

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Let every man be respected as an individual, and no man idolised."

—ALBERT EINSTEIN.

CUTTING THEM DOWN TO SIZE

GREAT indeed must have been the weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth in the Fleet Street offices during the last month.

If they had had pre-knowledge of coming events, the 700 electricians and engineers whose strike has deprived London of newspapers during this historic period, could not have chosen a time more calculated to frustrate and infuriate their employers. Indeed one wonders how much of the intransigence of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association is born of their fury at being deprived of the features and stories—all of which must have been prepared and paid for—which have broken recently.

Departure of W.C.

BIGGEST of the still-born stories was that of the retirement of Sir Winston Churchill. We can be sincerely grateful to those 700 humble workers in greasy overalls for sparing us the gallons of slush, sentiment and adulation which would have filled the pages of every daily and Sunday newspaper on and after—what was the date? It's forgotten already.

With only the BBC playing its own restrained and muted version of *Twilight of the Gods*, the passing of the Greatest Statesman of Our Time was put into perspective. The immediate effect upon our lives was seen to be nil. The Government's policy, like that of Ernest Bevin's

when he relieved Eden at the Foreign Office in 1945, is seen to be 'continuity'. The Ship of State has dropped a figurehead, which will float around for a time and then sink beneath the waves.

If the newspaper workers can arrange to be on strike again when the final darkness descends, the eclipse will be complete. Men are declared great by the propaganda forces at their disposal, and if they serve well enough the interests of those who own and control those forces, they can be inflated to god-like proportions. Unless, of course, a handful of key workers choose to go on strike.

The General Election

SECOND biggest story of the year has also fallen into the strike period. A General Election has been declared for May 26.

The local elections of a fortnight ago were said to have been adversely affected by the lack of daily papers. Without the national Press, we were assured, people lost interest in local affairs, to the astounding extent that in the London Borough of Stepney only 17 per cent. of the electorate voted.

The chagrin of the local big-wigs must have been considerable, but they cannot put the blame altogether on the absence of papers. The electorate cannot really be expected to get enthusiastic over the tweedle-dee-tweedledum arguments that pass

for political struggles to-day, and it will be extremely enlightening if the newspaper famine continues until May 26 to see just what effect it will have upon a General Election, where a much higher poll is always expected than at local or bye-elections.

We could fairly safely predict a low poll. Left to themselves most people agree with the Anarchists that 'they're all the same' and that there is little point in choosing between the political parties. Only when they are 'got at', and persuaded that it is their civic duty, do the majority of voters make a choice—and then it is a 'lesser evil' choice, voting to keep someone out rather than to express positive confidence by putting someone in.

The advent of the Election gives the newspaper strikers a very strong position. The proprietors are as concerned as all the ruling class to perpetuate the democratic myth, and as long as the people express themselves only through the ineffective means of the ballot box the Press Lords are as safe as the rest of their colleagues. They will wish to play their part in persuading the people to choose their figureheads and will therefore be more anxious than before to get their papers back into circulation.

The engineers and electricians are now on official strike pay. They have no interest in choosing a government and it is to be hoped that they will not be persuaded to go back on the arguments that democracy needs them. They can serve their fellow workers better by staying out and withholding the clamour of the Press, so that the electorate will think for itself, judge the candidates by what they see of them and then, surely, stay at home on May 26.

Einstein

THE third big story of which the Press has been deprived is that of the death of the world's most famous scientist, Albert Einstein. Here was a man who was great in his own right and through his own intrinsic ability.

Einstein needed no battalions to give him power. Indeed he distrusted the kind of power battalions gave to men. His greatness did not depend upon being puffed up by propaganda, but upon his remarkable mental capacity and his courage in expressing his views.

There is an ironic justice that Fleet Street has been deprived of the news value of his death. Inevitably eulogies would have appeared in papers which stand for the very opposite of Einstein's virtues. We have at least been spared that hypocrisy.

(see Obituary, page 2)

DOES IT MATTER?

'When Mr. A. J. Morrison asked in a case at Derby Quarter Sessions yesterday for compensation on behalf of the Minister of Works, the Recorder, Mr. R. O'Sullivan, Q.C., asked: "Who is the Minister of Works? We have had no newspapers lately."

Mr. Morrison: "There have been some Cabinet changes lately."

—Manchester Guardian. Which then goes on to report that the Minister of Works got £3 anyhow, whoever he was.

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY IN ARGENTINA PERON VERSUS THE CHURCH

IN totalitarian countries when Church and State clash over the possession of the bodies and souls, under their domination, observers in "democratic" countries usually take the view that the State is increasing its powers, which involves the Church in religious persecution.

While it is true that where there is no agreement between Church and State, or an agreement has been broken, the State has exercised control over the clergy, it is also true that the Church has played a large part in the development of totalitarian States.

The latest struggle between Church and State is taking place in Argentina, and reveals some interesting facets which at first glance appear to have little connection.

In recent months the Peronist Government have been attacking the interference of the clergy in Government affairs, and *La Prensa*, the official newspaper of the Confederation of Labour has recently proposed a Congressional session to review the 1949 Constitution which "... respected what was considered a tradition and maintained the link between the temporal and spiritual powers. The clergy were given powers which they never had from the oligarchic Government" (obviously given to the Church because it was prepared to co-operate with the State in all its ramifications). In addition to this, priests have been arrested or expelled, restrictions put on religious meetings and the Argentine envoy has been recalled from the Vatican. Further the Vatican newspaper, *Osservatore Romano* has suddenly discovered that the Peron Government is totalitarian!

It is difficult to trace the actual beginning of this hostility to the Church in Argentina by the Government, although there has been a noticeable change in policy since the death of Eva Peron. Since the Church has been prepared to co-operate with the Government in the past and there is no apparent conflict of ideologies, we have to look elsewhere for an explanation.

A correspondent writing in the *Manchester Guardian* on "American Investments in Argentina" perhaps gives us a pointer to the material reasons, which are usually behind such conflicts.

He reminds us that ten years ago Washington regarded Argentina with considerable hostility, and went as far as stopping United States vessels calling at Argentine ports and "under pressure from Washington Argentina became largely isolated in the Western Hemisphere".

He points to the changing attitude in Washington which has accompanied the large-scale investment, both by private and State investors. He writes:—

"The latest example of this new United States interest in Argentina is a \$60 millions credit recently approved by the

Export-Import Bank to finance 60 per cent. of the cost of equipment for a new Argentine steel mill. The balance of the cost will be met by credits granted by the United States suppliers of the equipment in co-operation with the bank. The Argentine Government owns a majority share in the new enterprise, and so the Export-Import Bank credit has been widely regarded, both in the United States and in Argentina, as a financial endorsement by Washington of the Peron régime. . . .

"The need for Argentina to develop her domestic oil resources has provided another and more considerable bait for private United States capital. At present imported oil costs Argentina some \$200 millions a year. President Peron's second Five-Year Plan calls for an annual production of oil of 6,000,000 tons by 1957; but present output is little more than half that amount, and ever-rising consumption—particularly as a result of the mechanisation of agriculture—makes an increase in production imperative. So far economic nationalism, coupled with a lack of capital and technicians, has prevented the State Oil Monopoly (known as Y.P.F.) from making the most of its chances."

When America began its dollar aid to Spain some of the extreme elements in the Catholic Church who were openly hostile to the Protestant Church were actually removed from their jobs by Vatican order. It was obvious that predominantly Protestant America was not going to put up with severe Catholic hostility while providing much needed aid. So the Church, as it has done on many occasions, adjusted itself to changing conditions.

It is likely that a similar reason lies behind Peron's attitude to the Church; the need to encourage economic investment from America and all it implies which might be resented by some elements within the Church, as well as the fact that Peron will use this opportunity to rid the workers' organisations of increasing Catholic influence. R.M.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 15

Deficit on Freedom	£225
Contributions received	£195
DEFICIT	£30

April 7 to April 14

Warrington: J.H. 7/6; Street: C.L.N. 5/-;	
Falmouth: R.W. 6d.; London: H.F. £2;	
Tonbridge: H.V.W. 2/6; Leeds: M.F. £5;	
London: Anon. 5/4; Greenford: A.E.B. £1;	
London: Anon. £3; London: D.W. 4/6; London:	
J.S.* 3/-; Phoenix: C.C. 14/-; London:	
B.C. £1; Hyde Park: E.R. 1/6.	

Total	14 3 10
Previously acknowledged	181 14 10

1955 TOTAL TO DATE	£195 18 8
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GIFT OF BOOKS: London: A.W.U.

Rebel and Refugees in Cyprus

SINCE the Greek motor-launch *St. George* was seized with its cargo of dynamite off Khlorka, Cyprus, in January, two Cypriot rebel arms dumps, consisting of rifles, machine guns, bombs and ammunition, packed in waterproof containers, have been found on the sea bed. This method of hiding arms says much for the ingenuity of the rebels; the fact that the police have discovered a couple of caches (out of the rebels alone know how many), indicates a weakness rather in the organisation than in the hiding place.

The Cypriot secret society *Enosis*, already responsible for various illicit publications in Greek, produced a leaflet in English and distributed it, in March, outside a political trial in Nicosia. About the same time, the British government sent a rude note to the Greek government about a "Free Cypriot" radio station located on Greek territory; the Greek government replied in friendly terms and continued to maintain the station.

For the unusual thing about *Enosis* and the Cypriot rebels generally, is that they are not nationalists—not, that is to say, Cypriot nationalists. Their slogan is not "Self-Government" but "Self-Determination", and they make no secret that, having flung off the British yoke, they intend to put the Cypriot people not under a Cypriot yoke, but firmly under the Greek yoke.

While they are a considerable group from every point of view, it does not follow that the population of Cyprus supports them as strongly as, say, the population of Ireland supported the Irish Citizen Army. A report in the *New Statesman and Nation*, April 9, concerning explosions in Nicosia, Famagusta and Limassol the previous week-end, said, "Although the attacks have been concentrated on official buildings and appear to be generally in support of *Enosis*, their precise political significance is unclear. They have been specifically repudiated by the Cypriot Communist party and by the Pan-Cyprian Labour Federation, which, last Sunday, passed a resolution deploring terrorism and affirming that the latest crop of outrages was

inspired by people who wanted to provide justification for Government measures against the working class" . . . in order, presumably, to promote working-class feeling against the (present) government.

We have no direct evidence about how the average inhabitant of Cyprus feels about the political situation, but there is evidence that certain inhabitants of Cyprus actually want to be British:

NICOSIA, APRIL 14.

Four hundred Palestine Arab refugees who have been living in Cyprus since the end of the British mandate in Palestine, have petitioned the Governor for British citizenship.

The petition said that during the past seven years they had vainly appealed to several Arab countries, and the Arab League to be admitted to any Arab country, and given some status. "Our appeals were never acknowledged, and we received no concrete advice from the Arab League." Several appeals to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees had brought the response that refugees in Cyprus did not come under the agency's term of reference.—*Reuter*.

Meanwhile certain inhabitants of London, Cypriots by birth, have held demonstrations in favour of "Self-Determination", including the only political procession from Hyde Park for years not subject to Communist infiltration (the Communists were all in Trafalgar Square at the time), and the *Manchester Guardian* tells us:

"A New York organisation calling itself the Committee on the Cyprus Question has opened a campaign against continued British rule and has circulated an essay on the subject by Gene Rosides, a former footballer at Columbia University, who is of Greek-Cypriot descent."

We, of course, hold no brief for British rule in Cyprus or anywhere else; nor do we favour Greek rule or Cypriot rule. We advocate, in Cyprus as elsewhere, Self-Government and Self-Determination for every individual man, woman and child. D.R.

Strikes, Present and Pending

THE newspaper strike continues in deadlock. The only serious new development is that the dismissal notices given by the employers to the printing workers have now taken effect. 20,000 members of various printing trades are now unemployed and the employers are hoping that this fact will drive the 700 maintenance engineers and electricians back to work.

So far, however, both sides are remaining obstinate. The AEU and ETU have made the dispute official and strike pay is being paid out. The ETU is free to fix whatever strike pay is thought necessary, but the AEU is tied to £1 a week. We hear, however, that the ETU is advancing cash to the AEU's strikers to bring strike pay up to about £3 15s. all round. Not much, but enough to keep most of them going for a time.

The pressure of events should force the proprietors to give way, if the men stay firm.

The *Daily Worker* is appearing again the TUC having over-ruled the action of R. Willis, composers' leader, who called out the comps on the *Worker*, although the demands of the maintenance

men had been met. (See FREEDOM 9/4/55).

Later: Strikers accept NPA terms

The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen have given notice to strike on May 1st—a good date for a strike after all.

The issue is wages, and, as in the case of the newspaper workers, behind the immediate demand for more cash lies the thorny issue of the differential between the wages of skilled and unskilled workers.

The Railway Staff National Tribunal has made an award to the footplate men which they consider to be inadequate, and closing the differential gap, although the Tribunal as recently as last November, recognised the 'necessity' for maintaining the differential.

The Transport Commission are in much the same position as the Newspaper Proprietors. If they grant the ASLEF an increase the National Union of Railwaymen will want more. If they get it, the ASLEF will want more again.

That's the wages system. Worker against Worker. Sensible, isn't it?

Non-Violence and the Revolution

DEFENCE of the revolution against attack from outside presents more problems than attack from within. Numerous small areas, and some big ones, in which the revolution has been successful, will have to defend themselves against the might of the state's military power.

It has been said that against air attack there can be no non-violent defence. Perhaps, but if the enemy know that they are bombing people who have no intention of fighting back they will probably not be able to keep it up long. In the last war the airmen on both sides considered themselves pitted against a homogenous barbarian horde. Only thus could they justify in their own minds the slaughter of women and children. We have got to realise that human beings are naturally good, and therefore we must look, if we are to understand their barbarous conduct, for the good element that lies at the back of the cruel things they do.

Now, it is natural and right for people to defend themselves, both as individuals and as groups, when they are attacked. The bomber pilots of the recent war regarded themselves as defenders of their community. After all, one of the most common arguments hurled at the unfortunate pacifist runs, "So you would allow your wife to be raped would you? You've got to defend your home and your country." Quite so. The point is of course that whereas among people at a low stage of culture it is possible to defend your community by force, without injuring non-combatants, in modern society it is utterly impossible. (Which doesn't mean of course that the use of violence was ever a good means of defence. Catholic pacifists with the Crusades on their hands talk about a "just war" having been possible in the past, but modern technical development has made it impossible now. But in fact there never was a "just war", all wars are unjust to somebody, even if civilians are spared, their relatives who take part in the fighting are killed or maimed).

However, if the bomber pilots know, and I should imagine that it will be diffi-

cult for them to be kept long in ignorance by the authorities, that they will not be attacking an armed enemy, or the unarmed civilian population of a country that is nonetheless engaged in an armed struggle, but a people who have no intention of fighting, they will find it difficult to square their bombing with their consciences.

But though bombing may not be continued long, and one must also remember that the owners of the mines, factories, and farms in the revolutionary area will want to get their property back undamaged, there will undoubtedly be an effort to occupy the revolutionary area.

Most of us, when we think of defence, think of a line round a tract of territory, over which the enemy must not be allowed to pass. The military men, in order to encourage a good morale and a sense of security in the civilian population, tend to keep up this illusion, but they themselves believe in "defence in depth" rather than "in line". This means that whole stretches of country will be saturated with pockets and centres of resistance, and instead of smashing his way through a wall, and then gaily advancing through undefended land, the enemy will get entangled in a complex series of defences, from which it will be difficult to retreat as well as to advance. He will in fact be like one who pushes his hand into a jar of treacle.

Since a non-violent revolution will not be able to use armies to keep the enemy out, and since paratroops may be dropped from the air in any case, the defence "in depth" is the only possible one. I suppose one might do such things as lying in the road in front of army lorries. I once heard it suggested the inhabitants of a country to be invaded should mass on the frontiers with linked arms, and dare the enemy to smash his way through them while they refused to strike a blow. Personally I find such a scheme rather fantastic. Besides, it reveals a trace of the linear mentality. Once this line was broken, and it might be, for this new form of resistance would not necessarily be effective at once, what would then happen? Once a front is

A VISIT to the Pavlov laboratories at Koltuski in Russia, is described by two doctors in a recent *Lancet*. Here there are conditioned reflex laboratories for animals and patients, and the functioning of the organism is studied in its unity with the environment.

So much importance is attached to Pavlov's teaching on conditioned reflexes in Russia that an investigation of this field of Soviet science might help us to understand the philosophy of the Soviet political bureaucrats. Sechenov in 1862 in his book *Reflexes of the Brain* postulated that all functions of the brain including mental activity are carried out by reflex action. Pavlov extended and developed this approach with a vast amount of experimental work out of which developed his well-known theory of the conditioned reflex. If any phenomenon capable of producing activity in a sensory pathway immediately precedes or coincides in time with the operation of an inborn reflex, this new stimulus can give rise to the original inborn response. For example if repeatedly when a dog is fed a bell is rung the dog will eventually salivate in response to the bell alone.

really broken most nations surrender. A successful revolution demands that the vast mass of the population shall be revolutionary, that most individuals in the country shall be each one of them a little miniature revolution on his or her own.

A frontier cannot be defended in such a revolution. The whole country must be a seething mass of resistance. The first thing is that there must be no co-operation with the invaders. Modern society is so complex that non-co-operation can be carried on in a hundred different ways. But it has been used successfully in the past too.

Bart de Ligt writes:
"... Even at the beginning of the struggle the Netherlands made against Spain, strikes, boycotts and non-co-operation."
Continued on p. 3

SCIENCE NOTES

Of Mice and Men

The workers at Koltuski believe that there is no evidence of spontaneous cortical activity and that there is nothing left of mental activity except complex relations between reflexes of one kind or another.

Prof. Feodorov stated at the Institute that Pavlov had said that conditioned reflexes must on a priori grounds be inheritable and become in the course of evolution inborn unconditioned reflexes. Pavlov himself failed to establish this but the Professor in experiments on mice claimed to have obtained decisive results over a period of years and intends to repeat the work using other animals.

These experiments are very reminiscent of MacDougall's, described in a previous Science Notes. A bell was rung as mice were released into a maze which if successfully negotiated led to a safe chamber. After six seconds a mild continuous electric shock was given. A conditioned mouse having learned to proceed straight to the safe cell received no shock. By shining a light and associating it with a different route a more complex conditioning process could be developed.

The animals were divided into two groups, one a control group. The experimental group was trained to a given degree of complex conditioning, and then allowed to breed as were the controls. Each generation of the non-controls was submitted to the same training process. After a certain number of generations the controls were tested for their ability to acquire conditioned reflexes necessary to avoid electric shocks and thus compared with similar mice whose parents were trained. What had been acquired was not particular conditioned reflexes but the capacity to form them in conditions of a persistent change in the environment calling for these reflexes.

It will not be possible to assess the validity of this work unless detailed results are published and the work repeated elsewhere, but we think it unlikely that it will lead to a revival of Lamarckianism as the results could be interpreted in terms of genetic variation or possibly to contact between parents and their offspring. Its importance to us lies in the probability that conditioning processes are consciously applied to the human population of Russia and if these conditioned states could be in any degree inherited the power of the Russian bureaucrats would be immensely increased.

In discussions on the relative importance of heredity and environment, socialists and anarchists have in the past emphasized the importance of environment, but it may be that individual integrity may ultimately depend on hereditary factors which limit the extent to which people can be conditioned, and anarchists may in the future have to emphasize the importance of heredity.

Albert Einstein

ALBERT EINSTEIN, the mathematician, died on Monday. He was 76, and had been the world's most renowned and respected scientist for over 35 years.

For it was in 1919 that photographs of an eclipse of the sun, taken from South America, were found to contain data contradicting Isaac Newton's theories of gravity (which had been universally accepted for centuries) and supporting Einstein's Theory of Relativity (first fully stated in 1915—four years before). It was hard for scientists of that time to accept ideas like the curvature of space and the contraction of time; even some eminent mathematicians claimed they did not understand the theory. But, being scientists faced with concrete external evidence, they had to admit its validity.

Like many of his less famous colleagues, Einstein was persecuted by the Nazis. In 1933, he was dismissed from his academic appointments in Germany, and his book was burnt. He then accepted a post at Princeton University, U.S.A., where he continued his researches until his death. It would be almost an insult to say Einstein was a Grand Old Man, for that term usually refers to a decadent enjoying the reputation he earned in the prime of life; Einstein continued to produce new work. Nor did he confine himself to astronomical mathematics; his Quantum Theory applies to the smallest particles of energy, and he also evolved numerous

FREEDOM

Correlations to Causes

PSYCHOANALYSTS and many anthropologists make the claim that early weaning tends to produce a person with a pessimistic and authoritarian character, and that late weaning results in optimistic, liberal-minded individuals.

Eysenk (*Uses and Abuses of Psychology*) explains that this is known as arguing from correlations to causes, and is not the only possible interpretation of the evidence, as an equally valid case can be made for hereditary responsibility. Pessimistic personalities may tend to produce pessimistic children, and similarly, optimistic personalities, optimistic children. The time of weaning thus being an incidental characteristic of the personality of the parent. He further suggests that such comparisons between parents and their young are unfruitful because of the possibility of such dual explanations.

In a similar manner the genesis of neurosis, attributed by Freudians to a hostile environment in the formative years, could be considered to be the result of an inherited potentiality acquired from the parents. These and other similar phenomena may perhaps best be explained as the result of interaction between hereditary and liberal and friendly environment may not result in neurosis, whilst a hostile and authoritarian environment acting upon a hereditary constitution not disposed to neurosis may not cause one.

We feel that it is an over-simplification to assume that given the "right" environment people will be sociable and peaceful, but the problem is so important that it has to be faced even if it necessitates a change in our point of view.

The Crucifixion of Science

AN article on the scientific proof of the crucifixion in *Picture Post*, April 9th, by Leonard Cheshire, V.C., a convert to catholicism, purports to prove that the scriptures are correct with regard to Christ's death.

A shroud which has been many times described as a fake, handed down from generation to generation is considered to be the winding sheet of Christ. On close inspection indistinct brown stains are noticeable, which when viewed from a distance take on the outline of a man.

In 1898 it was photographed and a clear imprint of a human face appeared on the photographic plate. The article is illustrated with some of the photographs which show what is believed to be blood stains on the forehead, arms, ankles, and torso. In 1902 a French biologist presented his evidence to the French academy, after a year and a half's investigation.

He said: "It is Christ who has impressed the figure of himself on the shroud. If it is not Christ, who is it—some malefactor executed for his crimes? How reconcile this with the admirable expression of nobility?"

In this investigation subjective factors appear to have overwhelmed the detachment necessary for scientific investigation.

Bios.

THEATRE

THIS WAS GOOD COMEDY

AT the time of going to press Mr. Denis Cannan's new comedy "Misery Me" is in the last stages of its abortive run, and when this appears in print, it will alas have come and gone! I hope that the reception given to this play will not discourage the author from further efforts. It would be a great pity if this sensitive and lively talent was nipped in the bud before Mr. Cannan has opened his mouth widely enough to be heard at all.

In "Misery Me" he has courageously embarked upon a comedy of ideas written in the vein of satire; a daring and dangerous mixture to put before the English public, without enough technical

skill at his command to make sure that the pill is sufficiently coated with sugar.

The play is mainly concerned with the futility and artificiality of modern life, its ludicrous power politics and its topsyturvy values. Its hero and heroine are each consumed with the death-wish. Both are determined on self-slaughter. She is overwhelmed by the luxury and unwelcome attentions showered upon her by an ardent admirer who is a big financier, a politician and incidentally her boss. At the same time she is relentlessly pursued by a rabid communist. Both track her down to the lonely inn in the mountains, where we find our young hero who is suffering from an acute kind of *welt-schmerz* trying to steel himself for the supreme moment of self-destruction. Each of the unsuccessful suitors tries in turn to persuade the young man to take up arms against his rival. The two would-be suicides join forces and try to encourage each other to find the means to the perfect end, but before very long they discover in each other a new reason for living. The communist and the capitalist both having lost the girl, have no more reason to fight each other. They find though that hatred of each other is their natural state without which they lost their reason for existence. They continue their interminable battle while the lovers escape to their newly discovered paradise.

Unfortunately the idea wears very thin, the second act is only mildly amusing, whilst the third brings a wan smile of tedium to our lips. This is because none of the characters have managed to convince us that they are flesh and blood, they have failed to enlist our sympathy and concern. We have been watching a set of cardboard figures.

It has been said elsewhere that the production is at fault by stylizing the play out of all existence. I will go further and say that the play is wrongly cast in its main characters. Miss Yvonne Mitchell is an actress for whom I have a great admiration, but here her sombre intellectual quality is quite misplaced. By her very personality, her voice and the conscious way she puts over her "comedy" lines, the author's points, instead of getting home, are lost, and the light frothy bubble becomes a heavy indigestible brew. The heroine of this comedy should be unbearably touching, with the sad, sad earnestness and utter

sincerity of extreme youth. We should be able to smile, even laugh at her, and yet our hearts should ache in sympathy.

The same applies to the hero of the play. But in George Cole, we have a very utilitarian, work-a-day young man. If both these players had been made to play deliberately against their own personalities, it might have worked better, though not entirely, I think. They should have been a couple of innocent babes in the wood who beguile us by their charm and grace.

The same criticism can be levelled in a minor way at the doctor and the innkeeper. The doctor, as played by Leonard Sachs, becomes a frustrated intellectual, and the innkeeper a mere figure-head. He should have had a heavy overlay of romantic tyrolean charm, genuine, though slick through years of business association, a symbol of the simple rugged way of life, adjusted by necessity, with the usual marital ups and downs and highlights of childbirth.

Even the setting suffers from being drab, when it should have been hauntingly beautiful, flooded with sun and the translucent light from the mountains, the essence of primitive home comfort, with none of the visitors in a fit frame of mind to make proper use of it.

The only person who comes to life at all and almost succeeds in enlisting our sympathies, is the bigoted communist, a representative of the so-called "gutter-press"! The figure is well drawn and deliciously played by Colin Gordon. Clive Morton does his best with the financier, it is not his fault that he remains only a dim figure of fun.

This is a play which should have been taken into loving sensitive understanding hands, before being let loose upon the tide of public opinion. Much could have been done with delicate handling, perfect casting and timing, filling in the gaps left by the author and making his rough sketches into full size drawings. It has been done before, so many first or second plays are not so much written, as rewritten in rehearsal, their meaning is gradually brought out by producer and cast until its final shape becomes clear and the mould is set.

Mr. Cannan's work needs to be nursed and nurtured, but none of this brute force approach. Better luck next time!
D.

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Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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AS YE SOW . . .

NO one enjoys paying taxes. But to describe all action aimed at the evasion of tax payment as revolutionary and deserving the support of anarchists seems to us an attitude which is as superficial as it is opportunistic (in the worst possible political sense of the word).

To ensure that our work as advocates of the anarchist society shall have solid foundations our appeal must be to that which is positive; that is, it must seek support from the active and not the apathetic members of society; from the enthusiasts and not the disgruntled; from those who face their daily responsibilities with courage and serenity and not those who seek only to run away from them, and who even build a whole philosophy around their escapism. In other words, the discontent, the frustration that will bring down existing society will be positive. The feelings of people who are discontented and frustrated because they aspire to a fuller, more creative and more socially useful life; people who have definite ideas of how they would wish to run their own lives as well as of the way the day to day problems of material needs should be organised to ensure that all are satisfied, the producers as well as the consumers.

To achieve this end it seems to us that anarchist propagandists must avoid the tactics of the political parties which seek to capture, exploit or undermine so-called "popular movements" for their own political ends. For them these movements are stepping stones in their struggle for power, and it therefore matters little to them what the eventual fate of those movements is so long as in the process they can derive their political advantage from them as a party. But for anarchists, our action on individuals and movements has the aim of stimulating and developing them so that eventually they may feel the positive discontent and frustration to which we have referred earlier and which are the prerequisites for the overthrow of existing society and the guarantee that the society that will take its place will be better, and not worse, than the one it has superseded.



GOOD slogans often conceal anti-social motives. Sir Ernest Benn's Individualists movement used a number of slogans to which most anarchists could subscribe. But his objectives were simply the freedom of the industrialist to exploit the working class without interference from the State. No anarchist or revolutionary, to our knowledge, supported Sir Ernest Benn because of his revolutionary slogans! Similarly we cannot imagine any anarchist for one moment subscribing to the movements that are springing up in Europe against Taxation without first ascertaining the motives which inspire them.

The Poujadist movement in France, which it is said has a following of a million small-shopkeepers, owes its tremendous success to the fact that M. Poujade appealed to what are the basic interests of small-shopkeepers: their money. The slogan which unites them is, on the surface, a good one, that of opposing interference by the snoopers from the tax office on whom the law confers the right to examine the shopkeepers' account books (in order to assess what profits they really make and what taxes they shall pay).

Similarly in Italy a group of some 3,000 Po Valley farmers, inspired by the movement and methods used in

France by Pierre Poujade, and sponsored by the Farmers Association of Novara, have staged a meeting in Vercelli to protest against the "crushing taxes and interest on old debts" as well as, be it noted, the social insurance payments they have to make for their farmhands.

And in the Herault Department of Southern France the mayors of 250 towns and villages have handed in their resignations to protest against "Government failure to maintain the price of wine".

Before we pass on to examine these examples we must quote yet another anti-tax movement which exists in America. The following report, which we quote in part, appeared in a recent issue of *Peace News*:

"Charging that the United States would use nuclear weapons in any major war, 27 American pacifists announced today (Friday) that they are refusing to pay 1954 federal income taxes.

Some of them refuse to pay all the tax due, others refuse to pay a percentage equal to the percentage of the national budget used for war.

They made known their refusal to pay through the Tax Refusal Committee of Peacemakers, a national pacifist group."

Neither Poujade nor his million followers are known to be revolutionaries in the broadest sense of the word. The mentality of the *petit commerçant* is narrow and conservative. They are not opposed to Government and no government can function without money. They are the upholders of law and order—after all they own property. This too costs money . . . In other words these *bon bourgeois* want to have their cake and eat it. Are we to encourage these upholders of government and the policeman when they protest against the encroachment on their freedom to get out of paying taxes on their profits?

The farmers in Italy protest against the "crushing taxes" but vote a resolution "demanding tax cuts, special aid for rice growers and cattle breeders, a ban on the importing of dairy products and an increase in the Government-supported grain price". In other words: subsidies. But how will they be paid these subsidies if not through the taxation of the rest of the community? The same applies to the wine-growers of the Herault.

One further consideration. As we have said no government can govern without money—that is without some kind of taxation. In countries such as Italy tax evasion is as old as taxation. In recent years there have been a few much publicised cases of multi-millionaires who had never paid a penny in taxes (there is no indication that they were arch-revolutionaries because of this!), but this evasion extends to all strata of the community. What is the result? Simply that the government raises its money by other means, by taxing the necessities of life, such as salt, sugar, matches and tobacco through State Monopolies; that is making the poor pay for the tax evasion of the rich and the professional classes.

Tax-evasion in the cases we have quoted is anti-social from whatever point of view one judges it, and we cannot therefore see any revolutionary germ in such movements. The gesture of the 27 American pacifists however, is a conscious, social action. They are prepared to contribute their share to the social services but not to the manufacture of armaments. To do so makes one neither a supporter of government nor of taxes. We seek to change the society into which we were thrust willy nilly, by convincing a sufficient number of our fellow beings of the need for such a change. But parallel with this activity is the process of living in society as it is (which we must do if we wish to influence others) which means, among other things, making use of those services and facilities which are administered by the Government or the State

BREAK DOWN THE WALLS, by John Bartlow Martin, Golancz, 15s.

IT is a cliché to say that the U.S.A. is a land of extremes—of the biggest this and the fastest that; of great riches and much poverty; where 64-page newspapers are common and there are nearly 3 million people over 14 who cannot read; the leader of the democracies, whose politicians are more obviously unconcerned with *demos* than in any other Western country. This tendency towards bigness and paradox is particularly evident in the American prison system.

It is a strange picture that John Martin reveals in his book. He describes in detail the riot at Jackson Prison (Michigan) in 1952—one of the biggest in recent years—as an example of present-day American prison riots. Its causes were common to most riots and provide valuable evidence for the case against prisons, that should convince even the toughest warden (prison governor) that prisons are inefficient at every level.

Jackson is America's biggest prison and is regarded as a fairly progressive one. It has room for 6,569 convicts; its surrounding wall is 34 ft. high and contains 57 acres. It is partly self-supporting—the convicts grow most of their own food and they make in their factories the clothing they wear, starting with raw cotton and ending with the blue prison dungarees and striped "hickory" shirts. The Illinois State Penitentiary known as Joliet-Stateville is another huge prison: it contains about 4,200 convicts. The prison yard is almost a mile across. At intervals along the top of the high walls are small towers containing a heavily armed guard 'with orders to shoot to kill if they see an inmate attack a guard, commence a riot, or try to escape'. Both prisons are 'maximum security institutions' where the primary concern is to prevent escape.

Non-Violence

Continued from p. 2

tion had a great significance. For in the summer of 1567, the Duke of Alva came to Brussels with a picked force to stamp out heresy and to impose complete despotism on the country. The old provincial constitutions were shattered, the privileges of the towns suppressed in arbitrary fashion. The Duke ruled alone, with reference to none. War broke out and the Duke soon overcame the army of William of Orange. The leaders of the rebellion were beheaded. Hundreds of rebels and suspects were put to death by fire, by the sword or the rope. The victor imagined he had chastened the country enough to bend it to his will. But the Spanish terror repelled the Catholic majority just as much as the Protestant minority. The taxes of tenth and twentieth denier, to pay for the upkeep of foreign troops, aroused an indomitable movement for non-co-operation and boycott. 'In the face of the Spanish garrisons, the towns knew that recourse to arms would only result in fruitless massacres. Therefore, they used the general strike. The artisans closed up their booths, the salesmen left the markets; economic life was suspended and the terrible Duke, before this dumb protest of a whole people, gave himself up to impotent bursts of rage.' (The Conquest of Violence, pp. 156-157).

Such a form of strike action can be carried on in spurts, as well as continuously. The population must develop the means of supplying its own wants without helping the enemy, but it is clear that it will suffer hardship itself. On the other hand it will never have to face anything like the hardships and miseries of warfare. In the next article I shall go into the problems of this form of resistance in more detail.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

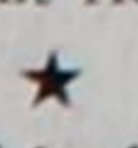
but which, in fact, are provided by our fellow beings. To evade taxes, or to resort to the subterfuges practised by business and professional men to pay less, is not doing the government in the eye (since it will, if necessary, raise the money by other means) as much as it is your neighbour.

We hope we appear to our readers neither as sanctimonious prigs nor as being soft in the head, but as revolutionaries who refuse to be deflected from the real issues by the skirmishes of these small-minded, greedy money-grabbers who want nothing more than a larger stake in the material things of present society—at the expense of their fellows.

PRISONS IN AMERICA

However the great size of such prisons and the elaborate system of administration needed for maximum security led in the 1930's to the odd situation where the convicts virtually ran the prison. In part, of course, they still do so now: clerical work is done by the prisoners; they work in the kitchens, the hospital and teach in the schools. But at Joliet in the early '30's according to an inmate 'We were gamblin', drinkin', makin' moon, runnin' protection rackets, everything. Just like on the outside. There were gangs of prisoners runnin' wild all over the yard, hijackin' trucks . . . The big-shot cons didn't have to make the count in the cells, didn't have to work if they didn't feel like it. They ran the place.' And they had their friends in politics who could help to get them paroled.

Such corruption led to public outcries for severer discipline, and in some cases this was applied; but with the increase of sociological study and of psychiatrists anxious to show how the minds of criminals could be adjusted to 'normal' life, the tendency was against repressive measures. The resulting confusion as to which was the best approach was one of the primary causes of the recent riots.



IN the 'bridewells', the ancient predecessors of our present-day prisons, the outcasts of society were all dumped together. They became a convenient rubbish heap for unwanted people—tramps, madmen, old folk, orphans, criminals. Some American prisons are not so very different to-day: not deliberately so, but the good intentions of the administrators are often frustrated by political interests, lack of money and consequently staff. 'Classification' and the consequent segregation to avoid such obvious mistakes as imprisoning recidivists and 'lifers' with first offenders or psychopaths with normal prisoners, is a reform which has been agreed in principle since the nineteenth century—and yet in 1952 Jackson numbered among its inmates 547 lifers while more than half the population were serving three years or less and 60% had no previous prison record; some were serving life for rape and others five years; one man was there for shooting a dog, another for violating the game laws. There are blind men, one-legged men, tuberculous men, senile men, crippled men in wheel-chairs, diabetics and asthmatics. There were even 126 men who had not been sentenced to imprisonment. They were classified as 'sexual psychopaths' who should have been receiving treatment at the State Hospital but had been sent to Jackson to make room for 'unmanageable psychotics' from that institution. These men might remain at Jackson for years without receiving any treatment whatsoever. Such is the actual result of committing a man to a mental hospital instead of a prison!

John Martin estimates that between 1,000 and 2,000 of Jackson's inmates

should have been in a mental hospital: including '300 psychotics who were certainly committably insane'; there were about fifty youths waiting to go to the reformatory; and between 150 and 300 feeble-minded and epileptic youths who were regarded as poor prospects for rehabilitation. All these people were treated as ordinary convicts. In 1843 Dorothea Dix had found much the same situation in Massachusetts. That Jackson rioted was hardly surprising.

The situation in such prisons is chaotic and grossly unfair to many of the inmates; and the laws under which they are condemned vary so greatly from State to State that, for example, in cases of rape Delaware puts the age of consent at seven and Tennessee at twenty-one (i.e. intercourse with a girl under twenty-one is legally rape). Martin points out that adultery is a crime in New York and that it is also the only grounds for divorce, but although in 1948 there were 6,000 divorces granted the police arrested no one for adultery! Examples of anachronistic and vicious sex laws could be multiplied indefinitely.

John Martin is unsparing in his criticism of the whole system of imprisonment. He exposes the poverty of the idea of 'rehabilitation' ('It is fine to teach a young armed robber the trade of tinsmith; but he wasn't a robber because he lacked a trade, and unless we get at the thing that made him a robber he will prefer the robber's trade to tinsmithery'), and shows that imprisonment can very rarely help to stabilise the personality but is more likely to disturb and brutalise. Prisons are the breeding ground of delinquency.

What alternative does he offer? In his final chapter entitled 'Prisons Should be Abolished', he stresses primarily the need for extensive research into the causes of delinquency. Commendable enough, though he scarcely mentions non-American work being carried out on the subject. His suggestions for what could be done now to improve the present system are tepid in the extreme: it is most disappointing to find the mildest reformism after so much telling criticism.

Something much more than reform is required if we are to treat delinquents as human beings. What imprisonment has meant to one man is quoted by Martin: ' . . . the punishment never ends. This abnormal life, this regulated life, the dull, deadly, corroding monotony—you can't expect anything good to accrue from such a life . . . Some of [the prisoners] are like animals. This is a vicious place. It is devoid of love, built on hate and punishment. Hate begets more hate. Where does it end? Many good men go to prison, but very few come out. Prison brutalises a man, brutalises and humiliates him. You have a number and you are not allowed to forget it. You are looked on like the teeth in a gear wheel. They don't look for the best in you—they look for the worst . . . Here there is no hope, nothing.' M.G.W.

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British Political Parties

BRITISH POLITICAL PARTIES, by R. T. McKenzie. Heinemann, 30s.

IN politics it is fatally easy to be misled by the analogy of words. The word 'parties' is used to describe the factions which divided the ancient Republics, the troops which formed round a condottiere in Renaissance Italy, the clubs where the members of the French Revolutionary assemblies met, the loosely-knit parliamentary groups of 18th century England as well as the mass organisations of the modern State. All these, it is true, have one feature in common: the achievement and exercise of political power. But there the similarity ceases. The political party that we know to-day is a modern invention, dating from the introduction of universal franchise. In theory, it exists in order to give shape to, and to express, public opinion; in practice, it is the chief instrument whereby the ruling class exercises control over the masses.

The novel character of Communist parties is well appreciated. Communist parties, where they have seized power, are rightly seen not as the channels for the expression of the will of the proletariat but as organs for the government of—and, hence, over—the proletariat. But the one-party systems of Communist dictatorships are not essentially different from the two-party or multi-party systems of Western 'democracies'. The dual system that we know in Britain has certain advantages over monistic systems: it allows, for example, for the constitutional replacement of individual political leaders, while the arrangement whereby the political oligarchs alternate in office presupposes a certain degree of civil liberty—freedom of the press, meetings, etc. Nevertheless, relatively important as these differences are, they are not functional differences and they do not add up to a difference of kind. The Conservative Party and the Labour Party, taken together, perform the same basic rôle in Britain as does the Communist Party in the Soviet Union or the Communist League in Yugoslavia.

In the book under review, McKenzie, a sociologist at the London School of Economics, has attempted to describe the distribution of power within the two major British parties. With the laudable object of depicting things as they are and not as our political bosses would like us to think they are, he has probed behind the façade which these two parties present to the electorate in order to discover where the power within these organisations really lies.

Both parties claim to be democratic

parties, but they interpret democracy in different ways. The various Conservative Associations which have been organized in the constituencies since the 1867 Reform Act make no pretence of controlling the policy and actions of the Conservative Party in Parliament. For the Conservative, policy is something laid down by the Party Leader, like the Mosaic laws, while control over the actions of M.P.'s is regarded as contrary to the Burkean principle of representation. Tory democracy, in fact, consists of a grudging acceptance of the idea that modern governments must at least appear to be based on the will of the people; it is not something which should be applied to the Conservative Party—although, as McKenzie shows, the power of the Conservative Leader is by no means so absolute nor are the extra-parliamentary associations so influential as appear in theory.

The Labour Party, however, is supposed to be a different kettle of fish. It claims not only to support democratic political institutions but to be a democratic institution itself. Its policy, according to its constitution, is formulated by its constituent members—the trade unions and the local Labour Parties; and the members of the Parliamentary Labour Party are merely 'the servants of the Movement', implementing the policy decisions reached at the Party's Annual Conferences. In the words of Attlee, the Conference 'lays down the policy of the Party, and issues instructions which must be carried out by . . . (its) representatives in Parliament'.

McKenzie has collected a wealth of documentary evidence which demonstrates that the Labour Party's picture of itself is no more than a caricature. Since its inception in 1900, the organisation of the Labour Party has undergone a profound change. As the party has increased in size and complexity, the authority of the Party Leader has grown, the autonomy of the Parliamentary Labour Party has steadily become more pronounced, and the status of the Annual Conference has correspondingly diminished. By an adroit manipulation of the machinery of the Conference and aided by the bloc votes of the larger trade unions, the National Executive Committee of the party—on which the parliamentary leaders are always heavily represented—is able to control effectively the rank-and-file delegates. And when by some mischance a resolution gets carried against the wishes of the platform—as in the case of the tied cottages issue in 1947—the parliamentary party can always fall back on the constitutional convention that Parliament cannot be bound by the decisions of outside

bodies. Thus, those who began as 'the servants of the Movement' have become its effective masters. (On the question of the relationship between the parliamentary party and the party organisation outside Parliament, there is, it should be noted, no difference between Bevan and the right-wing leadership. Although Bevan's chief support comes from the constituency parties, he has no desire to be controlled by them. On this point, Bevan's speech on the tied cottage issue at the 1947 Conference and his brush with the N.E.C. in April 1951 make instructive reading.)

McKenzie's general thesis is incontrovertible. In neither the Conservative Party nor the Labour Party does the power lie with the mass organisations outside Parliament—the rank-and-file membership; in both parties, the real power lies with the leaders of the parties inside Parliament. The rôle of the Labour Party (as distinct from that of the Parliamentary Labour Party) is essentially the same as that of the National Union of Conservative Associations: to organise the votes of the electorate. The mass organisations of both parties are primarily vote-getting agencies; neither has any effective control over the policies and actions of the men they put into Parliament. In short, in both parties the tail wags the dog, not vice versa. Substituting 'Labour' for 'Liberal', the judgment made by an American Political scientist 50 years ago still holds: 'Both (organisations) are shams, but with this difference, that the Conservative organisation is a transparent, and the Liberal one opaque, sham.'

Like Clover in *Animal Farm*, McKenzie has peeped through the window and has found that the leaders of Britain's 'working-class party' are practically indistinguishable from their rivals. 'Two great monolithic structures', he concludes, 'now face each other and conduct furious arguments about the comparatively minor issues that separate them.' He himself is quite happy about the situation and he points out that, even if the party leaders are not responsible to their members, they are ultimately responsible to the electorate. To anarchist readers this judgment will appear naive in the extreme. But they will lose no sleep by the thought that the Labour Party has degenerated into an oligarchy. Anarchists predicted that eventuality years ago. The facts adduced by McKenzie are useful as a confirmation of that prophecy and as a substantiation of our belief in the futility of political action.

GASTON GERARD.

A MIXED BAG

ORWELL AND ANARCHISM

ORWELL of course was not an anarchist. But very few people seem to be able to decide for certain exactly what he was. He supported Socialism, which was to him a rather vague concept, but anyone going to his works as to a Socialist writer (however they may define "Socialism") will be disappointed.

Orwell seems to me to have been essentially a conservative. Not in the sense of the Tory Party it goes without saying. He was concerned, as the last part of C.W.'s article (the last one of the series) shows so well, with the conservation of the "humanity" of human beings. He was not so much concerned with social systems, or social change. He felt that some sort of socialist society would be the best thing, but he was not much interested with the details.

I read a number of his books with some bewilderment, because I looked upon him as a "progressive" writer. Consequently his writings hardly made sense. Let me give a few examples. In "Burmese Days" he prophesies gloomily that one day the British will succeed in stripping the hills of Burma of their jungle, and will erect lines and lines of little villas, and turn the whole country into a suburbia. He regrets the passing of the régime of Thibaw, the Burmese tyrant ousted by the British and is pleased to see an old beggar in rags, coming down the street. He feels that so long as there are such people still about Utopia is still some way off.

One cannot help sympathising with this point of view. A corrupt and inefficient despot is to be preferred to the suave mastery of modern bureaucracy. The first can only rob you of your money, through taxation, the second can do that more efficiently, and rob you of your soul as well, by cleverly conditioning you to slavery.

In "Keep the Aspidochelone Flying" we

have the story of a young man who rebels against the money system, and tries to live outside it. He starts with a good job in advertising, but he realises that the whole business is a cheat, and throws it up to work at starvation rates of pay in various dead-end jobs. He writes poetry describing his disgust with present conditions, and hopes for the destruction of civilisation. However in the end he gives up his fight against the system, and goes back to his job of cheating the public; marrying, and buying an aspidochelone to put in his window, as symbols of his return to respectability. (Orwell says that as long as there are aspidochelones in the windows there will never be a revolution in England).

This is obviously the work of a pessimistic conservative, not of any sort of socialist, revolutionary, or anarchist. Orwell may have mitigated his philosophy later on, but fundamentally he held to it. He believed that life would always be full of cruelty and injustice. He was sad at the prospect, but had little hope of things ever getting much better.

Now you may agree with this, or you may not. You may feel that there is some truth in it, or you may disagree with it completely. The point is that it is not the position of the revolutionary, still less of the anarchist. One only does injury to one's understanding of Orwell if one expects him to be what he patently is not.

A Rational Press

IN an anarchist society the Press would be something completely different from what we have now. The editorial (FREEDOM, April 29th) is rather vague about it. Reading it one gets the impression that the anarchist press would be much like the present one, only it would put over anarchism instead of

authoritarianism. "Finally", it ends, "a rational press would also be a decentralised press." By Kropotkin! I should hope so! A very decentralised press, consisting mainly of local weeklies, with perhaps a few news bulletins covering wider areas.

What there will not be, if the society be truly libertarian, will be the huge dailies that we have at present. What possible use will such things be in a society that will have no wars, conferences, murders, scandals, and mass sport entertainments? Pick up any newspaper for the last thirty or forty years—and they are all the same. I read once somewhere of a group of French intellectuals who proposed to bring out a periodical news digest—once every twenty-five years! Things change so little, they said, that only four issues a century will be necessary.

The trouble with people who plan for an anarchist society is that so often they think in terms of the present one. An anarchist society will be one that is very different from what we are accustomed to.

A Plea for Unity

PERIODICALLY we are told that we in the anarchist movement should unite. There has been a recent letter to this effect in FREEDOM. It seems to me that there will always be disagreements between anarchists, but H.W. in his letter on this matter, states nothing very precisely.

He says, "One would like to see rather less internal seething in the anarchist movement . . ." Personally I should like to see more. Go down to the anarchist club any night, and you will see and hear no seething. There will be just a collection of silent chess-players, unless there is a social or dance on, in which case voodooism rather than anarchism is the order of the day. (Not that I oppose this, I think it is excellent, but I wish I could find a little of this seething of ideas that H.W. complains of).

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

VIEWPOINT

INTEGRAL ANARCHISTS

PHILIP HOLTGATE'S letter (FREEDOM, 16/4/55) shows an approach to the anarchist movement that is at the same time thoughtful and constructive. He quite rightly regards the movement as a way of thinking and acting, rather than as a set of people (separate from the rest of society) who propagate a body of theory to which society is to be converted.

His first point about not sacrificing too much on the altar of unity is a good one, and was suitably elaborated by your contributor M. in the same issue. Here I should like to add to the equally important second point concerning anarchists as conscious and functional (but unconscious) agents of social revolution.

We have been accustomed to thinking of any revolutionary movement as consisting of people who have been converted to a certain set of ideas and whose job must be to propagate those ideas so that society as a whole or as a majority may carry out the desired changes. The naïve view of overnight revolution has given place to the more refined concept of the growth of a movement. Yet we still hardly realise that such growth (of masses of people embracing anarchist ideas) must of necessity be accompanied by changes in the concretised social practices we call 'institutions'.

Anarchy—a world of more libertarian, harmonious and co-operative social relationships—is a system that anarchists claim is possible to develop out of existing capitalist society. There seems to be no reason to assume that the goal is fixed, and (bearing in mind what we have learned of the nature of society itself) every reason to assume the continuity of social development.

This means that Anarchy is not seen as a fully-developed whole being "established" consequent upon the overthrow of capitalism. It is seen as the more emerging out of the less—not the all out of the none.

If this is so, and granting that there is some kind of beginning anarchist ideology in the world to-day, we should expect to be able to find traces (no matter how faint) of Anarchy in practice. We should not, of course, hope to find many existing institutions exhibiting anarchistic tendencies, if only because at present there are so few and so immature anarchist ideas. Nevertheless we can look around to see where and how things are being done more in accordance with anarchist principles than with property and authoritarian ones.

The example of A. S. Neill quoted by Philip Holgate is of someone working in his own field (of education) who is helping to change social practices in that field in a certain direction. His work can be criticised, and no doubt falls far short of what most anarchists would regard as the best possible kind of educational practice. In some respects it may even be reactionary. Yet even if A. S. Neill were a most thoroughgoing and convinced anarchist he would have considerable excuse for his practice falling short of his theory. After all, he is trying to introduce libertarian principles into an overwhelmingly authoritarian environment.

Let us ask ourselves what we would

do in his position. We would surely try to relate our work to our anarchist theory; we would in doing so, put the work being done in that particular, educational field into relation with the goal of the new society. Further, we would be able to show that if others were to act in their own fields in more anarchist ways it would make the anarchist movement immeasurably stronger. Each would see his own work, not as isolated endeavour characterised by an attitude appropriate only in that field, but would be shown how his work can be consolidated by that of others, and how his attitude in his own chosen field can be translated into terms that make it applicable in other fields. In this way, education ties up with work, work with play, play with art, and so on, endlessly.

Holgate speaks of an anarchist movement of individuals "each emphasising those aspects of it that seem most appropriate", and of maintaining contact with, and showing the logical connexion between "the various forms of partially anarchist activity". What is needed is reciprocal and reinforcing action: as a group, interested in fostering the integrative approach of being concerned primarily with the interrelation of all human activities; and as individuals, working in our own fields where we are most effective in our daily lives.

Undoubtedly all this gives a much wider definition to anarchist thought and activities than has hitherto operated. Ultimately it brings within our orbit all who are "world changers". Also it helps to approach that form of unity most likely to be fruitful: voluntary unity of purpose among those who are endeavouring to realise the best kind of world that is possible.

London, N.W.11. S. R. PARKER.

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)

APRIL 24—Bonar Thompson on MYSELF & THE WORKING CLASS

MAY 1—F. A. Ridley on THE ETHICS OF ASSASSINATION

MAY 8—Edwin Peeke

Subject to be announced.

MAY 15—Sybil Morrison on THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting

HYDE PARK

Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

GLASGOW

INDOORS

at 200 Buchanan Street

Every Friday at 7 p.m.

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The Malatesta Club

155 HIGH HOLBORN,

LONDON, W.C.1.

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LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Informal Discussions Every Thursday,

at 8.15 p.m.

Lecture-Discussions Every Sunday

at 7.45 p.m.

(See Announcements Column)

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