

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

As long as society is founded upon injustice the function of laws will be to defend and maintain that injustice

ANATOLE FRANCE

Vol. 16, No. 37

September 10th, 1955

Threepence

## French Colonialism on Trial

WHAT has emerged from the factual reports on the Moslem uprising against French rule in North Africa is the bitter arrogance of the *colons* and the easy-going corruption of the dynastic tribal leaders; the cynical ruthlessness of the right wing elements in the French Government in the handling of North African affairs goes without saying.

Enough has been written in the last two weeks about the massacre of Europeans without us adding to the gory details of rape and torture. In passing it over we do not thereby give our support to the methods used, nor to the aims of some Moroccans in their superstitious longings for the decadent old leader, Ben Youssef, deposed by the French, but as we stated two weeks ago in FREEDOM, when discussing Portuguese rule in Goa, we are opposed to the methods of colonial rule everywhere, particularly where the indigenous peoples want independence, even when this merely means replacing one form of rule for another.

The essential difference between Goa and Morocco is in numbers and not in essence, and although we feel greater sympathy with the non-violent movement of the *satyagrahis*, we can understand the frustrated aspirations of the depressed Moroccans made to feel inferior by the French colonials and resentful that the majority of Moroccans have nothing like the privileges enjoyed by the *colons*.

North Africa is a paradise for French businessmen, who draw on Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco for labour and raw materials. France has invested billions in these countries and as a French imperialist has been quoted as saying: "without North Africa France would have no history in the 21st century. We should be forty million Frenchmen

facing twice that number of Germans. Another Portugal".

In order therefore, to serve Imperialist ends nearly every French Government has ignored the needs and demands of the people under its domination. In Morocco, the most restless part of North Africa, there are 300,000 French *colons* living off the rich soil abounding with vineyards and olive groves. In addition large supplies of manganese are mined by the French and one sixth of all the world's phosphates fill the pockets of French businessmen and benefits the Moroccans hardly at all.

The French claim that owing to their presence infant mortality rates have dropped from 32 to 19 per 1,000 since 1930. But while all French children in Morocco go to school, only one Arab child in ten has a chance to learn to read and write. And in 1951 twice as much was spent by the Government on the education of each French child in school as on that of each Moroccan child.

### Colonial Success

The success of French colonialism has been to some extent due to the Arab-Berber hostility. The Berbers are a nomadic hill people with differing traditions from the Arabs, who are town dwellers and have adopted many of the habits of the French. El Glaoui, Pasha of Marrakesh, leader of the Berber tribesmen (who make up a large portion of the Moroccan population of 8,000,000, outnumbering Europeans 26 to 1), has been a willing tool of French colonialism. It was therefore surprising that thousands of these tribesmen were primarily responsible for the attack on the town of Oued Zem, although they joined forces with Arab miners in Khouribga participating in what has been described as the bloodiest "massacre of Europeans in modern colonial history".

Needless to say the indiscriminate reprisals by the French is not reported with the same horror although

the death roll of Moroccans far exceeds that of the French. Although many taking part in the uprising have surrendered to the French show of strength, thousands have fled into the mountains. Down on this plain however, the *Observer* correspondent reports that:

"General Franchi's threat to fine those of the Smala who stayed behind if they did not induce the fugitives to return within eight days is being carried into effect. The fine varies according to the number of livestock owned.

"A collective fine has also been imposed on the whole Moroccan quarter of Oued-Zem. This is said to be 10 million francs and apparently works out at about £1 sterling a head of the whole population."

This is reminiscent of General Templar's collective punishment policy in Malaya. The innocent suffer equally with the "guilty".

### Colonial Repression

As usual, behind all the terror is a history of colonial repression. Any attempt by individual politicians to institute reforms has been resisted

by the "North African Lobby". Counter-terrorists—gangs of Europeans—with the connivance of the police have murdered Moroccans and Europeans alike if the latter have been known to be even mildly in favour of some kind of reforms. Among one of the Europeans killed by this gang was the editor of the only liberal newspaper in Morocco, and the only party with some popularity, the Nationalist *Istiqlal* Party has been banned by the French.

The *Socialist Leader* (27/8/55), quoting from the Movement for Colonial Freedom's publication on Morocco — *Morocco—The Inside Story*, writes that on July 13th, M. Grandval, the then Resident General, showed his determination to clean up the administration by removing nine senior civil servants from various departments. The reaction of the *colons* as represented by the counter-terrorists was typical of the kind of behaviour which, although not actually instigated by the police, appears to have been encouraged by them. We quote:

"M. Grandval announced that 14th July would be marked by the closing of the last "internment centre" (i.e. concentration camp) for political prisoners and administrative limitations (house arrest,

prohibition of travel, etc.). Sentences on 77 nationalists and trade unionists would be reduced or cancelled. He promised further relief from oppression for the Moslem Festival at the end of the month.

"On 14th July a time-bomb was left outside a café where French people were celebrating their national day and an open-air dance was about to begin. It exploded, killing six people and wounding 35. The results of this outrage and the subsequent investigation have raised serious doubts as to responsibility for it.

"In a leading article, *Figaro* (far from being left-wing or pro-Moroccan) expressed the suspicion that it had not been the work of Moroccan nationalists.

"*The New Statesman and Nation* correspondent clearly accepts the view that it was an act of provocation by one of the settler terrorist groups, and on 20th July *Maroc-Presse* (a French-language paper published in Morocco) reported that the official investigation concluded that it was of a type and strength never before seen in Morocco."

These uprisings may be the beginnings of the end of French colonialism, and although we cannot support the methods adopted by the Moroccans, terror cannot be countered by more terror. The French *colons* with their arrogant disregard for fellow humans, classified as inferiors, have no-one but themselves to blame for the bloodshed and the brutality. M.

## Prerequisites for Responsibility

ADDRESSING a meeting of Rationalists in Bristol last week, Dr. J. Bronowski is reported as saying that during the past 30 or 40 years science had become a part of every person's life, but that education had not equipped people for making necessary decisions. Even political discussions, he thought, nowadays demanded technical knowledge. The rôle of the scientist was not to decide whether the atom bomb should be manufactured or suppressed. To expect him to do so was simply to shift responsibility—and he added: "I believe that scientists who have accepted this responsibility have betrayed themselves and the community. This is the way to the slave State". It was the duty of laymen to fit themselves

for a place in democratic society by being equipped with enough common sense to be able to exercise judgment on scientific events. As to the scientist, his duty, according to Dr. Bronowski, was to educate the public. He must say what significance they had; and above all educate the lay public to appreciate the meaning of these things for itself.

what this would be he could not foresee, but there might somehow develop a "form of sheer thinking" which went beyond the mathematical as the mathematical had already gone beyond the verbal. "I still find it difficult to believe," he added, "that this would ever be within the grasp of the majority of the population."

A WRITER in the *News Chronicle* (24/8/55) reviewing a book with the defiant title "Outrage", declares that "Subtopia" (a word coined by the *Architectural Review* from suburb plus Utopia)

spells the idealisation of the in-between, the worship of the half-and-half. It means universal acceptance of middling values and tolerance of the mediocre.

Continued on p. 3

\**Outrage*, by Ian Nairn (The Architectural Press, 12/6d.).

## The Anarchist Resistance in Spain

AS was communicated to the readers of FREEDOM at the time, the underground anarchist printing press in Barcelona was discovered by the fascist police early in May this year. In connection with the seizure, six comrades have been held in prison and several ill treated and tortured.

Despite this, the anarchists in Spain are continuing with new resources, and after a break of only three months the clandestine edition of *Solidaridad Obrera* appeared in the streets of Barcelona, carrying the date of the first fortnight of August.

Since 1939, the Spanish anarchists have been continually subjected to seizures of their presses, with consequent arrests of comrades, but each time the work of propaganda has been carried on by others. The courage shown by the Spaniards is difficult to imagine by those who live in democratic countries, and calls for complete admiration and support. One way of giving this is to try to bring before British workers the situation in Spain, and the struggle of the revolutionary movement, and to shake them out of their indifference into a position of solidarity with the people.

### Two Shilling Crime

WITH a distinct feeling of nausea we have to report a criminal action which took place in the Clerkenwell police-court last week. The feeling derives not from the offence committed by the so-called criminal, but from the basic absurdity of regarding his actions as worthy of "reprisals" by society, and the ignoble methods employed by the police in catching their man.

Policewoman Moira McCaskill—the pride of the force no doubt—happened to be in the Pentonville Road one day, dressed in plain clothes, when George Fraser came up and spoke to her. Apparently the two of them enjoyed each other's company for P.C. Moira returned three days running. On the third day George got the surprise of his life: "I am a police officer, and I am arresting you for street betting," she said.

It seems that during the course of one of their chats, a man came up to Fraser and said: "Half a minute George, can you do a couple of bob on Jobber?"

Then it was that George made his fatal mistake. "O.K." he said, and accepted two silver coins.

George Fraser was awarded three months in jail for this offence against the community. If he had started-up a bookmaking business with offices in the Pentonville Road, taken fifty bets on "Jobber" to the tune of £500, and money had changed hands by cheque at the end of the week, George Fraser would not have broken the law and would now be a free man.

We find the whole affair rather difficult to understand, and can only assume that in order not to be penalised one must do the job on a large scale. Something like killing a lot of men during a war—it's not murder.

The single requirement for avoiding trouble in both cases—licence from the State.

## American Internal Politics

IN the social conflicts of the Eisenhower era, a new struggle is beginning to emerge. The competition among different groups of businessmen and industrialists is growing keener. But it is not the competition of "free enterprise"—a fight for customers in an open market. Instead, it is a systematic effort to use government for one group of capitalists as against another.

On the most vulgar level, it is the case of a Harold Talbot using his position as Secretary of the Air Force to entrench his own firm in the field of clerical management engineering. On a somewhat higher plane, big business executives in the cabinet develop military procurement policies that favour the large corporations in the award of government contracts. A recent report of the Senate Small Business Committee, for example, points out that the number of contracts going to small firms continues to drop—in the past year, it was five per cent. less than in fiscal 1954.

On a large scale, however, the jungle warfare involves grabs by major segments of industry. A big battle for which the rival forces are being drawn up is the forthcoming clash between the railroads and the trucking industries. According to the recent convention of the American Trucking Association, the railroads have the "inside track" in the Administration, and proposed legislation will give over-the-road carriers a bumpy future. At the same time, because of well-placed friends, the railroads feel they can get more sympathetic treatment from the regulatory bodies in federal and State governments. The riding public

therefore is due to be damned again, since the railroads make most of their money on freight. Commuters in New Jersey, for example, found that pigs will enjoy more convenient rail facilities than passengers.

All of this is bound to complicate the life of the Administration. It is comparatively easy for a government to be pro-labour—though even then, we can remember when charges of government favouritism were hurled as between AFL and CIO. But the competition between business groups is much more difficult to handle. When one business group gets a tariff break, another's competitive standing is injured; thus, the American watch industry was not united in supporting the higher rates on Swiss watches. The bonanza being given to the natural gas producers in the form of exemption from regulation is bound to hurt the producers of other fuels.

This kind of internal conflict will mount during a second term of the Eisenhower Administration, which now seems probable. It will undoubtedly bring back many business elements to the Democratic Party who will have no other way to defend their economic interests. One by-product, then, will be to add further pressure to the right wing trend of the Democrats.

But it will not be easy for Eisenhower himself. In taking office, he found himself in the rôle of lion-tamer, responsible for keeping all the Republican fat-cats on their perches. It gets tough when they turn out to be jackals.

(*Socialist Call*, N. York).

A NOTEBOOK ON ANARCHISM, ZIONISM AND THE KIBBUTZ-2

Philosophical Origins of the Jewish Collectives

"My friend Isaiah Berlin has suggested to me that the key to understand Israel is to realise that its ideals came out of the liberal and socialist revolutionary movements of Russia at the beginning of this century. For this reason—there is something misleading about comparing the socialism of Mapai with the British Labour Party, or Mapam with the Communist parties of to-day..."

"The idea of the Kibbutz was a kind of communist anarchism. The communities were in the beginning literally and rigidly communistic in practising a complete equality. They were far more communist than Karl Marx: in fact they were as communist as the monasteries of primitive Christianity, or as the theories of Tolstói."

—STEPHEN SPENDER: "Learning Laughter".

HOW far back should one look for the origins of the ideas realised in the collective settlements in Israel? Arthur Koestler summarises their antecedents as "Rousseau, Marx, Tolstói and the Bible". The biblical succession is easy to see and can be found in two aspects, the collective and the agrarian. The thunderings of the Hebrew prophets can be read as a cry for social justice. In the sect of the Essenes, described by Josephus, "every man's possessions are intermingled with everybody else's possessions, and there is, as it were, one patrimony for all the brotherhood." The agricultural traditions of the Jews are recalled in their ancient religious festivals which retain a symbolic connection with the land:

"At the Passover they celebrated the barley harvest; at Pentecost the wheat harvest; at Tabernacles, when for a week

they left their confined rooms of the ghetto and lived in rustic booths, they recalled the wanderings in the wilderness and also the vintage festival. At the seasons when the arid land of Palestine needed the blessing of rain and dew, they prayed daily for rain and dew. They preserved too in their religious calendar, the New Year of Trees, which is celebrated after the first winter rains by children planting trees. Disraeli says, (in his novel *Tancred*), 'A people who have continued to celebrate their vintage, though they have no fruits to gather, will surely regain their vineyards'."

Martin Buber in his book *Israel and Palestine*, traces through Hebrew religious thought this theme, "relating to a small and despised part of the human race and a small and desolate part of the earth", and he goes on to discuss in his final section the ideas of Moses Hess (better known as an early disciple of Marx and traducer of Bakunin). He compares Hess's *Rome and Jerusalem* (1862), and his fusion of the religious and the socialistic, with "the two books from which the modern Zionist movement proceeded", Leo Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation* (1882), and Theodore Herzl's *The Jewish State* (1896):

"Seen from the point of view of the history of ideas, they both belong to an earlier stage than Hess's book, insofar as it is permissible to regard the crisis of liberalism in which they have their roots as 'earlier' than the rise of modern socialisms from which the former book emerged... Hess without being aloof

from the Jewish and general situation in which he writes—is stirred by ancient and Messianic time, they by the troubles and contradictions of the present hour. He speaks of Israel's destiny, they speak of its relation with other peoples. In other words: his mind is concentrated on action (the realisation of an equitable community life), theirs on reaction (emancipation from anti-Semitism)."

Tolstói & A. D. Gordon

Buber then considers the ideas of Aaron David Gordon, a man who, more than the Zionists, "realises the idea of Zion". Gordon who lived and is buried at Daganía where there is an agricultural library in his memory, is affectionately described in Joseph Baratz's memoirs. He, like Baratz, was dismayed to find when he arrived in Palestine, that the earlier settlers in the Rothschild colonies, were living like capitalists on monoculture with the Arabs doing the work. "It was a great shock to us. I said to myself: 'This isn't what I have come for.'" For at the beginning of this century the ideal of back to manual labour began to reinforce and amplify the idea of back to the land:

"It moved again from Russia, where a large number of the young Jews were influenced by Tolstói's and Dostoevsky's teaching of regeneration through simple productive work. One of these disciples, A. D. Gordon, who came at the age of 48 to work the soil of the first collective community spread the new doctrine: 'For us no labour is too hard. To create and replenish is our task... We must seek to do all manner of work, from the hardest and roughest to the cleanest and most intelligent.'"

Buber takes this view of Gordon even further:

"The spiritual motives that have brought other settlers to Palestine (I am disregarding the traditional religious motives for the present), such as the demand for national freedom and independence, for the establishment of a land for a wandering people, for the overcoming of parasitism, for an autonomous way of life, are naturally not unknown to Gordon's heart. But behind all these social and historical principles and overshadowing them all, there stands a basically human principle, or rather not a principle at all but a basically human longing: the demand for a life truly in accordance with Nature."

"Even Tolstói, who of all Slav intellectuals was probably the one to feel most strongly the relationship between man and the earth, did not penetrate to this quite simple and at the same time exceedingly deep problem of man's gaining his place in the Cosmos through active participation with its life. It seems to me as though a few important Americans, such as Henry Thoreau, the proclaimer of the duty of civil disobedience, and Walt Whitman, the poet of democratic comradeship, came nearer to Gordon... But for them nature is nevertheless still fundamentally the landscape, it is not so really and truly the Cosmos... when I think of Whitman or Thoreau, I see them wandering, gloriously wandering, but I do not see them hoeing and weeding like Gordon."

But not all the young immigrants who hoed and weeded as wage labourers for the citrus growers of Petach Tikvah shared Gordon's views. They held a meeting in 1905 to set up an organisation, and from this meeting dated the division of the workers in Palestine into two camps, *Poale Zion* (Workers of Zion) and *Hapoel Hatzair* (The Young Worker).

"A minority had belonged to the Poale Zion party in their country of origin. The majority were simply young people who had become workers only after their immigration. The former had catchwords at their fingertips: the class struggle, the inevitability of Zionist-socialist success as a result of the impact of events, etc. They were adamant as to the name for the organisation. The others had no fixed ideas. They had only a firm conviction in their hearts, that the return to Zion must of necessity be based on a return to labour, to manual labour. To this principle A. D. Gordon added a return to nature. He also spoke of the simple life, as against sophisticated civilisation, and he came out with other Tolstoyan Russian ideas. All this romanticism did not attract the members of Poale Zion... Gordon aggravated the situation by his obstinate opposition to the introduction of the slightest shadow or hint of the class struggle or official Socialism in the constitution of the organisation. Those young people who had become workers only in Palestine supported him..."

The Narodniks & Lavrov

This leads us back to the ferment of ideas in nineteenth-century Russia, and to the Populism of the sixties and seven-

ties of which Tolstói represents only one wing.

"... there was implicit in the doctrines of the narodniks a deep reverence for the people, and a feeling that among the uncultured masses was an innate wisdom which the intelligentsia lacked. This love for the people led to an approval of the primitive communal economy of the Russian peasant, based on the *mir*, and, thence the narodniks were impelled to advocate the voluntary association of producers. The populism which was the essential mark of the narodnik brings into the orbit of the movement a wide variety of groups from the anarchists to the terrorists, and of thinkers from Bakunin to Lavrov..." "Lavrov was not a complete anarchist... he certainly looked to an eventual disappearance of the State and to the reorganisation of society on a communal basis..."

When Kropotkin escaped to this country in the eighteen-seventies, he found Lavrov already in London, publishing a fortnightly journal *V'Pered* which was illegaly circulated in Russia. Kropotkin says of him:

"In the socialist movement he belonged to the social-democratic wing, but was too widely learned and too much of a philosopher to join the German social-democrats in their ideals of a centralised communistic State, or in their narrow interpretation of history."

Lavrov was assisted on his paper at this time by Aaron Shmuel Lieberman. ("Lieberman was to Rucker the father of Jewish Socialism and Jewish Anarchism, is also claimed as the father of Socialist Zionism"). Tis career is described thus by Ber Borochov:

"In the 70's the Rabbinical school in Vilna was a centre of enlightened, liberal, and even revolutionary thought. Several pupils were aware of the socialist movement among the Russian intelligentsia; and two, Aaron Lieberman and his younger friend Zundelovitch (born in 1854) were active socialist propagandists... and devoted themselves to the dissemination of socialist propaganda among the Jewish masses. Zundelovitch was soon drawn into the Russian political movement and left for St. Petersburg. There he established an illegal press, fell into the clutches of the Czarist police, and was sentenced to Siberia. Lieberman made a timely escape from the Czarist police by fleeing abroad where he devoted the rest of his short life to spreading socialist propaganda among

Continued on p. 3

MEN OR MACHINES?

IN the interest of technological advance, it is inevitable for man himself to become subject to the application of the same methods he applies to the conquest of nature. He, too, is scientifically tested for his capacity, made use of most efficiently and discarded as soon as he ceases to fulfil the required purpose. The drive toward predictability of performance when applied to man, tends to reduce him to the level of the machine. Free will becomes an unstable element and must be ruled out. In the aviation medicine laboratories, the test objects are constantly exposed to experiments indicating the maximum pressure under which lungs will burst; the point at which fear overcomes moral and spiritual resistance.

Shaken, beaten, kneaded, scalded, frozen, suffocated, crushed: this happens daily to dozens of young Americans. In the Santa Susane Mountains of California they let themselves be tied to a small sledge and shot vertically into the air by rocket propulsion; in the Mojave Desert they are whirled by a powered sleigh at meteoric speed on a horizontal rail; in Ann Arbor, Mich., they are driven by means of special sound recording instruments into complete confusion of speech and sense; in Princeton, N.J., they lose their equilibrium through contact with super-sonic waves. They sit in ovens or in ice chambers; they let themselves be hurled in cages that fall freely through the depths of the Carlsbad Caverns; and in San Antonio they are hermetically sealed in pressure chambers and the air gradually exhausted to simulate altitudes of 60,000 feet, in which the blood begins to boil.

These tests have already revealed that man in his present form is not suitable to the most advanced machines—that he is rapidly becoming a drag on progress, a faulty construction.

This testing also proceeds apace under the guise of personnel management. Carried on by highly trained specialists called Human Relations Experts by management or Soul Bunglers by workers, they utilize standard psychological tests, lie detectors, information gained from local credit offices, childhood teachers, private defective firms, or microphones concealed in washrooms. The slogan is: "The best persons for the job", carried to its scientific conclusion, this demands the inclusion of the complete personality of the employee in the evaluation—i.e. his political and moral outlook is considered as much a part of his qualifications as his technical ability. Do they have sex problems? Are they aggressive? Do they remember names? What is their political orientation? In America, the growth of huge enterprises, the mobility of the population, the impossibility of knowing the back-grounds of the applicants, has made these testing procedures practically inevitable, until to-day they are used by all leading corporations and more and more by medium sized enterprises as well.

As man becomes machine-like, the machine seems to be evolving towards man. In performance it reveals unexpected sensibilities and moods. The electronic brains are slow at starting in the morning. They exhibit electronic nervousness when confronted with too difficult problems. The machines are developing their own complex language: rockets record their performance data on sensitized paper, sound strips, films, emulsions and graphic scales which necessitate re-translating from the language of instruments back to the language of humans. In the atomic furnaces, robots handling radio-active materials now copy and combine all seven fundamental movements of the human hand.

—ARTHUR RAY reviewing "To-morrow is Already Here". in *Dissent*, Winter 1955.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP OPEN DAILY

OPEN 10 a.m. to 6.30; 5.0 SATURDAYS All books sent post free, so please get your books from us. We can supply any book required, including text-books. Please supply publisher's name if possible, but if not, we can find it. Scarce and out-of-print books searched for.

New Books . . .

- Reflections on Violence, Georges Sorel 25/-
- Morals Without Religion, Margaret Knight 6/-
- Hearts not Heads in the School, A. S. Neill 7/6
- That Dreadful School, A. S. Neill 7/6
- The Free Child, A. S. Neill 9/6

Second-Hand . . .

- A Dominie Abroad, A. S. Neill 3/6
- A Dominie's Log, A. S. Neill 3/6
- Primitive Folk, Elie Reclus 7/6
- Mutual Aid, Peter Kropotkin 7/6
- Conquest of Bread, Peter Kropotkin 5/-
- Fields, Factories and Workshops, Peter Kropotkin 5/-
- The End of the Age, Leo Tolstoy 2/6
- Russia in Division, Stephen Graham 2/-
- Fallen Bastions, G. E. R. Gedye 3/-
- The Coming Struggle for Power, John Strachey (1934) 3/-
- Confusion of Faces, Erich Meissner 4/-
- Under the Axe of Fascism, Gaetano Salvemini 2/6
- My Russian Venture, Mrs. Cecil Chesterton 3/-
- France To-day and the People's Front (1936), Maurice Thorez 1/6
- Blowing Up India, Philip Spratt 2/6
- Down the Long Slide, Tom Hopkinson 2/-
- The Soviet Five Year Plan, H. R. Knickerbocker 3/-
- Leninism, Joseph Stalin 4/-
- Political Economy—a Marxist Textbook, John Eaton 3/-

Periodicals . . . Adam, No. 247 2/6

Postage free on all items

Obtainable from

17, RED LION STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

International Theatre

Lorca's Mariana Pineda

LUCERNE, AUGUST.

MARIANA PINEDA by Federico Garcia Lorca was given its premiere at the Lucerne Music Festival, Switzerland on Sunday, 21st August, with Maria Becker in the title rôle. This is Lorca's first full-length play. He called it a popular romance, and took as his plot a historical incident of the year 1831, an incident in the battle for freedom fought by the Spanish people.

The forties of the last century, as of the present, were a period of grim reaction in Spain. The spirit of the French revolution had spread far and wide. But with it fear and reaction and the determination to defend the existing order by ruthless repression had grown. And in Spain, at least, reaction succeeded in gaining the upper hand, not for the first time, nor the last. The fight for freedom remained in Lorca's time, as in previous centuries a forlorn and much lamented cause for which thousands of the best were willing to sacrifice themselves time and time again. The author of Mariana Pineda doubtless had also the twentieth century tyranny in Spain in mind although he was never interested in politics as much as in the people he presents and creates. In fact his first play is a timeless tribute to the cause of freedom.

At Cadiz, in 1809, a new liberal constitution had been drafted by the 'Cortes'. It was to have given parliamentary rule to the people, abolished aristocratic privileges and nationalized church property. This 'Cortes' reached Madrid in 1814, and was overthrown by King Ferdinand VII who restored Feudalism, Sovereignty of the Church and the Inquisition. A second and third rising by the people failed equally. And on December 11th, 1831 fifty liberals, under the leadership of General José Maria Torrijos were shot. The events depicted in Mariana Pineda took place half a year before this.



MARIANA PINEDA is not a political figure. Though her sympathies are with the revolutionaries and her house is at their disposal, the driving force that prompts her is her love for Sotomayer one of the leaders of the movement. She enables him to escape from prison

in disguise, and as a symbol of her love for him she embroiders a banner of freedom.

The governor of the town, Pedrosa, discovers the banner, he tries to seduce Mariana promising to keep her secret. Mariana refuses to yield to his demands and is arrested and imprisoned in a convent. Here she waits, secure in the knowledge that her lover will come to set her free. But the conspirators have meanwhile fled to England and no one comes except Pedrosa who once more offers her her freedom in exchange for the names of the rebels. She stands firm and refuses to disclose them. Thus her attitude becomes a political gesture, but only objectively.

From the moment she realises her death is inevitable Mariana identifies her martyrdom with a martyrdom for freedom. By obliterating herself and becoming a sacrifice to the cause of her lover she herself becomes the personification of Freedom, "I am Liberty itself". She was put to death by hanging on the 26th May, 1831.

Mariana Pineda is not only remembered as a figure in Spanish history. She has been adopted by the people and they sing of her in their ballads. One of these is used with great effect by Lorca as a prologue and epilogue to the play. In fact the play may be described as a ballad within a ballad framework. It was first performed in Madrid in October 1927.

The Spanish text, written in a sort of rhythmic free verse, is very well translated into German by Enrique Beck. It was most gratifying to find how melodiously the words fell into their poetic rhythm. The settings, by Ferdinand Bertram were beautiful, and achieved with an economy of means and subtlety of detail which heightened the atmosphere. The production was sensitive and faithful to Lorca, very few liberties had been taken with the text. Only the prologue and epilogue were heavy-handed and quite out of keeping with Lorca's original conception of some girls singing the ballad of Mariana in the market place to the accompaniment of a guitar. Here it was spoken, with the curtain down, by an unseen portentous voice too far off-stage, and the intended effect of bringing

the story right into the heart of the people was lost. Apart from this the production was rendered in the right spirit though it erred on the slow side and lacked throughout a variety of rhythm and tempo. The lighting was perfect with an elaborate use of candles, which I cannot imagine our own L.C.C. ever allowing.

Mariana Pineda is a radiant, bitter-sweet play. A play of frustration until the end. Mariana's wish to help Pedro's political zeal by embroidering the banner is frustrated. The liberal risings are frustrated, Pedrosa's sensuality is frustrated, Mariana's desire for life even is frustrated, until she realizes that the greatest love is the love that gives without thought of return, in solitude. In the background are Mariana's children, also frustrated, and maybe Mariana frustrates their future by leaving them with the label of a mother who is either a martyr or a traitor. And, again, Spain's future is frustrated. But at the end the frustration is resolved mystically, and there is an interesting reversal of values in the last act where the nuns cling desperately to the earth and Mariana turns to the celestial.

Maria Becker plays the first two acts of the play faultlessly with great passion and sincerity. She is not graceful on the stage but her conviction carries her along. But her third act, which should be one of complete transfiguration, is disappointing in the extreme. Here she is just as earthy as she was in the first two acts and one becomes suddenly aware of her awkwardness in movement and almost square figure. As a result the last act was uninspired where it should have risen to an exaltic height.

The acting of the other characters was on a very high level. Particular mention should be made of Tilli Breidenback, who, in the small part of Clavella the maid (another of Lorca's eternal spinsters), was extremely moving. The children were faultlessly played, and Hans Krassnitzer, in the difficult part of Don Pedro, steered a subtle, even course.

This was by far the best performance of any play I have seen in Switzerland, and I was delighted to find that the barbaric habit of taking curtain calls between the acts has been abolished at long last. D.

## Prerequisites for Responsibility

Continued from p. 1

And if we are honest with ourselves, we have all become subtopian in one way or another.

We are subtopian in our eating habits, accepting rotten cooking without complaint; subtopian in our shopping because we have lost the spirit to reject the second-rate; subtopian in our reading because it is easier that way; and subtopian in our citizenship because we would run a mile rather than kick up a fuss.

★

WE have strung together these three items because each can be at least partly answered by one word: *Leisure*. Some of our readers may feel that we are obsessed by this question of leisure; that we view it as a panacea for all mankind's ills. This is not the case. The unemployed man is in fact the individual with the most leisure; yet his thinking is paralysed by his insecurity and his empty belly. (Equally true is it to say that the majority of the "idle rich" are obsessed or bored by their leisure and social uselessness). But our point is that so long as society is divided into two categories: those whose *job* it is to think and those whose *job* it is to execute, to produce the dream children of the professional thinkers, Dr. Bronowski's strictures are academic, Mr. Wolfenden's pessimism is justified and Mr. Reilly's despair inevitable.

We do not believe in an intellectual equality of human beings any more than we believe in their equality physically or as craftsmen, or as poets or as mothers. But neither do we believe in *élites*. What we do believe, however, is that so long as, what the French call, *la condition ouvrière*,\* persists, the scientist will in fact be held responsible for his discoveries and their anti-social applications, abstract thought will be a monopoly of the Oxford don in his privileged surroundings, and the ugliness that surrounds us will be the anarchists' responsibility.

If criticism is to be made it is less to the toiler who seeks to escape from the slavery of the *condition ouvrière* (through such abstractions as permutations . . . on the football pools), than to those who enjoy the privilege of earning their livings by the exercising of their minds. It is all very well to say that the layman should be "equipped with enough common sense to be able to exercise judgment on scientific events", but how has the scientist emerged from the test? It is all very well for the *Architectural Review* to attack our bad taste, but what of the responsibility of the architects who sell themselves by pandering to the money values and barbarism of government departments, local authorities, and speculative builders?

It is also true that the worker builds the monstrosities that the architect—perversely one might almost say—concocts in his drawing office; that he constructs the weapons of death that the scientist thinks up; that the worker is indeed responsible for forging the chains of ugliness and destruction by which he is enslaved. But does this mitigate the responsibility of the intellectual, the scientist or the architect? Just as criticism of the worker's actions presupposes that he is also a responsible person so must the scientist combine his search after knowledge with an awareness of his responsibility as an individual. We agree with Dr. Bronowski that the communal responsibility should not be thrust on the scientist; but neither should the scientist seek refuge for his conscience by shifting his respon-

sibility as an individual on to the shoulders of the community. It seems to us that the thinking elite on the whole have failed miserably. They have treated their brains as economic instead of social assets; they have sacrificed their ideals, their standards for quick returns, honours and economic security.

The foregoing may appear at first sight an argument against *Leisure*; in fact it is an argument *against élites* and *for* the most widespread leisure! For it is clear that we cannot rely on a minority, whether of scientists, intellectuals, politicians or technocrats doing our thinking for us. But to think for ourselves requires more than a diet of the daily press. The human brain needs to be trained to think no less than the hands in learning a new skill. It takes time to learn a skill. To think needs time too but also physical conditions which permit the mind to function freely. It is not surprising if a factory worker (or even a clerical worker for that matter), who has spent eight hours or more engaged in heavy, noisy or tedious work, and two hours in an overcrowded bus or train and who probably arrives home to face some domestic problem, is somewhat fatalistic in his attitude to the social implications of the splitting of the atom; unconcerned with the definition of what is an "educated man"; and quite indifferent to the "monstrous affronts" to the aesthetic susceptibilities of the *Architectural Review* of an unending line of "concrete lamp posts with precast cockscombs"!

For our rulers and their minions, running our lives for us is a full time job. How then can we do all the things expected of us by Dr. Bronowski, Mr. Wolfenden and Mr. Reilly in the daily five or six hours in which we are not either sleeping, working, travelling, washing or cooking. Six hours a day in which to try to live and love!

★

THE achievement by the workers of a shorter working week is a step in the right direction. But for it to be real, and the leisure thereby gained a weapon for releasing them from their *condition ouvrière*, we anarchists must encourage the workers to turn it to good account, not on behalf of the sponsors of commercial T.V. but towards Mr. Wolfenden's vision of "sheer thinking". What may yet happen in the world when the workers at last really start thinking for themselves!

## SCIENCE NOTES

### Democracy, Public Opinion and Musical Comedy Revolutionaries

A SUCCESSFUL government is one which retains and increases its power, and for this the accurate prediction of public opinion is a necessity. While all governments rely to some extent on their ability to mould public opinion, the democratic form depends considerably on its ability to obtain an estimate, by the use of a single vote of adult members of society under a party system. The inefficiency of this method has been frequently dealt with by anarchist propagandists and needs no repetition here. But it is interesting to speculate on probable attempts to increase the efficiency of this form of government.

Haphazard questioning of people in the street, or the readership of a newspaper or magazine, on voting intentions became popular in America early in the century, and has been used in this country recently, by some newspapers on the question of capital punishment. It has occasionally been shown to be accurate but has often failed, notoriously in 1936 when it failed to predict the return of Roosevelt. Gallup by questioning a much smaller number of people obtained an accurate prediction because he used the technique of representative sampling.

In the simpler method, quota sampling, interviewers are instructed to question a definite number of people of specified characteristics such as age, sex, class, etc. This method can be expected to give results up to 3% accuracy. The main errors of the method concern the fallibility of the interviewers.

Area sampling, a more accurate method, involves the random selection of

individuals for interview after division of the total area into districts, small areas, and dwelling units. This method is more time-consuming but ensures true random sampling and is widely used by government agencies and commercial enterprises. The assumption that the questioning of a small section can give accurate information about the views of the whole population, providing the section is chosen according to certain mathematical and statistical laws, has been shown to be correct in practice. After the last war 7 million people had the right to claim between them 20 million medals. A social survey suggested that about 35% only, would claim their medals. In fact an actual claim was made by 34% and the government presumably saved itself a lot of metal.

Even the holding of democratic elections make the value of violent revolutionary techniques doubtful, and the adoption of scientific methods of estimating public opinion would confirm the outmodedness of this approach and make its advocates more suitably employed playing in musical comedy. As the scientific efficiency of government increases the possibility of insurrection decreases. Even present-day totalitarian countries have mass support. In fascist Argentina the majority of unskilled workers support Peron, and communist Russia has built up a vast political and economic class of bureaucrats which form the basis of popular support.

The democratic form of government is based on the belief that all men were created equal in ability, an idea now held by only a few small minority groups, mainly religious. We would therefore predict that the importance of the single equal vote will decrease and the personality and intelligence testing of politicians will be introduced and possibly eventually extended to voters to determine suitability for those functions. If this appears unlikely now, remember that psychological methods have already been used to determine job suitability in the case of engine drivers, higher civil servants, army officers and many others, and higher civil servants play an increasingly important part in determining government policy.

Bios.

## LETTER TO THE EDITORS

### The Tourist Plague?

DEAR SIR,

I read with a sense of sadness Mr. Uloth's attack on tourists in his article "The Tourist Plague" (FREEDOM 3/9/55).

I know that Mr. Uloth is a kindly and humane person and as a tourist I took much of what he wrote to heart.

There has always been a strong puritanical streak in the revolutionary that awes and antagonises his more fickle fellows which is one of the reasons, I think, that many people accept ideas in principle but are reluctant to put them into practice, but that is just a shallow thought in passing.

I would assure Mr. Uloth that to sit bathed in an alcoholic haze in a smokey overcrowded pub listening to the full rich baritone voice of a mature woman singing "Heart of my Heart", conscious all the time that you love everybody, beats Huxley's experiment with mescaline by streets.

To watch elderly matrons hammering out the intricate steps of the "Knees up" in sympathetic surroundings before an appreciative audience would place the dancers of the medieval satanic rites on a par with the performers in the second year Folk Dancing course.

To sit at one's ease in the tourist coach handing out benevolent smiles through the window to the passing peasantry and in return to accept with a gracious nod of the head their friendly smile and kindly hand wave places one for a few moments in the rôle of the Medici or of Queen Victoria.

To tread with reverent step across the floor of Saint Peter's or of a mosque so

as not to offend the elderly gentleman with bad feet who is guiding us proves to us that we can treat with courtesy other people's beliefs.

To eat candy-floss, oysters, "dogs" and chips in the space of one hour and to post off the semi-pornographic postcard with the *double entendre* wording may be in the worst possible taste but is it really so important?

Mr. Uloth bewails the lack of solitude when he has reached the end of his journey but the traveller has always cursed the tripper for despoiling his favourite cove, strip of sand or unspoiled village.

Again Mr. Uloth condemns the mass-produced souvenirs that the tourist loads himself up with. True they are vulgar, cheap and gaudy but then so is the painted coster's barrow, the painted barge and the rocking roundabout.

These souvenirs were never produced for the walls of a Bond Street gallery, they are ephemeral things that for a few weeks or months will form a physical link with their place of purchase and then end in the dust bin.

It may be fifty or a hundred years before they find their way into the Victoria and Albert Museum.

What is it we seek? To contract out of our society for a few hours. To divest ourselves of our manufactured personality and rest in the mob knowing that if we slide under the table friendly hands will lead us home and pour us into our niche again.

London, Sept. 4. ARTHUR MOYSE.

### Philosophical Origins of the Jewish Collectives

Continued from p. 2

the Jews. Immediately after his escape Lieberman organised in Berlin the 'Jewish Group of the Internationale' consisting of Jewish socialist emigrés from Russia. He then left for London where . . . he also organised a Jewish socialist society—the first in Jewish history (1876)."

★

#### The Seed-Bed of Revolution

BOROCHOV himself, one of the founders of Poale-Zion, was according to Nachman Syrkin, "one of the staunchest supporters of the co-operative colonisation movements, although at first he believed it was a negation of the class struggle". His early life in the Jewish Pale of Settlement in Russia illustrates a curious feature of Czarist repression. Those political exiles who were lucky enough not to be sent to Siberia were

exiled to the Pale (the authorities presumably thought it punishment enough to send them to live among the Jews!), and the result was that the Jewish youth were turned into revolutionaries.

Borochov spent his childhood at Poltava, and says Dr. Levenberg, "some of the outstanding intellectuals of that time were sent there. They exerted a profound influence on the youth of that city". It was the same story with Joseph Baratz:

" . . . such people could do 'harm' anywhere; few Russians did more by their writing to stimulate the independent spirit of the Caucasus than the exiled poet, Lermontov, and in Kishinev, starting with Pushkin, there had lived a succession of spirited critics of the Government who mixed with the persecuted minorities and heartened them by their sympathies."

And it was the same with Chaim Weitzmann at whose discussions at his mother's house at Pinsk, "there were Zionists, assimilationists, Socialists, anarchists, every variety of revolution."

★

#### The Meeting of Ideas & Events

ALL these varieties of thought came together in the colonisation of Palestine, and it must have seemed as though ideas and events were being forced together. The Kishinev pogrom of 1903, the unsuccessful revolution of 1905 and the savage repression which followed it were the external events, and for the internal crisis one can picture as an example young Joseph Baratz beginning to feel that "all this talk about Zionism wasn't really Zionism", reading the *Narodnaya Volya* and feeling that all the talk about socialism wasn't really socialism, and in 1906, overcoming his parents' objections and embarking from Odessa for Jaffa.

Buber says, "Just as I do not believe in Marx's 'gestation' of the new form, so I do not believe either in Bakunin's virgin-birth from the womb of Revolution. But I do believe in the meeting of idea and fate in the creative hour."

This creative hour for the *halutzim*, the pioneers of the collective settlements, came when they sought to put their aspirations into practice.

The practical origins of the social forms they took will be discussed next week. C.W.

1. NORMAN BENTWICH: *Judea Lives Again* (Victor Gollancz, 1944).
2. MARTIN BUBER: *Israel and Palestine* (East & West Library, 1952).
3. BENTWICH: *op.cit.*
4. BUBER: *op.cit.*
5. SHLOMO ZEMACH: *Introduction to the History of Labour Settlement in Palestine* (Tel-Aviv, 1945).
6. WOODCOCK & AVAKUMOVIC: *The Anarchist Prince* (Boardman, 1951).
7. P. KROPOTKIN: *Ideas & Realities in Russian Literature* (Duckworth, 1905).
8. JOSEPH LEITWICH: *Introduction to Rudolf Rocker's Autobiography* (Robert Anscombe, 1955).
9. BER BOROCHOV: *Selected Essays in Socialist Zionism*, ed. J. Levenberg (R. Searl, 1948).
10. JOSEPH BARATZ: *Village by the Jordan* (Harvill, 1954).
11. CHAIM WEITZMANN: *Trial & Error* (Hamish Hamilton, 1949).
12. MARTIN BUBER: *Paths in Utopia* (Routledge, 1949).

## FREEDOM PRESS

- VOLINE :**  
*Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed)* cloth 12s. 6d.
- E. A. GUTKIND :**  
*The Expanding Environment* 8s. 6d.
- V. RICHARDS :**  
*Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* 6s.
- MARIE-LOUISE BERNERI :**  
*Neither East nor West* cloth 10s. 6d., paper 7s. 6d.  
*Workers in Stalin's Russia* 1s.
- ALEX COMFORT :**  
*Delinquency* 6d.  
*Barbarism & Sexual Freedom* boards 3s. 6d.
- HERBERT READ :**  
*Art and the Evolution of Man* 4s.  
*Existentialism, Marxism and Anarchism* 3s. 6d.  
*Poetry and Anarchism* cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d.  
*The Philosophy of Anarchism* boards 2s. 6d., paper 1s.  
*The Education of Free Men* 1s.
- F. A. RIDLEY :**  
*The Roman Catholic Church and the Modern Age* 2d.
- RUDOLF ROCKER :**  
*Nationalism and Culture* cloth 21s.
- GEORGE WOODCOCK :**  
*Anarchy or Chaos* 2s. 6d.  
*New Life to the Land* 6d.  
*Homes orhovels?* 6d.  
*Railways and Society* 3d.  
*What is Anarchism?* 1d.  
*The Basis of Communal Living* 1s.
- TONY GIBSON :**  
*Youth for Freedom* paper 2s.  
*Food Production and Population* 6d.  
*Who will do the Dirty Work?* 2d.
- ★
- Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications :**  
*Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A Tribute* cloth 5s.  
*Journey Through Utopia* cloth 16s. (U.S.A. \$2.50)
- ★
- K. J. KENAFICK :**  
*Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx* paper 6s.
- 27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.**

\*It is difficult to render this into English in two words. It means approximately the psychological state resulting from being a worker, which under the capitalist system implies a situation of inferiority.

'Ill Timed' says N.C.O.

# The Curate who Spoke the Truth

A CERTAIN amount of consternation was caused last week when the curate told the truth. Besides being completely unexpected, it was considered in rather bad taste.

It happened at a passing-out parade of recruits of the Royal Lincolnshire Regiment at Lincoln. The young fellows have been trained all ready to go and defend freedom and democracy in the jungles of Malaya, and had already had a pep talk from their Colonel, who told them they were jolly lucky to be going to such an interesting place.

Then it was the padre's turn, and he put the cat among the pigeons by saying:

"Most of you are going to Malaya, and it's quite likely that some of you won't be coming back."

Now, as everybody knows, it's one thing to organise young men to go to their deaths, but quite another to tell them about it openly. And many of the good people watching the parade thought it a crying shame that the boys should be warned beforehand.

One brave British housewife (who is not herself going to Malaya to fight) said: "I thought it was shocking. They want something to cheer them up when they are going to a place like Malaya. I cannot agree one bit with the remarks I heard."

Another mother said: "It was heartbreaking."

Said a spectator: "My boy goes into the Army next year. It's given me something to think about."

A retired officer said he saw the mother of two serving soldiers go white.

The curate, of course, was only trying to be helpful to the lads. He was attempting to show them that if they lived as Christians they would be prepared to meet their Maker wherever they were—and the changes of a short, swift journey up into the arms of Gentle Jesus are a great deal better in the jungles of Malaya than in the dull security of their own homes.

His remarks, however, caused a bit of a rumpus.

The Rev. R. C. Gaul, Rector of Rand (Lincs) said that: "This

sermon turned a passing-out parade into a premature funeral."

He added: "The sermon was more suitable for novices entering a monastery than for young recruits bound for the Far East. No wonder it gave the mothers present an attack of spiritual indigestion."

Even the curate's own vicar (who had been away on the day of the parade) thought the choice of subject had been a wee bit tactless, but he nevertheless backed up his curate's remarks.

The military, naturally, were very upset, and thought the whole thing a jolly bad show. 'Ill-timed' was the restrained opinion of a senior N.C.O.

If it were not so tragic it would be amusing to see the consternation that can be caused by a little homely truth. But all the implications behind the shock it caused are really disturbing.

The padre's usual job at these parades is simply to mumble a few harmless and empty platitudes, bless the boys (and their mission) and send them to their deaths knowing nothing about it, but reassured that everything must be right and proper. Their C.O.'s pep-talk is in the same vein, but boosts them up with all the phooey about the glorious traditions of their regiment.

It's all done by trickery and deceit. and when—even if by acci-

dent—the truth slips out that some of them won't be coming back, the mums get upset, as though the thought had struck them for the first time.

Why then, are they so thoughtless about the fate of the boys they love? And why are their boys in this position of deadly danger? It's a bit late to think about it when they are already on the passing-out parade. The time to think is before the military gets them in its grip. Tell the boys the truth about war, the Army and the Empire. And keep them out of all of it!

## PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

### WEEK 35

Deficit on Freedom £525  
Contributions received £471  
DEFICIT £54

### August 26 to September 1

Falmouth: R.W.\* 1/-; Stockport: F.O. 2/6;  
Northwood: E.H.\* £1; London: Anon. 2/-;  
London: P.H.\* 1/3; London: N.B.T.\* 3/-;  
Colemans Hatch: D.M. 2/-; Los Angeles:  
"Man" Group per A.R. £3/17/0; per M.M.  
Somerville: D.C. 7/-; San Francisco:  
L'Incaricato £19/5/0; Bronx: A.V. 7/-;  
Toronto: R. £1/15/0; Detroit: L. Refrattari  
£10/10/0; London: Anon. 6/7.  
Total ... 37 19 4  
Previously Acknowledged ... 433 12 8  
1955 TOTAL TO DATE ... £471 12 0

\*Denotes regular subscribers.  
GIFT OF BOOKS: London: Anon.

# Cut Out the Inspectors!

ONE striking feature of London Transport compared with provincial buses is the greater number of inspectors who seem to line the routes, sometimes in groups of two or even three, checking the times at which buses pass. This is in addition to the usual ticket examiners. The first impression is that they almost outnumber the drivers and conductors.

A cartoon some time ago in *The Platform* indicates a type of attitude which arises among workers subjected to this constant official supervision. Two buses were shown in collision, with ambulances and breakdown vans flying about in all directions, and in the centre of the picture an inspector was pompously telling the conductor "I'm booking you for two uncollected upstairs."

Currently, transport workers are putting forward claims for pay increases, together with a health service. As usual the national press is opposing the demands, pointing out the disastrous results which their granting will have on fares. One paper in fact suggested that now London Transport was run exclusively in the interests of the staff!

## Where Economies Could be Made

However, while clamouring for economies, and pointing out that we just cannot afford increased wages, the press never suggests that economies could be achieved among the bureaucratic ranks, among those whose positions are in no way necessary for the safety or benefit of passengers. It might of course be objected that if they were not subjected to this supervision from above, drivers and conductors, might not work so hard, and the 'public' (where interests are the sole concern of capitalism, nationalised boards, newspaper proprietors, etc.), would suffer in consequence. A solution of that "problem" could be achieved by the inspectors who had been displaced from that position getting out and working on the buses themselves, and thereby making lighter work for everyone.

Simple though this solution may seem, it will not be put into practice by the authorities for reasons deriving from the rôle of supervision and regulation in the functioning of the present system. In the first place, if a body of workers were put into the position of being able to organise their own jobs in co-operation, and do them in the way that seemed most natural, they would provide fertile soil for the growth of the idea that things would be just as good, or even better without bosses, even in the background. Although placing partial control in the hands of workers would benefit the owners immediately, the long-term effects might be disastrous (for the owners!) In order to keep them economically subjugated, it is necessary to hedge workers around with rules and

regulations, and means of enforcing them, so as to create in them a feeling of the necessity of authority.

## The Buffers

Another reason is that a series of buffers are needed between the small group of high salaried controlling officials at the top and the mass of workers at the bottom. With only slightly higher salaries than themselves, the men who keep the drivers' and conductors' noses to the grindstone are just ordinary people like themselves, and are on terms of personal friendship, which makes it difficult to appreciate their rôle.

Just as capitalism has its middle class to which it holds out a slightly raised material living standard and inculcates with a mystique of respectability, to serve as a bulwark against revolution, so the

highest levels of bureaucratic organisation have their ranks of managers, under-managers, supervisors, etc.

To attain an eventual libertarian organisation of society it will be necessary for the majority of people both who suffer from the type of petty regulations typified by the bus inspectors, and the ones who enforce them, to realize the stupidity of the system. The gold braid and the exercise of the little portion of authority doled out by the authorities are just as degrading as the pay packet received at the end of a hard week's work.

The extra pay and health scheme are indispensable to the workers in face of a rising cost of living, but of far greater value would be a realisation of a desire for greater freedom, and the ultimate aim of complete control over their own lives. P.H.

# The Busmen's Claim & L.T.E. Offer

THE solution to the waste of manpower by London Transport as at present organised is not likely to be worked out on the pattern outlined above, through the bureaucracies of either the London Transport Executive or the Transport & General Workers' Union, which 'represents' the busmen.

London Transport is going through a manpower crisis—at least on the bus side, and as things are will clearly not attract workers into the industry unless a considerable improvement in conditions is made.

Astonishingly enough, this is at last being recognised by L.T.E., which has put forward a suggestion that in order to recruit and retain busmen, the standard week of 44 hours now worked in six days should be worked in a shorter period, enabling the staff to have additional rest days.

## Will Save Money

But it should not be thought that the L.T.E. has only the welfare of their staff at heart in making this suggestion. At the moment a great deal of overtime is being worked, with, of course, its attendant higher rates. Through the arrangement suggested above, longer hours would be worked every day as the basic time, and thereby overtime pay would be cut, and earnings would drop.

Extra busmen would have to be taken on to work the increased rest days, but these are needed anyway—L.T.E. is now short 3,300 drivers and conductors—and the general effect of the proposed extension of the working day would be for as much of the work as possible to be done at basic rates and as little as possible at overtime rates.

We favour the cutting of overtime and rest-day working altogether, but unfortunately most workers to-day rely upon

the extra money earned by the extra hours to bring their wages up to what they need.

The basic rates in most industries are just not high enough to keep the workers at the standard of living they have set for themselves—with their TV sets to pay for and all—and it's not the standard of living that is too high, it's the basic wage that is too low.

## More Pay and Less Hours

With this in mind, it seems to us that the L.T.E. proposals are going to be of value to the busmen only if they are linked to a rise in basic pay. A counter proposal to that of the L.T.E. has been put forward by the men's union, that there should be an increase of pay of 25s. a week and a sick pay scheme for the busmen.

As we see, the discussion between union and executive should not result in an either/or decision, but in an adoption of both—and more. The standard working week of 44 hours is already too long, and instead of being squeezed into five days instead of six, it should be cut to 40 hours, which makes a comfortable five-day week, and the basic pay should be raised so that the elimination of overtime does not mean a reduction in earnings.

This would almost certainly result in an increase in fares. (The TGWU demand for 25s. more would cost L.T.E. £4 million a year), unless economies as outlined by P.H. above were effected among the non-essential bureaucratic and supervisory staffs.

Fare increases will, no doubt, annoy the public. But the public had better face up to the fact that if it wants a decent bus service, the work must carry decent pay and conditions for the workers. If it doesn't, the public very soon will not have a bus service at all.

# Should We Make a Fuss?

EVERY now and again one of London's newspapers tries to stir its readers up into protesting about poor service, slip-shod work, or something else which does not come up to what ought to be 'British standards'.

But the British are a people who hate making a fuss. They don't like to draw attention to themselves. In a way they are proud of their fortitude, their ability to 'put up' with things and still carry on, come hell or high water, cold soup or cracked cups.

Making a fuss is all right for foreigners and other excitable types, but it's not quite British. In fact the stiff upper lip and the cool reserve are but the outward signs of the innate sense of superiority the Island Race feels towards those lesser breeds unfortunate enough to be un-British.

Under no circumstances must we let down our standards of gentlemanly behaviour and make a fuss. Which is what makes so poignant the following remarks from Harold Nicolson, travelling in Italy, in last Sunday's *Observer*:

At the railway station in Florence I bought for my journey a luncheon basket or *cestino*. It contained a small flask of white Chianti, a pot of spaghetti, half a cold chicken, bread, cheese, fruit, and a cardboard fork and tumbler. No such cornucopia could have been bought at Paddington. In the restaurant car that evening there figured on the menu roast beef à l'anglaise: it was pink and fresh and tender; the vegetables were carefully chosen and cooked.

I thought how, only ten days before, travelling up from Oxford, I had been given roast beef which really had been prepared à l'anglaise. It was dry and quite black; it was as hard as a long-abandoned boot; the Yorkshire pudding which assisted it was wet and sad; the potatoes that bore them company had long since dismissed all illusions of

youthfulness and settled down to a farinaceous middle age. Yet that train, that luncheon car, was, I reflected, frequently used by humanists, professors and fellows of renowned colleges. Dons are educated people and have travelled frequently; in private life they are often fussy about their wine and food; they will even discuss these subjects in common room, becoming wrothy on the themes of little angevin wines, or Montbazillac, or the pig's trotters and truffles of Angoulême. But on this occasion nobody uttered a word of protest. I remembered a night journey in the war when the corridor of our darkened train was heaped with luggage and with struggling but amicable humanity.

"We are a patient race," I remarked to a Polish officer standing next to me. He ground his teeth in fury: "You are a race of sheeps," he answered.

Yet what, as anarchists, can we do in the face of bad service from a fellow-worker? We cannot take the attitude that if a person is paid to do a job, then he should do it properly, because we understand the frustrations and restrictions, the lack of choice and free opportunity, that puts round pegs in square holes and sours the relationships in a place of work even where there is interest in the work itself.

We cannot complain to the management, for that might result in a fellow-worker getting the sack, and in any case will only worsen the attitude of the worker towards the customer.

In the long run, education is the only answer, and we all know that in a free society every worker will give of nothing less than his best, and there will be no financial incentives to provide shoddy work or services.

But what to do now? As anarchists we also want the best of everything here and now, without waiting for the revolution, and we should not be expected to put up with bad food, dirty conditions or slip-shod service.

So here's yet another dilemma. Not a very important one perhaps, but little things matter a lot in the individual life. Do we make a fuss and maybe get someone into trouble, or do we tolerate things we find unsatisfactory?

Perhaps some of our readers who know all the answers will have the gospel on this? I ask in all humility, for I really don't know. Or perhaps it doesn't matter? P.S.

## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS  
Every Sunday at 7.30 at  
**THE MALATESTA CLUB**  
155 High Holborn, W.C.1.  
(Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall)  
SEPT. 11—Dick Stubbs  
**THE PRESENT TIME**  
SEPT. 18—Philip Sansom  
**THE ROLE OF ANARCHISM**  
SEPT. 25—Schleim Fanaroff  
*Subject to be announced*  
OCT. 2—Alan Bain  
**ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM AND THE ENGINEERING INDUSTRY**  
OCT. 9—*To be announced*  
OCT. 16—F. A. Ridley  
**SPARTACUS AND THE SLAVE REVOLTS OF ANTIQUITY**  
OCT. 23—*To be announced*  
OCT. 30—Annie de Witt  
**ANARCHISM IN HOLLAND.**

### INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.

### OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting  
**HYDE PARK**  
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.  
**MANETTE STREET**  
(Charing X Road)  
Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

### GLASGOW

OUTDOORS  
At Maxwell Street  
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

## FREEDOM

### The Anarchist Weekly

Postal Subscription Rates:  
12 months 17/- (U.S.A. \$3.00)  
6 months 8/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50)  
3 months 4/6 (U.S.A. \$0.75)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies  
12 months 27/- (U.S.A. \$4.50)  
6 months 13/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers

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