

Freedom

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Threepence

"Government is not reason, it is not eloquence—it is force! Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master."

—GEORGE WASHINGTON.

POLICE METHODS IN FRANCE

THE French police have never been exactly famous for their sense of fair play, and their reputation has certainly not been enhanced by revelations made in two recent court cases. Their guiding principle in an investigation would seem to be that it is more important to secure a conviction than to find out the truth; their technique is to use violence and the threat of violence.

The Case of Marguerite Marty

Mlle. Marty was accused of murdering her cousin; she was kept in prison for 15 months before she was brought to trial. After a trial lasting 9 days she was acquitted.

During those months in prison she had been 'interrogated' by the police to make her confess; doctors told the court that she was 'in a terrible state' and that her body was 'black and blue' for months.

She told a newspaper reporter—'No charge had been made against me, but I was taken to the police station and dragged into a cell by my hair. I was stripped of clothing and beaten with pieces of rubber. When I was in great pain the police officers yelled at me: "Admit that you are a poisoner or the knife is waiting". I was beaten and slapped by police for three days and two nights. I was refused a lawyer, and had nothing to eat but one sandwich. There was nowhere to sleep but on a bench.'

The Case of the Innocent Convict

Jean Deshay, known as the 'innocent convict', served two years of a ten-year prison sentence for a crime he didn't commit. Three other men have now been convicted for this crime. One might think that as soon as these men were convicted Deshay would be set free. But it is not so simple as that. In order to clarify the situation a French judge has annulled both convictions and has ordered re-trials. So Deshay is now to be re-accused in order to be legally proved innocent. The French are nothing if not logical.

The re-trial, which has been taking place at Orleans, is, however, having the effect of exposing the methods used by the police for obtaining Deshay's conviction.

He was convicted in 1949 of attacking an elderly couple, murdering the old man, and of thieving from them. After the treatment given to him by the police he signed a confession; but at his trial he denied any knowledge of the crime. Unfortunately his confession contained a detailed description of the couple's cottage, which he claimed he had never seen. After he had served two years of his sentence fresh evidence led to the conviction of the three other men.

It has now come out at his second trial, how Deshay's signed confession included the description of the cottage. The police asked him questions containing the details and he was persuaded to answer them with a 'yes'. This business of finding out who's guilty is very simple it seems—once you've got the idea.

The original suspects in the case were two escaped convicts whom the police caught near the scene of the crime. One of them had broken his leg and in order to make him more amenable he claimed the police 'played' with his leg.

The account in *The Manchester Guardian*

American Unemployment

MIAMI BEACH, Feb. 1—The American Federation of Labor warned today that unemployment might reach a peak of 4,000,000 in the next eight weeks.

Such a jobless total would represent a rise of more than one-third from the last official figure of 2,838,000 in December.

The federation's Executive Council said the number of idle workers had been going up since the turn of the year, despite the general improvement in business conditions.

It estimated that the high point for the year would come in February or March with an unemployment level between 3,500,000 and 4,000,000.

(New York Times)

dian throws some more light on the methods of the police—

Deshay's broken-legged friend advised him to 'confess before they sock you.' But this did not preserve Deshay. He was, he said, slapped, punched, and hit with a ruler by the sergeant of the gendarmerie, and he duly confessed to having attacked the . . . cottage with the other convict. The latter, however, had a watertight alibi. He had been committing a burglary twenty miles away at the time. This left the police with only one culprit where, from the old lady's account, there should have been two. That, of course, only made him all the more valuable since without him there would have been no culprit at all.

On the way [Deshay] was asked whether a spinney beside the road was not the place where, according to his alleged confession, he and his companion had waited till nightfall smoking cigarettes. "Oh, yes," said Deshay, and he got down on his knees with the policeman to look for the stubs of cigarettes he had never smoked in a field where he had never been.

Deshay and the broken-legged convict were both asked to confirm their account of how they had been treated by the police in the presence of their persecutors. They did so. A captain of gendarmerie, who had been lieutenant at the time, had been brought back from Madagascar to give evidence. There had, he was sure, been no beating-up in his presence.

Maitre Marcepoil, Deshay's counsel, recalled meditatively that it had been the same lieutenant of police who had conducted the inquiry into a case of incendiarism in the Retz district. After very prolonged detention, the accused had all been acquitted. When the accused had been handed over to the investigating magistrate, the shirts of several of them had been bloody.

It seems likely that these cases will precipitate some official prosecutions of individual policemen for their brutalities. But unless the powers of the police in this matter of interrogation are considerably reduced, there is little likelihood of fewer intimidations—the gendarme will just become more careful.

M.G.W.

Rhodesian Miners' Struggle Goes On

THE strike of the African miners in the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia has now, by the action of the employers in giving notice to the 32,000 strikers, turned into a lockout.

But there is no sign of weakening on the part of the Africans. On the contrary, they are behaving with a dignity and determination born of a realisation of their strength. They have even declined to apply for the back pay and bonuses due to them at the time of their dismissals, and, in expectation of eviction from their company-owned living quarters, are beginning to build themselves mud and grass huts and to plant maize.

There appears to be little sign so far that any large numbers of them will return to the rural areas from which originally many of them came, but most likely they will be able to call upon support from the villages in the negative sense that no fresh labour will come forward to take their places and in the positive sense that food will be forthcoming when their money runs out.

This sort of solidarity between town workers (as the copper workers now are) and the countryside will give them a tremendous strength. It will not be enough, however, to prevent real hunger affecting the strikers, and the Government is said to be watching the situation carefully.

The Africans are striking for a pay increase of 10s. 8d. a shift—quite a sizeable increase. But more than that are they after the recognition that more skilled jobs should be opened to them. So far Africans have been rigidly kept in the unskilled—and therefore worst paid—categories and, of course, even where they do similar work to Europeans, they are paid much less.

Behind the present strike lies the long

THE NEW TRANSPORT PLANS FOR MILITARY PURPOSES?

A DOLF HITLER solved his unemployment problem by launching a re-armament programme of vast proportions, and by such social measures as the building of new roads. Just as Mussolini won fame as the man who made the trains run to time in Italy, Hitler won the admiration of forward-looking people through the superb quality of the German Autobahns, magnificent highways crossing the Fatherland from North to South, East to West, designed for travel at speeds of 70—100m.p.h. with safety.

We don't know if the German people fondly imagined that these costly car-

riage-ways were laid down for their benefit, but we do know that in this country they were recognised for what they were—channels for the rapid transport of the Nazi Wehrmacht, the new army based on new, mobile principles of warfare, the Blitzkrieg army. Hitler built his Autobahns in order to be able to swing large numbers of troops from one side of Germany to the other, as his military genius directed.

They Find the Money

Some of us with long memories could not help having some cynical thoughts recently when the impressive new plans were announced for the modernisation of the roads and the railways of Britain. At a time when the State is committed to the spending of £5,000 millions on armaments, and consequently it is difficult to pay Old Age Pensioners a sum which would remove their financial insecurity, it is, apparently quite suddenly, discovered that the British Transport Commission can be handed £1,200 millions for modernisation of the railways, and that an extra £50 million a year can be spent on the roads—both improving existing ones and building completely new one for high-speed traffic on the most modern lines.

Now we all know that both road and rail transport in this country suffers terribly from lack of capital expenditure over many years. But we also know that at this particular time our Government is very concerned with the problems that would face this country in the event of an atomic war. And one of the most vital problems would be the question of movement of large numbers of the population and of troops.

State's Needs Come First

The devastation, the panic and chaos that an atomic war would bring, makes it absolutely essential that the State can keep its forces as mobile as possible. Not only to deal with the business of waging a war, but also to be able to cope with any possible revolutionary uprisings, mass hysteria and other outward signs of 'defeatism'.

The lessons of the last war, when Allied forces in France were hampered by the hordes of terror-stricken refugees that crammed the roads, have not been forgotten by those responsible for preparation for the next war. And of one thing we may be sure; if such a terrible situation ever arose in this country, the wide, new, fast highways would be reserved for use by State organisations, and

a population fleeing from the cities would have to get along as well as possible on the secondary roads, even supposing they were allowed to leave the urban areas at all—for where could they all go?

This may appear to be looking on the gloomy side. But then the whole of war preparation is just that. The State considers it its duty to be prepared for the worst. If it did not do that, all its re-armament programme would be pointless, except for those who recognise the economic interests served by re-armament and the psychological functions of cold-war fear.

Too Sinister?

Certainly it may be rather like Arthur Deakin looking for Communists under his bed, but if one chooses to look for sinister aspects in the Government's new transport plans, it is not difficult to find them. Even in the policy of London Transport, for example, in eliminating trams and now gradually getting rid of trolley-buses in favour of petrol or diesel buses.

The argument in favour of the former is that they use home-produced power, whilst the latter use fuel that has to be imported. The arguments in favour of the latter, however, is that they are mobile and independent of a fixed source of power. Internal-combustion-engined transport can adapt itself to wartime emergencies better than trolleys or trams. London's petrol buses could carry refugees, troops or Civil Defence personnel far from the city's limits, but trolleys must stop where the over-head wires stop.

Maybe I am wrong. Perhaps as an anarchist I have a fixation on the sinister nature of the State. Perhaps after all, the new roads and railways are going to be provided by a benevolent authority so that we can all get away on our holidays more easily and quickly. But it makes you think . . . P.S.

Australian Union Bars Politicians

At least one trade union has tumbled to the fact that it is used by careerists. The biggest union in Australia, the Australian Workers' Union has decided to bar politicians from holding office.

The general secretary, Mr. Tom Dougherty, said: "Some politicians have used union membership as a lever to gain political prestige."

If we may say so: 'Too right, Digger!'

SEEING BOTH SIDES OF THE MINES REORGANISATION

There's a secure future ahead for the man with the most important job in Britain. As the British coal industry expands—as new shafts are sunk and as old pits are re-organised, so more is being done for the well-being of the miner.—From an advertisement issued by the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

THE Ministry of Fuel and Power has just issued the latest figures for casualties in the mines:—

KILLED: 1953 1954
Underground 344 328 (provisional)
Surface 48 42

SERIOUSLY INJURED:
Underground 1763 1670
Surface 195 184

Some facts given by Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, the Minister of Fuel and Power, are not unconnected with these figures. On 26th October, 1953 he said that in 1951 actual expenditure on capital development (in the mines) had totalled only £27m. compared with the £38m. called for in the 'Plan for Coal'; the latter amount, when adjusted for increased costs, was equivalent to £53m. And on 25th October, 1954, in a speech in the House of Commons, he said that 90% of our coal comes from pits sunk before 1914 and 3rds. of that amount from mines sunk in the 19th century. Although the government had placed

virtually no limit on the finance available to the N.C.B. for this 'vital work' (of modernising) it had been possible to complete only 3 major schemes in the past 6 years.

The Chief Inspector of Mines in his *Annual Report for 1952* (published in 1954) says 'The number of fatalities in shafts and on the surface have shown no improvement in the last ten years or so—a state of stagnation which constitutes both a reproach and a challenge'.

Unsatisfactory working conditions undoubtedly play a large part in the causing of accidents—not that there are many cases of a direct threat to safety being allowed knowingly, but conditions are often such as to encourage the taking of risks. For instance, it is sometimes the case that no travelling road (i.e. a separate track for walking) is provided alongside a tub track (the track for the coal-carrying trucks). One road for both tubs and men does nothing to lessen the danger of accidents.

Also the complicated systems of reckoning wages do not always make due allowance for time spent on safety precautions, with the result that the precautions are often skimped. Nobody likes to lose valuable wage-earning time.

In spite of the Ministry of Labour's advertisement coal-mining is still dangerous work.

COMMENT ON

Johnny Appleseed

ROUND about 1800 settlers at Steubenville, Ohio saw an astonishing craft drifting down the river. It consisted of two canoes lashed together and loaded with decayed apples from the cider presses of Western Pennsylvania. Further down the Ohio its shaggy occupant came ashore, cleared a place in the forest, planted his apple seeds and knocked together a fence around the patch.

This was Jonathan Chapman who was born in Massachusetts in 1775 and has passed into American folklore under the name of Johnny Appleseed. He made his way westwards planting apples, keeping in advance of civilisation, until the central and northern parts of Ohio were dotted with his nurseries. As the wilderness became settled he would dig up his saplings and sell them for a 'fib-penny bit' apiece or for food or old clothes, accompanying the transaction with a discourse on the doctrines of Emanuel Swedenborg.

He branched off up the tributaries and creeks of the river and then, with his seeds in leather bags on his back, tramped from Fort Duquesne to Detroit, starting his nurseries all along the way. Travelling hundreds of miles to prune his saplings, for half-a-century Johnny Appleseed kept just ahead of the oncoming farmers raising his little plantations all through Ohio, into Indiana to Fort Wayne.

Ragged and barefoot, living on nuts and berries, unarmed but unharmed by Indians and wild animals, to him the apple, gracious in fruit, beautiful in blossom, was the symbol of love. To the pioneers of the Middle West, as one of his biographers says, "He pointed the way to new values, displacing rifle and tomahawk with hoe and blossoming apple tree, offering instead of the rude humorous yarns of the frontier, strange Swedenborgian visions".

Johnny Appleseed provided a hundred thousand square miles with orchards.

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I WAS reminded of this inspired crack-pot when I came to this passage in an article in the *Observer* describing the activities of Mr.

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Richard St. Barbe Baker, the Man of the Trees:

"The Sahara in particular, was known to be advancing into equatorial Africa at a phenomenal pace and in 1952 he decided to go and see for himself. It was on the face of it a madcap scheme. He set off with two companions in a Humber truck, loaded with, among other things, sacks of peach stones for planting at oases along the way. None of the party had had any experience of desert travel, but they drove 9,000 miles from Algiers to Nairobi and came through safely."

Mr. Baker set off again from Tangier last month in connection with his latest enterprise, the Sahara Reclamation Company Ltd., whose purpose is "to arrest the process of soil erosion and degradation in the desert and infertile areas upon food-producing lands." Nothing less. It may be asked, comments the *Observer*, "how one man, with a 'company' which exists, as yet, more or less in name only, can hope to realise plans of this scale".

The answer of course lies in the fanatical single-mindedness of Mr. Baker and his capacity in finding opportunities in every vicissitude of his life, to foster the planting and care of trees, for economic, social, aesthetic, therapeutic, and moral purposes—for where trees are con-

cerned Mr. Baker is a mystic and a prophet, as you will find to your embarrassment in the propaganda of his organisation, the "Men of the Trees". On the other hand, as his autobiography shows,* he has an unrivalled practical experience of Swiss Family Robinson charm in the way he gets his way with nothing but his own determination to help him."

★

SINGLENES and continuity of purpose, continues Lord Portsmouth in his foreword to Mr. Baker's book, "are rare enough in our bewildered and not less bedevilled state of material progress. Because singleness is so uncommon to our magpie minds it is sometimes classed as dull and generally as cranky". This is true enough to make us pause in smiling at the one ideal men of this world and reflect that for every Johnny Appleseed there were a thousand sober Pennsylvanians who could not dream of spending their lives doing anything so ridiculous as sowing orchards in the wilderness and for every Richard Baker there are a thousand well-adjusted citizens pontificating about the problems of population and food supplies who would never think of making it their business to go to the Sahara and plant peaches, or for that matter to grow their own cabbages.

W.

*I Planted Trees by R. St. Barbe Baker (Lutterworth Press, 1944).

SCIENCE NOTES-4

Sea Farming

WITH a world population increasing at the rate of one per cent. per annum, there is a constant need to find new and improved sources of food. Already malnutrition is widespread and half the world's population get only 2,000 calories per day, which is 500 below the world's requirement for health. Better farming methods, erosion control, irrigation, and the use of fertilisers and insecticides are in themselves insufficient to satisfy the needs of a rapidly expanding population.

Biologists have been trying out some more exotic techniques on land and in the sea. They have suggested that plankton, the microscopic life which floats near the surface of the ocean might be harvested. The plant forms of plankton live on mineral salts and sunlight and are the basis of all human life. They are eaten by herbivorous zoo plankton which in turn become food for carnivorous zoo plankton.

There is over ninety per cent. loss of potential food when we limit our harvesting to the higher members of the food chains, the fish, whales, and crustaceans. There are many difficulties involved in attempting to harvest this crop but recent experiments carried out off the West coast of Scotland which attempted to increase the productivity of a confined area of the sea achieved some success and will encourage more ambitious undertakings.

Chlorella

SUNLIGHT is the cheapest source of power available to man, but the efficiency with which crop plants use light energy in photosynthesis is very low and much higher photosynthetic efficiencies have been obtained in laboratory cultures of Chlorella, a microscopic green algae found in fresh water and damp places. Such work suggests the possibility of growing Chlorella on an industrial scale to supply food for humans and other animals, especially fish.

Apart from the question of efficiency there is also the point that a large proportion of higher plants is useless as food. By altering the external conditions when growing Chlorella the proportion of carbohydrate, protein, and fat in the crop, can be varied and material containing a large proportion of high grade protein has been produced which was a satisfactory food for rats.

Whilst a common yield from farm land would be one ton dry weight in the form of wheat grains, Japanese workers in outdoor trials of Chlorella in winter conditions have achieved four tons, and American small-scale pilot plants have yielded over sixteen tons by increasing the atmospheric carbon dioxide concentration, one of the limiting factors in photosynthesis in ordinary plant crops.

The supply of raw materials necessary for large-scale production might be obtained from the waste products of industry and from sewage at present discharged wastefully into the sea. Costs under

present-day conditions would be high but there is no doubt that in the future industrial photosynthesis will be a commonplace, and it has been calculated that one fifth of the earth's surface used for algal photosynthesis could provide all the power and food used by human beings to-day.

The Tilapia Fish

THE Tilapia is a highly coloured tropical fish that would be popular in aquaria if it didn't grow so rapidly. This tendency makes it a rich source of protein and many rivers in the tropics from Cambodia to Jamaica are now being stocked with it. When kept in rice paddies it more than earns its keep by feeding on mosquito larvae and other harmful insects.

Birth Control—Pest and Human

THE screw fly which is responsible for heavy cattle losses, has been wiped out in Curaco, a small island in the West Indies, by the use of nuclear energy.

The flies deposit their eggs in the flesh of animals on which the hatched larvae feed. Scientists of the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture sterilized laboratory-reared male flies with gamma radiation and released them, able to mate but unable to produce offspring. The females mate only once and the scientists had calculated that by releasing five sterile males for every normal male the next generation would be eighty per cent. lower than usual. They were so successful that the screw fly was exterminated in seven months.

An atomic war might well achieve a similar result for *homo sapiens*. Perhaps the scientists of the appropriate depts. in America and Russia have already made the necessary calculations.

Flying Saucers

A CLOSED-PACKED audience in Manchester, recently heard eyewitness accounts of flying saucer visits from Mars, Venus and Saturn. Photographs of their crews are to be published but we can discount a rumour that they all look like Wilhelm Reich. Unfortunately no details were given of the social system in operation on these planets, but many science fiction writers have suggested that they may be nearer to the free society than we are. Perhaps they have solved the problem of syndicalist pyramids as well as perpetual motion, and the defence of the revolution would be simpler if the Venusians were on our side.

It is regrettable that some flying saucer visits have had unfortunate repercussions, but it is perhaps only just that the Frenchman who fired at two flying saucers with his shotgun should have been fined £15 for smashing a tractor's headlights and wounding two cows.

Bios.

A Plea for Decadence

(Continued from last week)

THE Spanish Revolution in which anarchists played a prominent part has brought home to many of them the desperate nature of loyalty to a revolutionary mystique. So much so that some would go as far as erasing the word revolution from the anarchist vocabulary: first, because revolution has to be decided by violence, and violence is the negation of freedom, and, second, because both the exercise and fruit of violence are more likely to destroy than foster the love and conditions of freedom. The question then arises, what to put in its stead, and education, which first comes to mind, sounds too tame, equivocal and threadbare. I will here suggest something else, though fully aware that it is most incompatible with the anarchists' psychological make-up and that it will be as repugnant to them as to muscular men of all creeds and denominations. I am also aware that if an organized activity should be carried out in the name of this something else, it would meet with such general hatred and persecution from all established powers and candidates to power as no other idea ever did in the past. Perhaps this is the only point that could recommend it to anarchists, but it has also other points that might appeal to any civilized mind which are worth putting forward.

Decline and death come to living organisms, and they have also come to all civilizations of the past, the historian being able to define them as such just because decline and death overtook them. In all instances I can recall, however, though decay may have previously set in, the death-blow was struck by an external force, that is by some uncivilized people or by a civilization still in its youth. This apparent coincidence raises doubts as to the exact nature of decay. The fact that a blow given to a civilization proved deadly is taken by the historian of civilizational forms and recurrent cycles as the proof that that civilization was aged and decayed; but deadly blows are also struck to organisms in their infancy and youth, and so they are to some historical organisms, although not much attention is paid to these precisely because they could not develop into a fully recognizable civilizational form.

Exhibition

PICTURES FOR SCHOOLS

"PICTURES for Schools" organised by the Society for Education through Art, opened its annual show at the Whitechapel Art Gallery—(Aldgate East Station) on Saturday, February 5th, and it continues until February 27th. This very good idea—that artists and craft workers should send their best work, suitable for permanent hanging in class rooms and schools generally, deserves all the support it can get. The sales are generally well above the average for mixed shows, the buyers being restricted to individual schools, training colleges and local education authorities, many of whom have frequently commenced their own collections of original works as a direct consequence of these exhibitions. The percentage of the sales price taken by the organisers is small and without the support of the Arts Council of Great Britain the S.E.A. would invariably have to bear a considerable loss.

Since these works, or at least some of them; will eventually be seen daily by hundreds of children, the organisers have arranged for school parties—(teachers who read this please note)—and individual children to vote for their favourite pictures. The result of this thoughtful approach to the question—what do children like?—will be shown during the last few days of the exhibition when the most popular works will be known.

The exhibits this year continue the same high standards of previous years. Margaret Hine and William Newland show some specially good pottery—most of the work of the potters however is excellent as also are the sculptures and carving.

Embroidery pictures—in particular those by Constance Howard, are most stimulating for adults as well as children; the latter, boys and girls, often exhibit a marked preference for "cut-outs" and appliqué creations, with highly exciting results.

To-day, when most nursery and primary schools have some daily creative activity which frequently includes the use of modelling clay, painting and embroidery, it is to be expected that all teachers and parents who have the opportunity

I regret I have not a pile of history books handy for it would be most instructive to compile a full list of the most certain symptoms of corruption and decay. I am sure that an analysis of them would show that the things labelled as corrupting in history books are among the most desirable in life, and that the condemnation cast upon them is dictated by envious and cowardly longing. For corruption sets in where there is opulence, and when men can concentrate more on the enjoyment of things than on their arduous conquest. The sin of opulence is that it is not general but exists side by side with a destitute proletariat. This need not be necessarily a class exploited by the opulent but simply a section of humanity not included in their society such as a people of barbarians for whom Toynbee on this account has coined the name of external proletariat. Even so, the sin of the corrupted opulent, insofar as it becomes apparent and punishable, does not actually lie in this exclusion but in their forgetfulness of the fact that such exclusion can be claimed as a right only as long as there is might to prove it. Before the tribunal of history, in other words, any enjoyment is likely to be condemned except the one derived from ruthlessly denying enjoyment to others.

A second general feature presented by a decadent and corrupted nation is refinement and sophistication which relative to the crudity or limited refinement of other nations or of the same nation in other aspects of its life is called derogatively over-refinement. This shows itself particularly in the arts which are unfavourably contrasted with those of a previous phase because less competition then allowed them to be more self-confident and less critical, and because their secondariness in relation to other pursuits let men engaged in these pursuits hallow them with unstinted and un begrudging admiration. But refinement, because delicate and fragile, is rather to be associated with femininity than old age. Corrupted nations in fact are said to have grown effeminate, and this is another crime before the tribunal of history—not surprisingly, it will be found, because history is made by men and not by women, and in particular with a deployment of those traits that most sharply distinguish, or used to distinguish, men

will encourage their children to go to this exhibition. It cannot fail to do otherwise than increase their natural enthusiasm for creative work. During November of last year there was an exhibition here of work in clay from the Grenfell School, a collection by pupils which was most memorable. The paintings and lithographs are well chosen and provide a very useful survey of contemporary art—it will be unnecessary to name any outstanding picture for there is a general excellence running right through the exhibition.

Teachers who are critical of the present educational system, especially should make a great point of trying to see these works. S.E.A. advocates a revolutionary policy in education—but in my opinion the society lacks the understanding and the positive approach that the use of such words as "revolutionary" demand in such a context. It was at the S.E.A. open conference at University College during January that Herbert Read—who is president of the Society—made the observation—"that all those who have as their foremost aim the establishment of an education in art which will develop the imaginative and creative powers of children, must know if they have followed through the implications of this aim, that it is packed with enough dynamite to shatter the existing educational system and to bring about a revolution in the whole structure of our society."

Whether those teachers who would wish to see fundamental changes in education and consequently in society, realize that these changes involve themselves in some pretty fundamental personal changes as well is not always clear. But what is clear is that the teaching of children to develop their creative and imaginative powers requires a degree of adult responsibility towards society and themselves which teachers, and parents, let us note, generally fail to supply. It is essential that the adult looks to his problem and his responsibility towards society for, to quote Dr. Jung in one of his essays on education, "—we shall be unable to correct in a child a fault that we ourselves still commit." R.S.

MANKIND IS ONE

THE power of the Press for good has been demonstrated in the past fortnight with the publication of selections from the photographic record made by the eminent photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson during his recent travels in Russia. These photographs are being currently published, to our knowledge, in *Picture Post* of London, *Paris Match*, and *Life* of New York and since the Editors of these journals have been at liberty to choose from the photographer's bulging portfolio of pictures, and because their approach as to what constitutes a "story" is different in each case, there is no duplication of pictures, but rather does one journal help to complete the "picture" built up by the other. For an outlay of a few shillings we get a picture of the day-to-day life in Russian cities, in the countryside and at the holiday resorts which no prejudiced traveller, for or against, nor politician or journalist could provide. It is true that the camera can lie as easily as statistics and propaganda. Monsieur Cartier-Bresson's camera, however, is one of those rare exceptions to the rule, for it always records what it sees without fear or favour.

The eye behind the camera is that of a modest man who claims no more than that during the ten weeks he spent in Russia he tried "to get a direct image of the people going about their daily life"; to show "human beings in the streets, in the shops, at work and at play, anywhere I could approach them without disturbing reality". The results, he says are only a "fragmentary image".

THAT "fragmentary image" which portrays—and here we echo the editors of *Life*—the ordinary Russian people as "intensely human and real" cannot but move those of us who are eager to seek the positive qualities in humanity whenever they manifest themselves. Here are crowds, children, football enthusiasts and starchy eyed schoolgirls; there, are queues and shop-gazers, feminine women—trying on hats—and vain men undergoing scalp massage at Moscow's Beauty Institute to force that which will not grow (privileged members of the hierarchy? someone will say. Probably, but then, do manual workers have scalp treatment in London, New York or Paris?). Holiday makers by the river—some with the latest model in cars, others with bicycles—and by the sea. George Orwell himself would be the first to rejoice at the failure of the Ministry of Love to kill the attraction of the sexes, if he could see that Bresson picture taken on the beach at Soukhoumi (*Paris Match* 12/2/55). We are allowed to catch a glimpse of the love-sick swain as he looks happily yet dreamily into the eyes of his beloved, who reveals two shapely legs and thighs, but leaves to our imagination the rest hidden from our curiosity by a not very new umbrella serving as a parasole.

Yes, they are the "intensely human and real people" you might expect to find not only in Soukhoumi but in Blackpool and Dieppe. The ordinary people are everywhere the same in their enjoyment of the pleasures they understand and that are available to them. Mass production, mass entertainment are just as much a part of the lives of the Russian people as they are of the people in our island. They come from all parts to sight-see in Moscow. That they queue to see Lenin's tombs is no more politically sinister, than is the sight of the thousands of English folk who congregate for hours outside Buckingham Palace during the

TWO COLLECTIVES IN REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN

I. ALCOY

ALCOY, the second largest city in the province of Alicante, has a population of 45,000, and is devoted entirely to industry and commerce, and the proportion of working men and women is very high. The manufacture and preparation of cloths and fabrics, in which large numbers of women are employed, is of greatest importance, followed by the paper industry.

Our movement there has a long tradition, dating back to the beginnings of Spanish anarchism, and has passed through alternate periods of success and despondency. It received a new impulse in 1919 as a result of the formation of the "sindicatos unicós."

There were also numerous anarchist groups, which in addition to their syndicalist activities, usually carried out specifically anarchist propaganda and educational work, with gratifying results. The periodical *Redención*, a journal of advanced ethical and social ideas had been published in Alcoy for five years. It had in fact, a higher proportion of militant anarchists in its population than any city in Spain. Mostly young people, experienced in study and struggle, they had a deep understanding of what actions were necessary.

holiday months in the hope of catching a fleeting glimpse of the hearse-like limousine and the Royal contents.

BUT, says *Picture Post's* Mr. Hul-ton introducing his journal's selection of pictures of "the children of Russia"—"who are like children the world over... charming... and well cared for"—but, "What photographs cannot show you, of course, is the effect of Soviet education on their young minds". That is only partly true, for we can, in fact, see from other pictures that outwardly even the young adults look very much the same as their counterparts in other countries. Is it not possible therefore, that the effect of "soviet education" is also the same; of producing a (politically speaking) obedient, amenable, flag-waving, superstitious, prejudiced, unthinking, conservative mass which, in spite of this conditioning, remains human, as is evidenced when we see them at play or in love?

The real impact of régimes is felt deeply only among thinking and independent people; their ruthlessness is very often a measure of the resistance they have to overcome. All governments are based on force; they are "democratic" so long as their only "opposition" is the one that sits in padded benches on the "other side of the gangway", and plays the game according to the rules. They are "totalitarian" when they eliminate that "opposition". But with or without the opposition Government is still government; it is in both cases single party rule, even allowing the illusion that in the democratic nations, governments, unlike the totalitarian ones, represent the wishes of a majority.

But where the opposition is in the streets, and not in the Reform Club, or even in the columns of *FREEDOM*, then Governments resort to the use of force, and the doors of the prisons or the detention camps are opened to receive the "law-breakers". And let us not make fine distinctions between the two establishments. Detention camps are, after all, only improvised prisons when the permanent prisons are full, and owe their existence less to the complexion of the government concerned than on the strength of the militant opposition!

Perhaps future generations seeing the world's present political struggles in a new light, will describe totalitarian countries as those in which the revolutionary and freedom movements were defeated, and the democracies as those countries in which no such movements ever arose. But they will not bother to distinguish one government from another.

In February 1937, the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist) had 17,000 working men and women as members. The U.G.T. (socialist), despite the support of all the political parties, only had 3,000, chiefly civil servants and small traders.

The syndicates of the C.N.T. were: Food; Paper and cardboard manufacture; Construction; Hygiene (barbers, launderers, street-cleaners); Transport; Public servants; Chemical workers; Peasants; Cobblers and bootblacks; Technicians; Linen and clothing workers; Liberal Professions (school teachers, painters, artists, writers, etc.); Metal workers; Dressmakers. The activities of all these were controlled by the C.N.T.

The clarity of ideas that our comrades possessed enabled them to act quickly and vigorously. Alcoy did not pass through the stage of independent factory and workshop committees, as in many other localities. From the very beginning the syndicates directed the revolutionary initiative in all the industries. This was in fact the most complete example one could find of "syndicalization of production".

ON the 18th July, 1936, the news of the fascist offensive had already reached Alcoy. It had been expected to break out any moment. Our press had

denounced it constantly, overcoming the passiveness of the parties and the government. The textile workers' syndicate, which had 4,000 members was not satisfied with the actions of the traditionally liberal municipal council. It presented to begin with, several modest demands: insurance against injuries, workers' control, work for all the unemployed. The insurance and unemployment pay were introduced immediately. The employers were unable this time to resort to the usual methods of repression, since the armed workers occupied the streets and denounced any opposition to their position as fascist.

Inevitably disputes arose. The employers did not accept workers' control as the syndicates intended it. For the employers it simply meant submitting their accounts to a commission nominated by the workers. For the syndicates however, it meant the gradual taking over of the administration and the production of the factories.

On the other hand, the payment of the workers presented great difficulties. Some of the factories had been paralyzed immediately by the crisis caused by the revolution. Others, although in working order, lacked the resources necessary to maintain wage payments to all the workers employed. This gave rise to a very curious situation, in which the employers had to borrow money from the syndicates in order to pay the workers' salaries!

The syndicate then nominated a technical commission of control, which after rapidly making inquiries, presented a report in which it was shown that the textile industry was in a state of paralysis and idleness, financial ruin, and administrative and technical chaos. The commission of control, which was constituted with the intention of supervising the activities of the employers, quickly transformed itself into a council controlling a textile industry directed and administered by the workers. The employers had been eliminated.

On September 14th, the syndicate officially took possession of 41 textile works, 10 spinning mills, 4 dye works, 5 processing factories, 24 wool factories, 24 linen works and 11 carding shops, which comprised the whole textile industry in Alcoy. Its day-to-day activities were determined by two sources, on the one hand the feelings of the workers, and on the other by the organisation of the directing committee.

The technical organisation of the factories was divided into five sections. Each of these nominated a delegate to the factory committee, and these committees joined together to form the directing committee of the syndicate. In this way the organization corresponded to the division of labour, and the internal structure of the industry.

The representatives of these five technical divisions of which the textile industry was composed only formed half of the directing committee. The other half consisted of the control commission mentioned above, nominated by the committee of the syndicate, and the factory

sections, and ratified by its assembly. Under the old administrative system practised throughout Alcoy, the book-keeping was done in a disgraceful manner, with about twenty or twenty-five pages recording each day's transactions. Under the new system however, all the operations of each day were set out in a page and a half.

Only resumés were published, and the details were recorded in accountancy books under the headings: acquisitions, sales, money received, money paid out, acceptances, raw materials, manufactures, warehouses, various.

In this vast organization, which if not rigidly planned, was rationalized, the syndicate was the supreme body. Its assemblies guided the work of the technical commission, and co-ordinated the factory committees. Through its president it authorised financial transactions, and it assumed juridical and social responsibility for expropriation, and for administration in general. It fixed wages, and in fact co-ordinated all kinds of activities, in the interests of the collective.

As was mentioned at the beginning, the other industries were organized along similar lines: complete organizations in the hands of the syndicates. In the metallurgical works that I visited, work was proceeding vigorously, under the direction of workers' councils. In a few months a new industry had been organized in Alcoy, without competition, private profit, or capitalism, all of which are necessary, according to writers of economic treatises, having played any part at all.

The organization of production in Alcoy was technically perfect, but that of distribution was incomplete. The reason for this was that in this matter the political parties did not all support complete socialization. They opposed it, as being a too revolutionary programme, and consequently the commercial traders, who had themselves created a control commission, were able to centralize the trade in agricultural products, paying the peasants their own prices, which greatly increased the cost of the articles. The republican, socialist and communist politicians prefer this kind of speculation to the defence of the people's interests.

GASTON LEVAL
(To be concluded)

How the Money Goes

A REPORT with the rather ponderous title *Census of Distribution and other Services 1950*; Vol. 3 *Wholesale Trades* (H.M.S.O. 15/-) reveals some interesting facts about those boosters of the Cost of Living Index, the middlemen.

They represent a fairly large part of all those engaged in commerce: at June, 1950 the 'industry' employed no fewer than 790,266 persons. The total value of goods handled by the wholesale trades in this country was £13,049m., of which the manufacturers' own export and home selling organisations accounted for £995m. (less than 8%). In other words the great bulk of the goods which go through the wholesale trades are handled by firms quite independent of both the makers and the final sellers of the goods.

What the report refers to as the 'gross margin', that is the difference between the price paid for goods and the price for which they are sold, was £1,129m. Of this sum £300m. went in wages and salaries and £179m. in operating transport.

This gross margin varied between 3% of receipts for tobacco wholesalers and 33.4% of receipts for dealers in second-hand machinery. The average figure was 12.8%.

No figures are given to show how much time and energy is wasted in moving goods from manufacturer to wholesaler (there may be more than one of course), from wholesaler to retailer, or how much cheaper goods would be if the middlemen were eliminated.

A Plea for Decadence

Continued from p. 2

from women, namely physical strength, boorishness, violence, and urge to kill.

DECADENT nations are, finally, characterized by a general relaxation of all kinds of discipline, and by all religious, social, and political bonds being no longer tight and taut. Religious, social, and political life is not then necessarily less keen, but it assumes a great variety of forms, and a multiplicity of centres of cohesion, with ample room for each more freely to move in, and this may give an impression of disintegration. But there is no disintegration; it is only that society comes to count less and the individual more. Mysticism, sensuality, and intelligence are rife, and all contribute to a general disinterest in the nation as a whole, which puts it at a disadvantage with bordering peoples, still brutally organized and seeing no finer object in life than their own survival, which they think can only be secured by the destruction of all that are better or simply other than themselves. Decadent nations have learned tolerance, and that is yet another crime in the eyes of history.

Cyclical theories of history are in downright contradiction with the unilinear and evolutionary interpretations which came before. Yet it might be possible to reconcile the two on the following or similar lines. A civilizational

form goes through its usual phases and then receives a deadly blow from another civilization which is on the ascendant. According to past history this process would endlessly recur. But in modern times, thanks to the industrial and technological advance, the power of recovery after destruction caused by war has quickened the tempo and upset the regularity of this process. It has also reduced the number of extant civilizational forms, so that it is quite on the cards that in the foreseeable future there will be but one civilization. That means that the phase of old age and decay will not be brought to an end by an external blow. It still can by an internal one, but then, if the present industrial and technological foundation is not completely shattered, the consequence of it will be the disappearance of the internal proletariat. After that so-called decadence and decay will proceed undisturbed. To work for the future, therefore, is to work for decadence and corruption. In spite of the hostility of animal instincts and the unpleasantness of associations that this conclusion may conjure up I think that corruption and decay are greatly to be preferred to any other historical aim which is but repetitive and biological, and ties one to the view that a civilization is only to be valued insofar as it still retains the power to destroy others.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI

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AN ANARCHIST'S NOTEBOOK

The Stink of the Empire Slums

A PERTINENT observation was made by a British Guianese student at a meeting organised last week by the *Movement for Colonial Freedom*, when he said that the panic in some quarters of Britain because of Colonial immigrants, was due to the fact that the "slums of the Empire were suddenly being transplanted and set down uncomfortably close to home. It had been simpler and nicer for everyone when the stink had been kept at its proper distance 5,000 miles away".

Unfortunately the full force of the stink never gets beyond Government levels, and the ordinary people of this country know little of the poverty which prevails in the West Indies, and what is even worse they do not seem to be interested.

As our Royal Princess flies into the Caribbean sun, the rumble of resentment from some sections of the British workers against her West Indian subjects in this country reach our ears.

Reports from two different parts of the country this week reflect varying attitudes towards the "problem" of coloured workers and suggest again that, prejudice apart—the result of ignorance and fear, integration of white and coloured is inseparable from the economic life of the worker. We pointed out a few weeks ago that Trade Union leaders could do much to alleviate the fear of unemployment which the worker thinks will come as a result of an influx of coloured labour, by encouraging an intelligent attitude towards their fellow workers whatever their colour, and by pointing to the real causes of recessions.

International Holidays

I'm all for the international exchange holidays mentioned by Anarcho-Syndicalist in *FREEDOM* and I should like to know more of the annual anarchist camp in Italy.

Indeed, any information regarding continental holidays would be welcome. France has a great appeal but is reported expensive. Further afield, Austria and Spain are said to be very cheap but distance makes the cost of the return fare high. Perhaps Belgium, Holland and Denmark have possibilities.

There is some economy, I believe, in party travel besides reassurance in know-how and agreeable company.

Luton, C. R. VINYCOMB.
The Editors feel they cannot undertake the organisation of any exchange holidays themselves, but will give their support to anyone taking the initiative.

The address for information regarding the International Anarchist Camp in Italy is:

ALDO ROSSI,
Via Marco Tabbarrini 40
Rome, Italy.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom

(From our Exeter correspondent)

THE Devon Council of the Movement for Colonial Freedom held its first public meeting in Exeter on Friday, January 22nd, at which the attendance was fairly encouraging for this semi-feudal part of the country.

The chairman, Dr. Leon Szur, stated that the movement had been making good progress since its formation last year, and had obtained the affiliation of numerous local Labour parties, pacifist organisations, and trade unions. In the international field it worked in co-operation with similar movements in European countries, and with various organisations in the colonial territories themselves.

Councillor Chapple, of the Exeter Labour Party, was the first speaker. He pointed out that a forthcoming meeting of the Movement for Colonial Freedom occurred on the same day as the opening of the new South African government of Mr. Strijdom, and hoped that the international work of the anti-imperialist movement would help to offset, and perhaps overcome, the policies of racial domination typified by the latter.

Going on to survey the activities of British governments, such as the exile of Seretse Khama, the deposition of the Kabaka of Buganda, and most of all the terrorist campaign being carried out by the government against the people of Kenya, he contrasted them with some of the ideals it verbally adhered to, such as the Charter of the United Nations, and the Declaration of Human Rights. The British Press, and a large proportion of the population seemed prepared to condemn racial oppression in South Africa, but supported it in British territories.

Many trade union leaders however, prefer to exploit the situation; it makes their job of keeping their privileged position so much easier.

The Transport Committee of the Nottingham City Council have met to discuss the employment of coloured labour on the buses to fill the vacancies for over a hundred bus drivers and 145 conductors. The Nottingham branch of the Transport & General Workers Union is opposed to the employment of coloured labour, and as far as we can gather the opposition is as much from the rank and file as the leadership. The reasons given are similar to those advanced by the Birmingham Branch of the T. & G.W.U., that if Jamaicans arrive in large numbers as a result of employing a few—(a) Nottingham would become a "coloured colony"—(b) "clippies" may become dispossessed. The question of the position of coloured workers if there should be a trade recession is again causing anxiety. It is so much better to feel that coloured instead of white workers will starve in this event. Another strong reason which is not publicly advanced, is that if the transport labour shortage were ended by the introduction of coloured labour, there would be much less overtime for both drivers and conductors.

A different report comes from Coventry where semi-skilled and unskilled factory employment, at the rate of £10 to £14 per week, is plentiful and the fruits of plenty produce a noticeably different attitude all round. A *Manchester Guardian* correspondent writes:—

"The majority of coloured workers are Indians. Some of them came to Britain before the Second World War and many have been here for three or four years. The West Indians, almost all Jamaicans, are later arrivals.

Before the war local labour could meet all the demands of the factories that surround the city. War-time and post-

war industrial expansion ended this easy state and better training, higher wages, and more comfortable conditions attracted workers from the furnaces and the manual grades. The Coloured workers are filling the gap that has been left . . .

'Frankly,' said the personnel manager of one large car factory, 'we should be completely lost without our coloured workers. They work at the furnaces, on material-handling, and track-feeding. They don't mind how hard they work, but they seem to prefer that class of work,' the manager added. 'We tried one or two of them on more skilled stuff like machine-moulding, but they did not seem to bed down to it.'

There had never been any friction between white and coloured workers, nor was there any segregation. It was noticeable, however, that coloured workers stayed apart from works social life. None of them played for any of the works sports teams, though with the

What Motivated the General?

RECENTLY, General MacArthur started his followers by making a public declaration against war. The occasion was a banquet given in his honour by The American Legion, a fascist-type organisation of patriots, to celebrate his seventy-fifth birthday. Earlier in the same day, a statue of MacArthur was unveiled in the Los Angeles Park which bears his name, and which surveyed a pool whose "scattered lily pads are actually a careful arrangement of the Pacific Islands, from Australia to the Philippines, that MacArthur conquered from the Japanese in the Second World War", a symbol which seems more in keeping with the General than the pipe of peace.

Indians that might be due to language difficulties. 'Very few of them can speak English.'

Unions Encourage Membership

The unions, too, are pleased with the way Coventry's coloured labour experiments have progressed. There have been no attempts to use the workers as cheap labour and all the coloured workers are receiving more than minimum union rates. Mr. J. L. Jones, the local district secretary of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, said that they willingly joined their unions. 'They pay their subscriptions promptly and they don't hesitate to come to us with their problems.' There were a number of coloured shop stewards and some coloured workers had attended trade union week-end schools."

It may be that in a time of recession resentments will arise here as elsewhere, but if the coloured worker is regarded as a part of the normal community life the chances of providing the scapegoat in times of crisis are lessened. It is obvious that where economic conditions are favourable integration is easier and the effects more permanent.

It is difficult to believe that a man, who only a few years ago, was sacked from his job as Commander-in-Chief of the Far East forces because it was feared his military strategy would spread the Korean War to China, and whose policy insisted on rearming the reluctant Japanese, has only now become aware of the horrors of atomic warfare. As a personal observer of the effects of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, before he lost his job, he must have had a fair idea of its destructive powers.

The desire for immortality must be strong in men like MacArthur, and perhaps he has been motivated by an urge to regain the limelight and thus ensure a place for himself in the pages of history as the General who turned Pacifist. But whatever his motives, his utterances must have caused a few headaches in the Pentagon. He spoke about the "blackguard leaders" of the world whom "the disease of power seems to confuse and befuddle. Never do they dare to state the truth, the next great advance in the evolution of civilization cannot take place until war is abolished. The ordinary people of the world are agreed in this solution but the leaders are the laggards."

The agony of the cold war, he believed, was kept alive by two great illusions.

"The one, a complete belief on the part of the Soviet world that the capitalist countries are preparing to attack them; that sooner or later we intend to strike. And the other, a complete belief on the part of the capitalist countries that the Soviets are preparing to attack us; that sooner or later they intend to strike. Both are wrong. Each side, so far as the masses are concerned, is equally desirous of peace. For either side war with the other would mean nothing but disaster. Both equally dread it. But the constant acceleration of preparation may well, without specific intent, ultimately produce a spontaneous combustion.

"Whatever betides the ultimate fate of the Far East—and indeed of the world—will not be settled by force of arms. We may all be annihilated, but war can no longer be an arbiter of survival . . .

"The military situation in Formosa demonstrates the inherent weakness in the theory of collective security.

"The hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars now spent on mutual preparedness could conceivably abolish poverty from the face of the globe."

SELECTIONS FROM FREEDOM

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of the thought. But, as a political realist, he must know that "war is the health of the State"; for Attlee, as for the majority of politicians, the choice must always be between political power and the interests of the people, and since these two rarely coincide we cannot expect politicians to act in our interest.

Attlee's Eye on the Votes

MR. ATTLEE who, we are told, as Labour Prime Minister launched the "greatest rearmament programme Britain has ever had" joins the ranks of the peace lovers by calling for "total world disarmament as the only hope for mankind".

Oppositional political commentators have suggested that his timely speech to the Defence Committee of Labour M.P.'s was calculated as a vote-catcher in the forthcoming elections, and as a rallying point for the extreme left dissenters within his own party.

Bearing in mind that the opposition will also be looking for something effective with which to woo the voters, we agree that Attlee's speech in the main may well have been made with one eye on the General Election. At the same

time he allows himself an important loophole, which as we know is the politician's stock-in-trade.

He makes his appeal for disarmament on the grounds that no effective supervision of hydrogen and atomic weapons is possible and that the only deterrent against a hydrogen bomb is to use the threat of retaliation. Britain however, is extremely vulnerable, therefore, we must press at once for talks between East and West to discuss disarmament. As the political correspondent in the *Observer* points out: To the careful observer Mr. Attlee has said nothing very new and, indeed, the Government would not dissent from much of his argument. The only defence is the atomic deterrent?—it is Sir Winston Churchill's argument of last December. A disarmament conference?—but has not Sir Winston over and over again said that he wanted four-Power talks?

To the Left, however, the speech has political undertones, and it is this that accounts for the excitement in the Party. It seems to offer something for everybody. It cuts through the Party's confusion on defence and seems to give a clear lead. Indeed, Mr. Attlee would now appear to be in favour of an all-out attack on the Government's defence record, much to the delight of those who have been agitating for a vote of censure.

It brings comfort to those who have by no means given up their opposition to German rearmament. For if, as Mr. Attlee and Sir Winston have now said, the only defence in a future war is the threat of an annihilating blast of hydrogen bombs, what use, they ask, are the twelve German divisions? German rearmament, they will argue, on Mr. Attlee's thesis, is almost irrelevant.

The point is that Mr. Attlee's proviso, namely, that "until there was an agreement between all the nations to negotiate seriously on disarmament, Britain must build up her defence as quickly as possible and to the maximum extent", allows for all sorts of arguments and methods to be used in the name of defence.

Attlee has made a very clever political move; his rousing speech calling for world disarmament (perhaps he got the idea from General MacArthur) will appeal to the majority of people who certainly do not want war, and is therefore of political value. Knowing however, the almost impossible task of agreement between rival nations it is quite safe for politicians to make such speeches, especially when they are also realistic and suggest that we must build up our defences—just in case.

No sane person wants war, and we do not think that Attlee gets any pleasure

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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Correspondence to: Alan M. Bain, 8 Riffel Road, Cricklewood, N.W.2.

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