

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"A political leader may always do as he pleases—so long as he pleases those he 'does'."

—CHAPMAN COHEN.

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Threepence

A CAPITALIST NECESSITY?

The Re-Armament of Germany

IF there is one characteristic shared by most ordinary people which is of more use to governments than any other it must surely be the short memory.

It is only nine years since the end of the most destructive war in history, and for the whole of its duration—nearly six years—we in this country had been subjected to a barrage of propaganda calculated to make everything German hateful to us for the rest of our lives.

For it was not merely the Nazis we were taught to hate, but the whole German people. "The only good German is a dead one" was a phrase resurrected from World War I. Some of us, the Anarchists included, did not need much teaching about the hateful nature of Nazism. After all, our comrades in Germany had been tasting the benefits of the New Order ever since 1933—during which time our war leaders of 1939-45 had been tasting Hitler's hospitality and Von Ribbentrop's champagne.

The support the Nazis had received from the British ruling class was, however, very quickly forgotten when a resurgent and aggressive German Imperialism, having successfully crushed all opposition at home, began to expand and threaten the economic interests of Britain and her Allies.

Empty Promises

The blame for that was shared out by our war leaders—Churchill and Attlee, Eden and Morrison—between the Nazi gangsters and the Prussian militarists. And although Britain was hard put to it to find a positive war aim, many an honest radical was recruited into support for the war by hatred for Nazism and by such declarations as Church-

ill's famous: "We shall not allow the German military caste to re-emerge or re-arm for fifty years."

But alas for the radicals who followed in Tory footsteps. For the world which emerged at the end of the holocaust in 1945 did not even look like presenting, let alone preserving, the principles for which, so we were told, the war had been fought and won. And when such an alleged principle is one which, if maintained, would profoundly upset the *status quo* and the balance of power—then its chance of survival is precisely nil.

It is true that German militarism has taken the initiative in starting two world wars this century. It is equally true, however, that German militarism has not been the cause of those wars. It has itself been the effect of the real and primary cause.

Capitalist Competition

Wars are the result, as we have demonstrated continually in this paper, of economic necessity. The economic system which exists throughout the whole world in some form or another, capitalism, is one which, by its very nature, must be expansive. No industrial capitalist State can remain static, for the system is competitive, and any State which stands still will be forced to retreat—economically speaking—by a more vigorous competitor.

The first expansive capitalist power in the world was Britain. She expanded to such a fantastic extent during the 19th century that by the time the second great industrial country of Europe, Germany, woke up to what was happening, Britain was undisputed mistress of one-fifth of the world and the dominant commercial power throughout the rest.

For Germany to expand then, meant treading on Britain's toes, and when the Kaiser in 1914 declared that Germany 'wanted a place in the sun' he meant purely and simply that German capitalism needed markets. These markets, unfortunately, were dominated by Britain, so automatically the conflict ensued.

The Problems Remain

Similarly, in 1939, after the tottering economy within Germany had been patched up by fascist initiatives and by re-armament, the country's needs demanded more markets, a wider territory to dominate and exploit. In the case of the Nazis, their hideous and lunatic régime clouded over the fact that the reasons for German aggression were basically the same as in 1914—German capitalism needed a place in the sun.

Now the war against the Nazis has done absolutely nothing to alter the fundamental problems of a capitalist world.

Expensive Charity

Londoners gave £308,910 to charity on nineteen flag days in 1953—£2,997 less than in 1952. Expenses amounted to 14.3 per cent. of the total, leaving £264,546 for distribution.

The Advisory Committee on Street Collections, commenting on the level of expenses in its report for 1953 to the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, states:

"The high expenses incurred by some charities are causing concern—the cost of five collections have been more than 15 per cent. in each case. In fact, one of these has been refused a further permit, partly on the grounds of continued high expenses."

Of the expenditure the cost of emblems amounted to 53 per cent.

Certainly the war resulted in the downfall of the Nazi régime and the deaths of the top leaders—but in view of the re-emergence of well-known ex-Nazis in Adenauer's administration in Bonn, of the signs of a resurgent nationalism, the release and return to influence of people like Krupp, it is clear that the climate is by no means unfavourable for Nazism or something like it to flourish in Germany again. And since Nazism had its use for German capitalism—there is a reason for it appearing again.

And the sheer necessity, from the capitalist point of view, for the re-armament of Germany, will also ensure the re-emergence of German militarism, which will in due course, no doubt, play once again its traditional part on the European stage.

But it should certainly never be overlooked that British capitalism demands the re-arming of Germany, who is competing in world markets much too keenly for British tastes. Two years ago, in a Parliamentary debate on German re-armament, Anthony Eden pointed out the unfair advantage that German industry had in being able to concentrate on consumer goods for export, without the burden of re-armament under which British industry is labouring.

They Will Risk It

The interests of British industrialists, then, demand German re-armament. If, in the future, a strong Germany turns once again against the West—well that is a risk our industrialists are prepared to take. It is the workers who bear the

brunt of wars, anyway. For the captains of industry they have been profitable—up to now, anyway.

From the point of view of world politics, re-armament is also necessary. An unarmed Germany presents a power vacuum in Europe which is too great a temptation for the Russians, think the Americans and the British. At the same time the Russians would welcome the emergence of an independent, sovereign Germany with her own army, for then the Americans would withdraw most of their forces from Europe, and would leave Germany free to do a deal with Russia if it is to their mutual advantage.

From all the points of view that count in the world to-day, then, the re-armament of Germany is a necessity. And the realistic politicians—i.e. the politicians in power (those out of power have principles)—in every country are agreed on the issue.

France Clears the Way

In France, Premier Mendès-France has at last been able to put an end to the three-year shilly-shallying about E.D.C. It has been rejected, as everybody knew it would be, but its very rejection leaves the way clear either for Germany to be brought into N.A.T.O., or to go ahead independently in some other way—and energetic wonder-man Mendès-France prefers N.A.T.O.—so do the British and Americans, so far.

In Britain the Bevanites, the Communists and the Beaverbrook Press (strange bedfellows!) are opposing 'Guns for the Huns' as they put it. The realistic people, like Churchill, Attlee and the Trades

Union Congress, all support German re-armament.

They know what is good for them. If only the ordinary people of the world could be half as realistic as these. If only they could see that the pattern of re-armament and war is inseparable from the capitalist system and inevitable as long as it lasts. If only they could see that it is fruitless to talk of disarmament, or banning H-Bombs, or 3rd Camps or any of the other catch-phrases of the moment, while States exist.

The demand for the re-armament of Germany, by the very person who promised during the war that she would be kept disarmed for fifty years, comes as no surprise to anarchists, who have known him as a liar for a long, long time. What is surprising to us is the way people keep on falling for politicians' tricks. Isn't it about time they woke up? Must their memories always be so short?

Post-war politics with regard to Germany bears out to the hilt the anarchist analysis of war and politics. But is it not generally recognised that this policy is the most cynical betrayal of all those who gave their lives in the war, believing in the pronouncements of the Allied leaders? And let us not blame only the West for making use of ex-Nazis, for the Russians have been doing so—and have had the nucleus of an army in East Germany for six years—ever since the end of the war.

Power politics is a cynical, murderous game. While the people of the world allow themselves to be governed, however, cynicism and murder will be their lot. Extreme as it seems, there simply is nothing short of social revolution that will put an end to that.

And those politicians who try to make you believe that it is possible for a disarmed Germany to exist in a capitalist world are either fools or—looking for gullible voters—are rogues. P.S.

SYNDICALIST NOTEBOOK

Women in Our Mines

IT will probably come as a surprise to many—especially in the soft South of England—to know that 1,000 women are still employed in the mining industry in Britain.

True, we haven't got as far in the emancipation of women as has been achieved in the Soviet Union. They are not as equal to men here, as there, where women work underground in the mines side by side with their menfolk. (One Communist joker assured us that this was quite all right, however, since the mines are not so deep in Russia!)

Here in Britain women are used only at the pit-head, screening coal already brought to the surface. But in view of the fierce battles carried on by the trade unions of last century to end the employment of women and children in the coal-mining industry altogether, we have to ask how it is that the practice of employing women at all has crept back.

It is in fact another piece of progress for which we have to thank the war. When wartime demand for coal brought new life to Britain's neglected mines, there were simply not the men available

to do the screening, washing and grading. So in came the women and there they still are.

And the interesting part about it is that they seem to like the work. Mind you, not for reasons which would have much meaning outside of a working class in a capitalist society. A *Manchester Guardian* correspondent visited Astley Green colliery near Leigh, Lancs., and reports:

"Asked if they like the work they answered 'yes' with a unanimity that would have embarrassed the foreman if he had been present. Mrs. Norah Shufflemoth liked it because of the hours. She started at 7 a.m. and at 2.30 p.m. was free to do the shopping and the housework. Mrs. Edna Hughes liked it because of 'the company'. Some liked the pay—£5 5s. 6d. for a five-day week—while others thought they could get more in a cotton mill but stayed because they were used to the work or found the hours convenient."

These women, according to a miner who works with them, 'are pretty tough', and they all regard the statement that the work is too hard as 'tommy rot' and 'soppy sentiment'. But of the reasons they give for sticking it only one—liking the company—seems to us to be one that would apply after capitalist incentives are withdrawn.

So here's an issue readers might like to comment on: In a free society, what do you do with the tough woman, who likes working at a heavy, dirty job which is generally regarded as unsuitable for women?

Plea for Wider Differentials

ONE of the aspects of the present unrest among railmen with which we cannot agree is the attempt to widen the differentials in the wage-rates of skilled and unskilled workers.

Mr. Cyril Osborne, Tory M.P. for Louth, has produced figures to show that whereas an express engine driver drew 125 per cent. more than a porter in 1934,

he now gets only 43 per cent. more. A skilled engineer in 1914 received 79 per cent. more than an unskilled engineer. He now gets only 26 per cent. more.

This, says Mr. Osborne, is a very bad thing, since it has reduced the incentive for workers to learn skills. What a jaundiced, sterile and ignorant attitude this is both to workers and to work! It ignores completely the real driving force which makes men interested in certain work rather than others.

Those who think that only money can entice men to learn more skilled—and therefore more interesting—work, should think over the following remark by Dr. Neil O'Connor at the Congress of the World Federation of Occupational Therapists:

"Mental defectives are particularly interested in monetary reward."

Car Workers Ban Overtime

MORE than 1,500 workers at the Briggs Motor Bodies plant, Dagenham, are to ban overtime now that negotiations with the management over new regulations have broken down.

The men complain that they are not being allowed to make up their own minds whether they should work overtime. They want a return to the old system, which allowed a man to leave before the end of an overtime shift if he had a good reason.

The old system, however, was overturned by the new owners, Fords, who bought Briggs out a few months ago. Fords want every Briggs worker who wishes to do overtime to work a full weekend shift, or else be banned from overtime altogether.

The attempt by Briggs is in line with the long-standing attempt by the Dock Labour Board to make overtime compulsory. The dockers have given the same answer—and held out since January—as the Briggs workers.

If more workers would join in and make it a nation-wide ban, the issue could be settled once and for all in a very short time.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST.

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SEGREGATION—THE WILL OF GOD?

A DISTINGUISHED American Negro, Dr. Benjamin Mays, of Atlanta, and a leading Afrikaans-speaking South African, Dr. Ben J. Marais, of Pretoria, stood together to-day at the tribune of the World Council of Churches here and presented the Assembly's report on "Intergroup Relations."

The Assembly reaffirmed the commonly accepted Christian view of the universal fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man, and it condemned racial distinctions within the Christian Church in whatever country they are practised.

Dr. Marais, who is a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, presented the case for his Church, which holds that the segregation of the races is based on scriptural authority. He claimed that the South African view that God wills "to perpetuate the existence of separate nations and the division into races" must be reckoned with, although he himself does not hold the extreme view.

Quoting his Church synod's declaration, Dr. Marais said, "in ordinary social intercourse, especially where national morals are involved, each race should preserve its national character by withdrawing into its own particular circle. True Christianity is certainly not displayed in a common social intercourse, in which the national identity of each racial group is threatened."

Pleading for an understanding sympathy in an *Apartheid* policy within the Church Dr. Marais said that for 1,000 years Christianity has been a "white" Church. Only since the nineteenth century had large groups of "non-white" races become Christian. Race and colour were twentieth-century problems, and colour was not the chief of them.

Observer, 22/8/54.

SEX AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

SEX AND THE SOCIAL ORDER, by Georgene H. Seward. Pelican Books, 2/6d.

IN this book we are taken through the whole gamut from fishes to modern Americans, and the sexual and social lives of all sorts of animals are described at length. The authoress's main theme becomes more and more evident as we reach the higher apes and "primitive man".* She is a disciple of Margaret Mead, who teaches that the character differences between the sexes spring mainly from the social structure and not from anything innate in men and women. "Masculinity" and "femininity" are social rather than biological products, and in some societies both sexes behave in a manner that we should describe as "feminine", in others as "masculine", while in some the rôles are completely reversed. In my opinion Seward makes her case, though I am far from accepting all she says.

The sexuality and the social order of fishes makes depressing reading. They all seem to be rugged individualists. The males dominate the females, and possess them after having driven away the weaker males. Indeed this "old man of the horde" pattern seems all too common in nature, and is found among apes and monkeys, though not among all of them. In point of fact one can

*In fact none of the tribes described are true primitives, i.e. food-gatherers, but are in fact savages, property-owning and practising agriculture. The distinction is important, and not just a question of pedantry, since the modern tendency in anthropology is to describe highly complex societies as "primitive", presumably because their technology has not yet reached the level of machine guns and television sets. Margaret Mead has actually written a well-known book entitled "Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies" in which not a single primitive society is described. The result is to give an extremely false conception of what is or is not natural human behaviour, since these highly developed communities are held up to us as examples of how our earliest ancestors lived.

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really only start to talk of social systems when one arrives at this stage on the ladder of evolution.

"The sociologist who seeks in man's closest relatives a fundamental form to serve as a model for the re-fashioning of human society will seek in vain. Among primates, the only generalisation is that generalisation is impossible." The rhesus monkey is a social fascist, while the cebus howlers are anarchist communists *pur sang*. "These groups live in semi-nomadic clans, consisting of from 4 to 35 individuals, not primarily organised in family units. Dominance plays a much less conspicuous part . . . it is impossible to pick out rulers and overlords because leadership tends to be rotated among different members of the group, depending on personal characteristics other than psychophysical superiority . . . even in the sexual sphere the dominance gradient is not steep . . . In this connection the communal type of sexual relationship in contrast to a possessive monogamy or polygamy is not without significance. Cebus males apparently do not compete for food, females, or social positions and are seldom pugnacious with one another. Similarly the females associate peacefully together. Groups of 8 or 10 may be seen communally feeding from the same limb of a tree. The group co-operation that has developed the secure socialistic climate of the howling monkey is a model to all primates not excluding man." Most likely this was the form of social organisation of man in his most primitive state.

The gibbons seem to approach an individualist anarchist society. There is much more antagonism within the group, at least between people of the same sex, though no fighting takes place. The attitude of adult gibbons towards each other in conciliatory rather than co-operative. The social unit is not the group, but the family couple. The attachment between mates is very strong and indeed exclusive. Nevertheless there is no social hierarchy, and "on the whole, social life for the gibbon presents a fairly secure and peaceful picture centred round the closely knit family group." Sex equality exists, the behaviour of male and female being virtually identical. Different groups of gibbons sometimes fight over their respective territories, and boundary disputes occur, but this does not amount to anything serious. We seem to have here an "association of egoists", in which

the egos of the group members are all sufficiently strong to resist domination by the others, as Max Stirner postulates. Though lacking the peacefulness of the cebus howlers, the gibbon society gives more scope for individual initiative, without letting it degenerate into a domination and tyranny. The social order of the chimpanzee seems to fall somewhere between these two types of society.

Coming to savage societies, the authoress has high praise for the Trobriand Islanders, at least as they were when Malinowski wrote his famous book on them. But I have been told by someone who has been there that there are now more anthropologists than savages among the Trobrianders, and that if you stop an islander and try to talk to him he will immediately begin to tell you all about his sex-life.

When we come to deal with modern European and American sex-life Seward shows herself extremely liberal, but has some blind spots. For example in discussing the rôle played by women in Russia she says, "It was the men who supported the women and spurred them on until they not only became a vital part of the movement but even rose to the highest positions." In view of the

long line of women revolutionaries and social reformers in Russia, from the days of the Nihilists onward, this shows a most surprising ignorance.

Again she says, concerning the chequered progress of women in Western society, "In times of liberal humanitarian movements, patriarchy has declined, women have been appreciated as people, and their range of influence extended . . . But no matter how bright their prospect in time of opportunity, they have always unconditionally surrendered and retreated into the home at the first sign of reaction." If this is meant to imply that at the first sign of reaction women retreat and men try to resist, it is just silly. If women submitted to the degradation of Nazism so did the men. Despite all the progress made during the nineteenth century both sexes have shown themselves remarkably ready to sacrifice all their gains, or to allow them to be taken from them.

However I think that all anarchists would agree with her when she discusses our present methods of educating children. She has nothing but contempt for the system of sex-segregation that prevails. Alas, the inter-sexual antagonism that exists among children, and which persists into adult life, is very deeply in-

grained. By the time the children are seven or eight they have been so conditioned to accept it that they enforce the taboo on association between boys and girls themselves. But Seward points out that much of her material is of necessity drawn from the middle classes, among whom these taboos apply much more than among the "under-privileged". The sex-life of the poorer American Negroes is much more natural and healthy, and of course among such people as the Trobrianders sexual development is a logical development, from infantile erotic play to adolescent love affairs, terminating in marriage. There is no artificial break, the so-called "latency period", in which the child loses, or appears to lose, interest in sex.

There can be no doubt that it is desirable to educate the two sexes together, and to give both similar training. Thus they would come to understand each other, and would be prepared to work together as comrades.

Of course in this short review there is no room to do justice to the book, which is in fact a mine of information, and will be of particular interest to those who love statistics, and to the gatherer of scraps of information of the "believe it or not" kind, as well as to the serious student.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

On the Theatre

DRAMA AND REALITY

THE struggle for liberty, for the deliverance of all men from the degradation of authority and coercion, and the oppression of property and capitalists, that ravening flock whose vampire wings brood treacherously over the sleeping world, and fan men into dreams of promised good, of hope, of freedom but to drain their blood—this struggle for true life must continue until each and every individual is his own sovereign, till not a shrine through earth be found on which the glories of freedom, independence, and equality shall not burn. True freedom is dimmed, but it must revive: it is lost, but it shall return. The flame of freedom shall yet illuminate the wonder and the glory, the poetry and the beauty of authentic individual existence. Shine, shine for ever, glorious Flame, noblest attribute of man! And when it ascends, the inspiration and the value of personality will come back into men's lives. Only Anarchy can enable the individual to be himself, the land where the wings of the soul are unfurled, in freedom and its sunshine on the joyful way. Authoritarian society is a bleak desert, where liberty grows weary of wasting its daylight on a region so drearily enslaved and corrupted. At present man is a lone

pilgrim before whose faint eyes the water he gasps for but sparkles and vanishes. Hatred, envy, exploitation and war continue to infest the world, and to destroy all the spontaneous sincerity and mutual aid among mankind. Deluded and hypnotised by rulers and governments, hapless man is tempted on through this false life by fair shining hopes, that in shining are gone.

"As a dare-gale skylark scanted in a dull cage,

Man's mounting spirit in his bone-

house, mean house, dwells—

That bird beyond the remembering

his free fells;

This in drudgery, day-labouring-out

life's age."

—"The Caged Skylark".

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS.

★

TO-DAY in the "theatre" of authoritarianism, where man does not look up at the universe of stars, but at the dead ceilings and roofs the factories, the mean houses, the schools, the Parliaments in which his spirit is immured, children are like puppets—created by other people and society—but these poor puppets are alive as they are jerked through all the cruel scenes and movements of school, compulsion, discipline, and all the harshness, all the terrible loneliness of a being who awakes suddenly blinded by the floodlights, and yet shivering in the spiritual emptiness and coldness, crying inarticulately in inner despair—yet, within these puppets is an inner, subjective soul of joy, of love, of reality which suffers in this hostile exile, and struggles to remain alive. Objectivization is the only delusion: what the individual dreams in the reality of his own thoughts and feel-

★

AS Miguel de Unamuno shows in his work, *The Tragic Sense of Life*, the abolition of dehumanizing tyrannies and objectivizations, property, law, government, and mental enslavement and inauthenticity, the achievement of a just and free environment for the individual to grow and expand in, will not mean a

Continued on p. 3

'Picture Post' on Anarchists

In a recent issue of *Picture Post* there appeared an article entitled "A Hundred Years of Assassination". In view of certain references to the anarchist movement it contained, I sent the following letter to the editor of *Picture Post*:

"SIR,

As an anarchist I wish to question certain of the 'historical' facts stated by Carlo Fenoglio in his article 'A Hundred Years of Assassination' (*Picture Post*—7.8.54). It is not my intention, in so doing to deny that individual anarchists have committed acts of political violence in the past—they have—but to serve the interests of historical truth, I take issue with your correspondent regarding the following 'facts':—

1. . . . the anarchist Orsini'. As far as I know there were no anarchist acts of violence during the rule of Napoleon III. It would be interesting to read Fenoglio's proofs for his statement that Nicola Orsini was an anarchist.

2. Fenoglio writes: 'President Garfield was shot by an anarchist in 1881'. This is untrue. The assassin, Guiteau, was a Republican (U.S. brand).

3. The caption to one of the illustrations accompanying the article reads: 'An anarchist's second bomb ended the life of . . . Alexander II'. Any reliable history of Russia will furnish the information that the persons who assassinated Czar Alexander II were members of the 'Narodnaya Volya' (People's Will Party). This party was composed of socialists who stood for a democratic constitution.

4. Fenoglio asserts: 'The Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century killers were largely anarchists . . .'. Acts of political terror during this period

were carried out by socialists, catholics, nationalists, patriots and royalists—as well as by anarchists. I would be interested in any statistical data your correspondent could offer to authenticate his assertion.

It seems to me that Fenoglio deliberately tries to give the impression in his article that the anarchist movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was identified with political assassination ('Luccheni was a typical anarchist of his time' . . . etc.) This is an old trick to denigrate anarchism. One can no more indict anarchism because certain of its adherents have been political terrorists, than one can indict any other social or religious doctrine because certain of its adherents have also committed acts of assassination.

A final point:—Why all this sudden concern for the assassination of a comparatively few rulers, when the present rulers of the world are assiduously encouraging the development of greater and greater weapons of mass, indiscriminate assassination?"

As perhaps could be expected, my letter did not appear. Instead I received a note stating: ". . . we regret it has not been possible for us to publish your comments in our Readers' Column."

I consider, in view of the above, that the reaction of the *Picture Post* vindicates once again the anarchist contempt for the so-called 'free press'. Carlo Fenoglio and the editor of *Picture Post* can justly claim a place in the ranks of contemporary misrepresentations of anarchists, who range from novelists such as Simeon to historians like G. D. H. Cole. London, Aug. 22. GERMAL.

A Plea for Common Sense
with Children

The following letter was published in the *Manchester Guardian* last week:

"SIR,—Many workers in the field of child care will have been grieved by the recent decision of the Coventry Juvenile Court to commit three boys to an approved school for homosexual offences and by the chairman's censure of the Coventry children's committee which had failed to report such cases to the police.

Homosexuality is a regrettable but fairly common occurrence among normal children and adolescents. This observation will be borne out in the experience of most schoolmasters, leaders of youth organisations, and doctors. There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that a boy with homosexual experience does not invariably become in time a confirmed pervert. No evidence at all exists to support the belief that an approved school is an effective means of punishment or treatment for sexual misbehaviour. On the contrary, institutional life

is known to worsen and consolidate sexual maladjustment.

Were all suspected cases of juvenile homosexuality reported to the police it could be predicted with confidence that there would have to be an hundredfold increase in the present number of juvenile court sittings, without any ensuing benefit to the affected children. In practice, most sexual misdemeanours of childhood are quietly and efficiently handled by the adults in charge. One suspects that the police are well aware of this situation, and may even be grateful for it!

Deprived children have a greater need than the normal child for demonstrations of affection, but often they do not possess the healthy outlets of the securely based child brought up in a family. We owe it to these children that their love-relationships, however mistaken, should be treated kindly and confidentially, and not become inevitably the subject of police inquiry and court proceedings."

CENSORSHIP

ONE of the many objections to censorship of books, is a technical one: of finding the fit persons to act as censors. In reality it is a vicious circle, for obviously the person who is willing to act as a censor is, by his very willingness, unfitted for the task! There can be not satisfactory solution to censorship other than its abolition. For it is an evil and dangerous weapon which is used not only "to protect the innocent minds of the young from sexual filth", but to suppress ideas which are distasteful to those in whom the power to decide what literature is fit to read and which is not, has been vested.

The cat was let out of the bag last week in Caithness, where the library sub-committee unanimously decided to ban from the county libraries a novel of the Spanish civil war by Bruce Marshall, *A Fair Bride*, in spite of an assurance by the county librarian Dr. F. W. Robertson that he would be willing to allow his children to read it when they were older.

One of the Councillors, in his condemnation of the book, said:

"The book is foul, filthy, and obscene. But are you surprised when the heroine is a harlot and the hero a renegade Catholic priest? And are you surprised that it should be admitted to a Protestant Caithness library? There is an insidious sneaking Roman Catholic propaganda in it which I detest. I move that this book is not fit to be taken into the family circle and should not be allowed to lie on the shelves of a Protestant Caithness library."

Now it is quite clear that for Councillor Abrach Mackay, "sneaking Roman Catholic propaganda" (which he admits he "detests") and a hero who is "a renegade Catholic priest" come under the category of "foul, filthy and obscene". It is also clear that if Councillor Abrach had his way the shelves of a "Protestant Caithness Library" would be cleaned up of any Roman Catholic propaganda, and possibly of Socialist, Communist and Anarchist "propaganda" as well. We say "if he had his way". But that is what can quite easily happen once a community knowingly, or through apathy, authorises a small group of individuals to decide which books shall be placed on the shelves of the public libraries and which shall be banned.

The word "obscenity" in this country is being used to justify a widespread attack on literature just as "communism" in America is the thin end of the wedge in the attempted suppression of all those ideas which do not conform to the official pattern of American politics. We must be on our guard against this wilful twisting of the meaning of words.

The Majesty of the Law

ALGER HISS, the former State Department official who is serving a prison sentence for perjury was entitled, according to the law, to a pension. This, the witch-hunters could not easily swallow, and on the principle that if you dislike any particular law you change it (the alternative for ordinary mortals like ourselves is to break it and suffer the consequences) and if you wish, make it retrospective, they drafted a Bill, which has been passed by Congress and duly signed—with some 500 other new Bills—by President Eisenhower. This Bill prohibits pension payments to any Government employee or official, including members of Congress, convicted of a felony. So a Bill passed in 1954 will be applied retrospectively in the case of Alger Hiss. And everything will thus be legal; but it will not prevent this action being thoroughly immoral, disgusting and vindictive.

SECOND THOUGHTS ON T.V.A.

The appearance of a new book about the Tennessee Valley Authority,* now that the project is virtually complete, gives an opportunity for re-examining this great experiment in regional planning. Twenty years after its inception the TVA organisation is almost ready to disband having achieved all it set out to do in what was then known as "the Nation's No. 1 Economic Problem".

THE Tennessee river in the east of the United States is shaped like an arm with the elbow bent. The outstretched fingers are the five large tributaries rising in the Blue Ridge mountains of west Virginia, in the Great Smokies of North Carolina and the southern Appalachians. The forearm is the upper Tennessee, the elbow is at Muscle Shoals, the rapids where the river turns north, the upper arm is the lower Tennessee river and the shoulder is the westward curve of the river in Kentucky where it joins the Ohio river which in turn flows south into the Mississippi.

In terms of the regional geography of Elisée Reclus and the "valley section" of Patrick Geddes, the natural boundaries of this area are of course, not the seven state lines crossed by the river and its tributaries, but their watersheds. Their whole drainage basin comprises 42,000 square miles, about the area of England.

The isolated valleys in the region were occupied by single-crop subsistence farmers, growing cotton, tobacco or maize, and the yields of the valley fields diminished, they cut down the trees, burnt off the vegetation and ploughed the hill slopes, moving further and further up the

*THE POWER & THE VALLEY, by Henry Billings (Hart-Davis, 12s. 6d.)

This is a pleasant and unpretentious account of the Tennessee Valley region from colonial days until 1951, in which the factual story of the formation and achievements of the TVA are interspersed with chapters on the fortunes and progress of one particular family. The book is illustrated with the author's sketches and diagrams.

The other books published in England on the TVA are:

TVA: *Adventure in Planning*, by Julian Huxley (Architectural Press, 1943).

This book is especially valuable for its 150 photographs.

TVA: *Democracy on the March*, by David E. Lilienthal (Penguin Books, 1944).

This book by the former chairman of the TVA is particularly interesting for its author's views on "democratic" public administration and decentralisation.

mountain sides. The heavy rainfall, the failure to replenish the land's fertility, and the removal of the forest cover, allowed the soil to wash away into the rivers, so that, in Julian Huxley's words "in the heart of the most modern of countries you could find shifting cultivation of the type usually associated with primitive African tribes."

There was relatively little industry in the region, which, like most of the South, had been in a depressed condition since the Civil War, but at Muscle Shoals during the first World War the Federal government had built nitrate plants and had begun a dam to supply them with electric power. The dam was finished after the war and for years was the subject of political controversy. The Republican governments of Coolidge and Hoover proposed to sell the plant and dam to Henry Ford, but the sale was blocked for Senator George Norris whose bills for federal control were, in turn, vetoed by the presidents. Norris, as a result of studies made by the Inland Waterways Commission and the National Conservation Commission, and of a report on the region made in 1930 by army engineers, proposed a comprehensive development of the area.

One of the first acts of Roosevelt's New Deal administration in 1933 was to legislate for this, by setting up the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The Authority, as Herbert Agar says, "was not handed a simple task of engineering, like the Panama Canal or the Boulder Dam. It was told to remake the economic and social life of a vast under-

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Drama and Reality

senseless, vegetable-like contentment, stagnation and self-satisfaction, like in Huxley's *Brave New World*. On the contrary, authentic free existence will make human life more intense, more tragic—not outwardly, but inwardly tragic. True tragedy springs from the nature of the individual himself, the consciousness of choice, of responsibility, of death. The tragic conflicts of Antigone and Creon were related to the social order and to social prejudices, just as were the tragic situations of Romeo and Juliet, or the drama of Tristan and Isolde.

This kind of tragedy does not arise so much from the reality within the characters, as from the external circumstances imposed on them and creating action, not from spontaneous existence, but from impersonal forces and conditions. For example, in a play in which the suspense and drama turns on whether an innocent man will be saved from being executed for a murder he did not commit the tragedy is not really within the individual: he is simply the puppet of an external suspense created by authority, objectivization.

But in a drama, such as Pirandello's *Henry IV*, which is concerned with the nature of individuality, reality and existence, the tragedy is real, inner, subjective. It arises from the characters' mind, lives, emotions and thoughts: they are really the drama, and their drama is unique, not circumstances into which other people might have been thrust or have experienced. Their drama is not dependent on chance, on external things; it is the inescapable consciousness within them. In insincere, "realistic", or bourgeois plays, the action and the characters are based on the existing falsehoods, delusions and cowardice of the class society, not only are the actors who portray the characters merely bodies representing other beings, but the characters themselves are actors: they are not existentially real. At present in "real" life men are not existentially themselves. They have to act not the reality within themselves, but the rôles, the interpretations placed on their actions, speech and thoughts by society, by other people,

The stage-managers and the prompters are continually interfering: they are not allowed to improvise their actions and speech, they must follow the directions for the development of their drama imposed on them. They do not develop their own personalities: their personalities and lives are ignored. Their bodies simply represent the ideals, ambitions, personalities created for them by authority, superstition, objectivization.

So it can be seen that the tragedy of human life in a pure form has never been known, since in all the tragedy of the past, events were more important than individuality, conflict due to the social order, authority or to prejudices deriving from them played too important a rôle; abstractions obscured the reality of existence. The interference of the producers, the "playwrights" can be overcome: the tragic conflicts of the past arose from poverty, the lust for money or external power, the insecurity of life, from class or caste prejudices, from a denial of freedom. These tragic contradictions, too, can be overcome. But when the delusions and superstitions are revealed, when the social struggle is stilled which has hindered man from thinking about his fate and about the meaning of his existence, then man will require true courage to live faced with the nothingness of being, the tragedy of death, the tragic in love, the tragedy of the vanity of everything in the world. As Nicholas Berdyaev says: "All the tragedy of life arises from the conflict of the finite with the infinite, of the temporal with the eternal, from the lack of harmony between man as a spiritual being and man as a thing of nature, living in a natural world. Here no perfection of the social order can help: it can only bring out these conflicts and discords into clearer view."

Just as true existence is the reality of the individual free from all slavery, in all its spiritual, mental and physical forms, so pure tragedy is the consciousness of being adrift in a universe without explanation, the *Dasein* of Heidegger. The physical death of a man is not tragic: but a man's dilemma as to

privileged community: through cheap power, land reclamation, reforestation, flood control, diversification of agriculture, terracing of hillsides, encouragement of animal husbandry, cheap transport through restoring the navigability of the river, and abundant vacation-sites on the lakes which would form behind the new dams."

In the twenty years since then all these things have been achieved with an extraordinary degree of success. The TVA has built twenty dams across the river and its tributaries, and these together with eight which existed before 1933 and two built by the Aluminium Company of America form a system of twenty-eight reservoirs, controlling the flow of water by a "defence in depth" system of flood control, which, along the Tennessee River and the lower Ohio and Mississippi, has brought an annual saving of about 11 million dollars' worth of otherwise unavoidable damage. The locks and reservoirs form 630 miles of navigable canal from Paducah to Knoxville. In 1933 transport on the Tennessee River, ruined for navigation by the soil washed down from the hillsides was less than 33 million ton-miles, in 1951 it was over 589 million.

By 1933, Herbert Agar says, "With the top-soil the Valley's prosperity was slowly drained away. The balance of nature was upset. A land of abundance became a land of rural slums, lacking even the sad companionship which city slums afford. Men's minds and characters decayed, as faith diminished and malnutrition became customary. Racial hatreds flourished, because the 'poor white' had nothing left to comfort him except an evil sense of superiority to the Negro." He concludes that, "perhaps the finest and the most hopeful achievement of the Authority is that the citizens of the Valley regard their new society, which has flowered in twenty years, not as something imposed by 'reformers' from far away, but as something which belongs to them, which they helped to create, which in many cases they moulded and shaped according to their local customs and traditions. They were never pushed into accepting an 'improvement' until their objections had been removed by discussion and experiment, and their conservatism overruled by their own experience. As 'the quietness and strength of grass' came back to heal the eroded hills, and the floods cease, and the cheap power reached the upland farms, the bitterness between the white man and the Negro receded."

The TVA Annual Report for 1951 says "To-day the soils and the agricultural systems are observed on the upgrade. . . . A million acres of land has been terraced, another million acres has been shifted from row to close-growing crops, and improved permanent pastures have been increased by 800,000 acres. More forage and pasture have increased the number of livestock and encouraged dairying. More diversified farming is making possible more efficient use of farm labour. Most of the farms in the Valley now have electricity. The region to-day is much more capable of producing food and fibre than it was before the war. But it is far from the level of fertility and productivity justified by its soil base, its favourable growing climate, its ample rainfall, its growing scientific and technical knowledge, the energy and initiative of its people, and their basic love of the land."

There is very much more that could be said about direct and indirect changes that the TVA has brought about; the two hundred million trees that have been planted in the valley since 1933; the malaria-control programme (in 1933 every third employee of a hosiery firm in Decatur was found to be suffering from malaria. Ten years later the figure had dropped below 1 per cent.); the extreme decentralisation and devolution by which the TVA avoided the usual failings of mammoth corporations, (at a time when enormous construction work was going on the Authority employed nearly 40,000 people, of these 8 were in Washington); or the 'test-demonstration' system.

"The device selected by TVA and the state agricultural colleges to bridge the gap between scientific research and practical application is the test-demonstration farm. We have thousands of test-demonstration farms in the Tennessee Valley; about one out of every ten farms. These are normal, going farms owned and operated by typical farmers. Their purpose is two-fold: first, to test the effectiveness of new kinds of fertilizers being developed by TVA; second, to demonstrate the proper use of the proper kinds of fertilizers in soil and water-conserving systems of farming. The test-demonstration farmers are selected by their neighbours, not appointed by the Government."
—William E. Cole in an address to the U.S. Scientific Conference on Conservation and Utilization of Resources, 1950.

Continued on p. 4

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HELP! We Need It

OR A PERSONAL POINT OF VIEW

IN my attempts to touch upon some of the vexing problems of my Anarchist comrades, I fear to tread even carefully, not only because some very pertinent observations have been made by far more competent observers than myself, but also because a clear alternative hardly presents itself. Although it is often argued that the rejection of a particular idea immediately suggests its alternative, this mechanical formula breaks down in the field of practical human actuality. Man's personal inertia enables him to postulate the alternative only mentally. This alternative becomes his ideology, and it is between this ideology and reality that his world picture vacillates.

This may be more true for the revolutionary conscious youth, although possibly felt by the rest of the world in a different way and expressed in different terms. To the average, his ultimate state of contentment, imaginary or true within the limits of his feelings, whether it be that house he would like to own, the good job he would like to have, the few pounds he would like to possess, represents his particular ideology. Of course, each is a symbol of a wider need, but this kind of ideology is usually embodied in the political platform of the mass political parties.

Knowing full well, as we do, that political slogans do hinge on to reality—hence their mass support—we also know that political parties seldom fulfil their ideologies, but like the proverbial carrot before the proverbial ass this pattern of political activity works in a constant cycle. Ideology not only roots itself in economic needs, but like racialism and Nationalism, roots itself in the personal emotional needs of people.

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Ideology which is not self-explanatory and basically real, needs enforcement to maintain its volition, and the necessary mechanisms to maintain that enforcement. Any party that demands the 'toeing of the line' immediately reveals its own lack of truth and spiritual bankruptcy. That appears to be true of Russia as representing 'Communism'; of America as representing 'Democracy'. Conformity is imbibed from a definite streak in our culture and is not specific to the political field. This perhaps explains the dictum that, "Where everyone thinks alike, very little thinking is done." Ideology remains to a large degree apart from ourselves, and is merely a part of our world picture; its only practice in actuality remains to a large degree verbal. Any actual material manifestation of living ideology contains a large element of human difficulty as it appears to be contrary to the general conditioning of our upbringing. Were this not so, living itself would be the ideology and ideology mere mental acrobatics. Most ideologies serve the function of refuge to the personality and any ideology that projects itself on a wide social plane represents the externalised reason for its acceptance. Though many acts of courage, and acts worthy of note have been made in the name of this or that ideology the basic contention that it nevertheless remains a refuge from the difficulties and tensions of the personality remains ever so much more valid. Although this psychological concept of the identification of the personality with the specific ideology may be rejected in view of the fact that all "socially affirmative" things done in the name of the ideology is the final evaluation, nevertheless the basic difficulties that drove him or her to cloak himself or herself in this or that ideology, suggests to a large degree whether they are capable of living that ideology or whether it is merely a compensation for what they really are not.

Psychology has helped our generation to see itself more clearly and understand some of its motives, but it offers no alternative to the present dilemma. It perhaps holds hope for the future generations only if we learn its practical application. It has also struck a devastating blow at the supposed rationality of all orthodox political activity, and has to a large extent destroyed the myth of pinning the hope of a better world on the working class. No section of the community maintains and defends the *status quo* more ardently than the working-class itself.

The breakdown of the conformity rule within the anarchist movement has produced among a large section of the youth the rejection of the above 'hope in the working class', but it has brought in its wake a host of personal ideologies. Freudians, Reichians, Dianeticists, Stirnerites, Anarcho-Syndicalists, Mutual-Aidists, etc., etc. This phenomenon appears to be not only because Anarchism lacks conformity, and does not demand it, but also a direct result of the inadequacy and hypocrisy that is so typical of most orthodox politics. This represents a healthy step as it indicates a more radical thought process, a rejection of conformity in thinking, and a deeper insight into feelings. At the same time the formation of these segmented ideologies, or little "personal islands" once again illustrates the personal character of ideologies, although this in no way invalidates the truth and sincerity that all these "island" ideologies embody.

To the individual they constitute a stabilising factor within the personal economy; on the social plane quite inadequate. At the same time this is no attempt to belittle the present-day anarchist activity of running a newspaper, club, and political meetings, indoor and outdoor, and the general dissemination of progressive thought and literature is certainly a tributary to the general stream of libertarian knowledge. The inadequacy is not that it is quantitatively small, or qualitatively poor, but that it is felt to be an unrewarding effort by the people who are involved in these activities because of the voluminous effort and the meagre rewards. There seems to be a general lethargy as far as these activities are concerned, and they appear to hinge more on compulsion than on conviction. Whether tenacity of purpose, or stubbornness is an essential facet of the revolutionary, I don't know, but a continuous plodding on well-trodden paths, and the continuous rehash of time-worn ideas seems to be the current pattern.

The need for greater and more vital activity is felt by a large section of the younger members but the only available structures within the political arena are the orthodox political parties which are intellectually and emotionally unacceptable. The everyday embodiment of anarchist ideology comes up against the whole cultural upbringing we all experienced, which makes us merely the mental vessels of our ideology. Compromise functions only for a time without disturbance; at best it may be adequate, but not gratifying, and the tendency is to fall back on established habits rather than to maintain the energy needed for compromise. This touches on the root of the problem of the generation I belong to, though to synthesise the personality and his ideology appears to be only possible in the future. If the personal "island" is the method of self-analysis it may be of more value than to either grope in the dark or be hypocritical. Should there be any other alternative... Help! We need it. S.F.

Second Thoughts on T.V.A. Continued from p. 3

Before considering the other great achievement of the TVA, the abundance of cheap hydro-electric power, it is necessary to digress upon the inextricable mixture of good and evil, of the constructive and the destructive, in human affairs. Few people nowadays have a good word to say for the bellicose President Theodore Roosevelt, but it was his ideas on the conservation of natural resources which led to the establishment of the bodies which first studied the problems and potentialities of the regions; it was two army engineers General Brown and Major Watson who by 1930 had published the comprehensive development plan in a 734-page report called *The Tennessee River and Its Tributaries*. It was these intensive studies which made it possible for Senator Norris to take Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Valley early in 1933, two months before his inauguration, and outline his plan, at a time when the bread-lines were lengthening and while half the American banks were closing.

From what we hear from America, few people to-day have a good word for Franklin Roosevelt either, but whatever one may think of him, the New Deal, whose administrators are now kept busy trying to prove that they weren't Communists, brought back hope to the nation, and the TVA was its finest achievement. Again, the very existence of the nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals and the Wilson dam was the need for explosives in the first World War. Before 1940 it had been entirely switched over to the production of fertilizers for TVA. Then, of course, it reverted to its original purpose.

But the crowning and most terrible paradox of constructive work in a destructive age is Oak Ridge Tennessee,

where TVA power made the bombs that fell on Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

When the TVA began dam-building it was prophesied that there could be no possible use for the electric power generated. The electricity-generating capacity of the region in 1933 was under 815,000 kilowatt. To-day it is 4,000,000 kilowatt, but in 1951 in peak consumption periods, power had to be borrowed from other systems and power-cuts and load-shedding introduced. The TVA has had to begin building five steam-generating power stations which when completed will burn 8,000,000 tons of coal annually. If you can conceive of an ecology of industry then the Tennessee valley has already moved from the unbalance of wasted resources to the over-exploitation of resources. The difference between power generated from water and that generated from burning coal is obvious. One is inexhaustible and the other uses material which cannot be renewed. When coal has to be imported to the largest producer of hydro-electric power in America, something has gone wrong.

Peter de Mendelssohn² writing on this latest problem to face the TVA says: "One factor, of course, could transform and 'normalise' this situation overnight—in Paducah and Oak Ridge were to shut down or go away. But this is, admittedly, the least likely of all developments."

Paducah and Oak Ridge, the largest users of TVA power are the plants of the Atomic Energy Commission. The choice of the Tennessee valley as the birth-place of the atom bomb was precisely the availability of abundant electric power (and partly apparently the plentiful labour supply³).

This then is the great paradox of the Tennessee valley. The beautiful dams and the shining turbines that bring light and power to the hillside farms make

'A New Moral Challenge'?

IT will take 6½ tons of paper to publish the reports and speeches emanating from the delegate conference of the World Council of Churches currently taking place in Evanston, Illinois. After the conference, religious leaders from 48 nations representing 163 church bodies and, it is claimed, 170 million Christians will have presented their contributions to the Council.

What is the justification for all this? According to The Rev. Frank Woods, Bishop of Middleton, writing favourably of the conference... "no one would claim for the findings that they were in any way original or epoch-making." It is perhaps unfair to expect "epoch-making" findings to result from this conference, but we would have thought that here was an excellent opportunity for the organised Churches to openly and irrevocably condemn war; to say that they will take no part in war and instruct their followers to do likewise. This, as we expected, they have failed to do although apologists will find plenty of utterances to assure us that the churches have indeed condemned war.

What can be culled from the reports we have at our disposal strikes us as being opportunist and not worth the paper they are written on. To avoid the accusation from our critics that we are prejudiced we leave the reader to draw his own conclusions from the committee draft which has still to be presented to and approved by the conference. The committee's report said that it is possible for Christian nations to 'live at peace with nations dominated by atheistic materialism'. It goes on to affirm:

... the conviction that it is possible for nations to live together, "at least for a considerable period of years."

The willingness to avoid the use of force as an instrument of policy "beyond the existing block frontiers."

The vigorous effect to end social and other injustices which might lead to civil, and therefore international, war.

The determination to practise "scrupulous respect for the pledged word."

Even while supporting coexistence, report emphasised that Christian nations must "stand against submission to engulfment by, or appeasement of totalitarian tyranny and aggression. We also stand against the exploitation of any people by economic monopoly or political imperialism."

Dealing with the desire for peace and the fear of war, the report said that "the thought of all-out nuclear warfare is indeed horrifying. Such warfare introduces a new moral challenge." It recommended the "international inspection and control" of nuclear weapons "in such a

GRAHAM GREENE AND THE AMERICANS

Mr. Graham Greene, the British novelist, to-day expressed his thanks to United States officials for helping him to publicise his views on the "hysterical outlook" of American immigration policy. Mr. Greene who was refused admittance to San Juan, Puerto Rico, on Monday, because he lacked a United States visa, flew to Montreal Airport on his way from Havana to London.

In a press interview at the airport he said that the American authorities "played right into my hands by giving me a further chance to publicise my disagreement with the McCarran-Walter Act," which, he declared, had harmed Anglo-American relations "in that it causes distrust within allies." He added:

"I was never a serious Communist. I had a little green card showing I was a probationary member. It cost sixpence a week. I'm afraid the payments lapsed after four weeks."

The dispute with the authorities in Puerto Rico was Mr. Greene's third since he said in a 1952 visa application that he had been a Communist party member for four weeks in 1923.—*Reuter*.

the bombs in the atom city of Oak Ridge. The young men no longer sit in idleness on the porches of their fathers' cabins. They work perhaps, in the atom city too and live in such towns as Clinton, Tennessee a few miles away where they have built a fine recreation centre, with a little notice outside its splendid theatre. 'For Whites Only' it says. C.W.

² In the *New Statesman*, 23/5/1953.
³ Mortimer Slayman in an article *The Atom Bomb, Oak Ridge and the South in the New Leader* (U.S.A.) for 24/5/1947 quotes a speech by Senator Tom Stewart who said that "one of the major reasons for locating the atomic bomb project in Tennessee is because there's a greater percentage of native-born American, patriotic labor in Tennessee and the South." Slayman observes: "The play on the 'intelligent and cooperative spirit found in Knoxville's plentiful, native-born labor supply' is obviously meant to read: 'there is tractable labor—they will help you to fight unionization; here is cheap labor—the supply is plentiful.'"

way that no State would have cause to fear that its security was endangered." Experimental tests of the hydrogen bomb, it went on, "have raised issues of human rights, caused suffering, and imposed an additional strain on relations between nations." All future tests, it said, should be conducted only within a nation's own territory unless it had obtained international agreement to hold them elsewhere.

Then it listed six conditions which must be observed by the democratic and Communist worlds before coexistence can enable both sides to "live together in a divided world." These minimum conditions involve:

Churches must not rest content with proclaiming that war is evil, the report said, but they must study the Christian approaches to peace, taking into account "both Christian pacifism as a mode of witness and the convictions of Christians that in certain circumstances military action is justifiable." In order to safeguard peace the churches should advocate the "automatic stationing of the United Nations peace observation commission teams in areas of tension to identify any aggression as it takes place." The report concluded by asking Christians to seek social, political, and economic measures to prevent war.

(*Manchester Guardian*).

We wonder what 'new moral challenge' is introduced by nuclear warfare which was not inherent in the weapons used in the last war when God was on our side. It is useless to speak righteously about one particular war weapon without the recognition and condemnation of the conditions which give rise to war. If the organised churches pursue their courses of expediency we cannot expect them to condemn the economic bases for war because their own stability largely depends on the economic divisions inherent in capitalist society.

Many sincere Christians will be disappointed with the results of this conference. We can only suggest that by withdrawing their support from the Church they could help to undermine the strength of the State since these two organisations work hand in hand and together will eventually destroy us if we don't destroy them first. M.

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. 12—M. Simon
HEALTH AND SOCIETY

OPEN AIR MEETINGS
Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

NORTHEAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS
IN MANOR PARK
Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30 p.m.
AT MANOR PARK
(To be held at East Ham)
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GLASGOW

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

INDOORS
at 200 Buchanan Street
Every Friday at 7 p.m.

THE MALATESTA CLUB

Gramophone Recital
SEPT. 15—Peter E. Newell
EVOLUTION OF JAZZ

FREEDOM

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