's creative, constructive and co-operative urges. The coercive State is the instrument of domination, by which the proprietary class maintains its property privilege over the dispossessed, governing by means of its State institutions: executive, legislative, judicial, military, cultural and emotional.

Throughout time the State has always been used by every parasitical ruling class to legalize its original theft and violence. They have never given up their power voluntarily. Absolutist States have spread mass murder, hunger and misery over the whole world. The next global war would efface the earth.

The answer to war is not another political revolution with its change of masters, but the social revolution of Anarchism—a transformation of economic conditions and a renewal in the social life. The Anarchist social revolution will lock out the warring plutocratic capitalist and autocratic bureaucrat

The Crisis of our Time

Continued from p. 2
ism of the gigantic and powerful States.

Capitalism is strengthening itself more and more by bringing into the bourgeois orbit the whole set of classes situated between the minority of potentates, and those who exist permanently at the opposite extreme of the social scale, who also numerous, and despicably remunerated with the lowest salaries, at the same time as being treated with marked social scorn.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the ratio of the exploited masses to the number of their exploiters was much greater than it is now, so that whereas at that time one could say that for each bourgeois there were several thousand unsalaried workers, to-day the figure has become 200 per thousand. Constantly bearing this fact in mind, we are forced to the imperative necessity of reconsidering the present inefficiency of our tactics of struggle against contemporary capitalism, which continues to yield its august and towering profits of millions and millions, in spite of the massive strikes that have taken place in the most industrialised areas, ordered by a union organisation without any emancipative ideology. Since it is unquestionable that many more people are interested in the continuation of the bourgeois régime, who in their turn and for their reasons dispense reforms, the task of subverting it and installing a new one of superior moral and egalitarian basis becomes even more difficult.

It is perhaps, perfectly true, that in order to escape from the present morass into which the international proletariat has fallen, it is necessary to strengthen the ideas which tend to assign to man a level higher than that of a biological entity, and to exalt and enthuse him by means of an audaciously revolutionary idealism that would send him out onto the universal and heroic paths of something truly new and rewarding. Since it is a proven fact that needs of an economic nature do not give rise to the same reactions in every individual, although it is no less certain that the demands of the exploited must be presented before all governments in every country with the same urgency, it is our duty to root out the very causes of social injustice and exploiting voracity.

If the minds of the workers do not react sufficiently to propaganda designed to raise their standard of economic life, we must develop in them the instinct of overcoming, in face of the terrifying perspectives that the historic outcome of humanity present to us. Perspectives which are subtly exploited in its favour by the Vatican political machine, and similarly by all the other religious hierarchies throughout the world, suggesting to the masses by means of huge demonstrations of spectacular publicity that gains numerous supporters for the institutions of Christian Social Democracy, comforting them in their own way against the feelings of insecurity and fear produced by a belicose and uncertain future.

For all these reasons we believe it necessary to devote ourselves to the study of the causes that give rise to the downfall of revolutionary syndicalist organisations, attempting to find positive solutions that may lead to a resurgence of the drive that the I.W.M.A. had in its early days, in the sphere of world affairs.

PROF. JOSÉ ALBEROLA in *Regeneración*, May, 1954.
(Translated for FREEDOM by Philip Holgate).

[A group has been formed in New York comprising individual members of the following groups and organisations: Libertarian Forum, Libertarian Book Club, Libertarian Theatre, Resistance Group, Individual Action, Catholic Worker, Peacemakers, War Resisters League, Cultura Proletaria, and the I.W.W.]

The manifesto, which they have adopted, and which they submit for the consideration of other groups in the United States, is reprinted below, without comments. While it will be of particular interest to our American readers, we are sure many comrades and sympathisers in this and other English-speaking countries will

be interested in this attempt to coordinate the activities of libertarians throughout the United States. With reaction attempting to stifle free thought and dissent the moment seems opportune to seek to draw together into an effective and vocal minority all those elements which remain outside the influence of political parties, power blocs and stand for the right of all individuals to freely express and propagate their views.

We invite readers of FREEDOM in America and elsewhere to send us their comments on the manifesto for publication in our correspondence columns.—EDITORS].

classes, ending sale, profit and the slave labor market and making the earth's wealth the collective ownership of all the people, operating to fill the needs of each individual.

1. The Anarchist Federation aims at the abolition of economic and social monopoly and the recreating of life from below upward into a voluntary federation of autonomous unions and social communes liberated from the control of any political party.

2. Instead of the laws of the State and the government of men, we desire the economic organization of labor with its administration of things.

3. The Anarchist Federation wants workers control of industry, agriculture, art and science with their development of education, production and distribution in the interests of all mankind.

4. Personal freedom and mutual cooperation should be the basis of our new social life.

5. Freedom exists not in conformity but in the individualization of human desires and needs.

6. The Anarchist Federation is opposed to the principle of authority and all centralist regulation and moral discipline which methodically stifles individual thought, action, emotion and movement.

7. The Anarchist Federation calls for a revolution on all levels—economic, social, cultural and emotional and the dawning of a classless free society bereft of inequality and oppression.

8. Only by taking revolutionary direct action will the workers emancipate themselves from the yoke of wage slavery and the oppression of the State.

9. The Anarchist Federation basing

its stand on the class struggle and the defense of human rights over property rights, supports the struggle for freedom and equality throughout the world, in opposition to all forms of imperialistic totalitarianism whether it be capitalism, authoritarian communism, fascism, feudalism, clericalism, militarism or any other type of slavery.

10. The Anarchist Federation advocates a revolutionary libertarian third camp to combat the imperialist war economy of both the United States and Russian power blocs, which are hurling the world into automaton uniformity, poverty, depression, biological warfare and the atomic suicide of all life on earth.

11. The free, non-competitive social groupings of libertarian anarchy would put an end to the economic causes of war and develop all the natural faculties and talents within man.

12. The goal of the Anarchist Revolution is the reorganization of industry for the use of consumers without exploitation, and the non-crystallizing of systems of production making for decentralization and the merging of economic and emotional life freely existing and federating with the general industrial system, thus giving the opportunity not only to industrial and agricultural mechanization, but also opening the way for handicraft production, agrarian combined with home industry, independently producing communes and phalanxes, and nomadic individuals and groups.

13. The Anarchist Federation believes in educating the working class in familiarity with the processes of industry and knowledge of the resources of supply, in agitating for shorter hours, more pay and

would lead to a line-up with the East instead of with the West.

But, because of America's attitude to China, refusing to recognise Mao Tse Tung's government and to allow China into the United Nations, and the supposed hostility of Conservatives to anything 'Red' (except when the Reds have the same war aims—i.e. 'killing Germans') it was not suitable that representatives of the British Government should go and hob-nob with Malenkov or Mao. The advantages of doing so, however, could not be ignored, so it was necessary for somebody to be found who could speak for Britain with sufficient authority to impress the Communist leaders, but who could not be said, by those opposing the visit, to be official representatives of the British Government.

Now who fits the bill better than the leader of Her Majesty's Opposition? And what better than that the delegation should be from the Labour Party? Mr. Attlee's loyalty to Britain could never be questioned. Hadn't he been deputy Prime Minister under Churchill himself during the war, even if we ignore his own period as P.M.? And isn't it quite convenient for the Americans to see the Labour Party—who are halfway to being Reds themselves—the ones visiting the Communist countries, while the ruling party, the Tories, stand aloof, pretending they have nothing to do with it, even being slightly superior about it?

The second of these courses has been successfully left in the capable hands of the Trade Union Congress, whose 'responsible' and 'statesmanlike' policies of restraint have won the approval of the entire ruling class. The third course is in process of realisation, much to the discomfiture of Britain's long-standing ally and friend, France.

And the first course gives us the clue to the presence of the Labour Party leaders in China at this particular time. It has been put forward—as much as we have been told any reason at all for the pilgrimage, that the Labour leaders were anxious to 'see for themselves' what was really going on in the great new People's Democracy, and to see if an attempt could be made to establish more friendly relations between China and Britain.

At one point during the dinner at the British Embassy in Moscow, which lasted far, far into the night, Attlee, Deputy Foreign Minister Vishinsky and Trade Minister Mikoyan explored the meaning of the word freedom. At last, through a bewildered interpreter, the three agreed that in the West it meant "freedom to choose"; in the Communist East it meant freedom "from having to choose."

This means, translated into realistic terms, that since various delegations of businessmen who have visited both Moscow and Peking have not met with any spectacular success in their task of encouraging more East-West trade, the time had come for a determined effort by recognised leaders in Britain to make an official approach.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the ratio of the exploited masses to the number of their exploiters was much greater than it is now, so that whereas at that time one could say that for each bourgeois there were several thousand unsalaried workers, to-day the figure has become 200 per thousand. Constantly bearing this fact in mind, we are forced to the imperative necessity of reconsidering the present inefficiency of our tactics of struggle against contemporary capitalism, which continues to yield its august and towering profits of millions and millions, in spite of the massive strikes that have taken place in the most industrialised areas, ordered by a union organisation without any emancipative ideology. Since it is unquestionable that many more people are interested in the continuation of the bourgeois régime, who in their turn and for their reasons dispense reforms, the task of subverting it and installing a new one of superior moral and egalitarian basis becomes even more difficult.

It is perhaps, perfectly true, that in order to escape from the present morass into which the international proletariat has fallen, it is necessary to strengthen the ideas which tend to assign to man a level higher than that of a biological entity, and to exalt and enthuse him by means of an audaciously revolutionary idealism that would send him out onto the universal and heroic paths of something truly new and rewarding. Since it is a proven fact that needs of an economic nature do not give rise to the same reactions in every individual, although it is no less certain that the demands of the exploited must be presented before all governments in every country with the same urgency, it is our duty to root out the very causes of social injustice and exploiting voracity.

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Behind the Labour Trip to China

Continued from p. 1

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If the minds of the workers do not react sufficiently to propaganda designed to raise their standard of economic life, we must develop in them the instinct of overcoming, in face of the terrifying perspectives that the historic outcome of humanity present to us. Perspectives which are subtly exploited in its favour by the Vatican political machine, and similarly by all the other religious hierarchies throughout the world, suggesting to the masses by means of huge demonstrations of spectacular publicity that gains numerous supporters for the institutions of Christian Social Democracy, comforting them in their own way against the feelings of insecurity and fear produced by a belicose and uncertain future.

For all these reasons we believe it necessary to devote ourselves to the study of the causes that give rise to the downfall of revolutionary syndicalist organisations, attempting to find positive solutions that may lead to a resurgence of the drive that the I.W.M.A. had in its early days, in the sphere of world affairs.

PROF. JOSÉ ALBEROLA in *Regeneración*, May, 1954.
(Translated for FREEDOM by Philip Holgate).

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better labor conditions, and in organizing the workers into militant industrial unions with an elected, rotated clerical agency subject to recall and a statistical clearing house to wage the revolutionary general strike on the job and carry on production when private and state capitalism have been overthrown.

14. Only the I.W.W. has not compromised in its fight for solidarity and one big union representing the direct interests of all the workers. The rank and file of the capitalist arbitration trade unions in the United States (C.I.O. and A.F. of L., the Railway Brothers, the Machinists, the United Mine Workers and the Stalinist unions, etc.) must seize and hold the productive forces from the employing class and the labor leader statesmen who are turning the workers' unions into hiring hall instruments in the legal apparatus of the State.

15. The Anarchist Federation demands the expropriation of all property such as the lands, the workshops, the factories, the mines, the mills, the utilities, the tools of production and the means of transportation and communication for the well being of all humanity; and when anarchy has reached the stage where it can produce for everyone, the equitable distribution of wealth will be replaced by the Anarcho-Communist practice, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

16. The revolutions of the past, and others—statist, opportunistically sectarian

Japanese Strikers Appeal for International Support

Textile unions in this country and sixteen other member-nations are being asked by the International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations to support the strike at the Omi Silk Reeling Company, Japan. Mr. J. Greenhalgh, secretary of the federation, announced in London yesterday that letters are to be sent this week-end to affiliated organisations explaining the situation at the Omi plant.

Discussing the "human rights" aspect and the attitude of the company to the "morals" of their workers, Mr. Greenhalgh said that while a large number of women were employed at each mill, some men were also employed, and occasionally marriages took place between them. "If that happens," he added, "they are either sacked, or one of them is transferred to another mill to prevent them from living together."

Workers, he continued, are compelled

to buy books containing the rules of the firm and its songs, which had to be sung morning and evening. There was also a list of "promises" to be made daily, such as "I promise not to complain even at the low rate of wages I receive," and "I promise to work overtime without extra payment when required to do so." The workers were compelled to give these pledges. The Omi Company employed 13,000 operatives.

"Our International comprises seventeen different nations, and our total membership is 1,750,000, he said. "The full support, moral and financial, of our affiliated organisations will be requested in support of the Japanese."
(Manchester Guardian).

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)
SEPT. 5.—Lister Stott
WHY I AM NOT AN ANARCHIST
SEPT. 12.—M. Simon
HEALTH AND SOCIETY

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.
AT MANOR PARK
SEPT. 15.—Arthur Uloth
THE TRAGIC BANDITS
(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 200 Buchanan Street
Every Friday at 7 p.m.

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

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