

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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Threepence

"It is not the State, but the community, the world-wide community of all human beings present and future that we ought to serve."

—BERTRAND RUSSELL

The Economic Crisis is Part of Capitalism, But When Food Acreage is Reduced While Million Starve ... This is

A CRISIS OF MANKIND

THAT we are on the threshold of a major economic crisis no one can any longer doubt: the British Employers' Confederation has issued its first major economic statement since the currency crisis of 1931! The Confederation, representing 70 per cent. of private employers in the country, has informed Ministers and Trade Union bosses that inflation is now serious and cannot be stopped unless the Government spends less, unless industry proves its efficiency, and unless the pressure of wage demands can be reduced.

"The problem of beating inflation can be solved only by increasing production and reducing home demand. Production can be raised by increasing efficiency, abolishing restrictive practises and avoiding strikes. The main responsibility for reducing home demand must rest with the Government which should discharge its duties by raising the Bank Rate and reducing its own expenditure."

Asked to expand the confederation's statement about Government spending, its director, Mr. George Pollock, Q.C. said that "all would welcome" a reduction in the armed forces, partly to relieve "brim-full" employment and partly to "save money". Such cynicism was too much for the *Manchester Guardian* which comments (13/9/55) that "it will be a pity if people are led to think that financial necessity demands a cut in National Service". Not only will they think this but might also conclude that financial interests demanded the vast rearmament programme in the first place!

Mr. Pollock was also very frank in his remarks about "brim-full employment". He said: "Our wish is to see full employment as distinct from over-full employment." He explained:

"By full employment you do not mean there is a job for every man there and

then, with no margin either way. We must seek to avoid a margin of jobs that cannot be filled. We want a margin for negotiation. The evil is that there are jobs chasing men. You do not want to have men chasing jobs or jobs chasing men. We want to find a balance."

How sinister and familiar that phrase "We want a margin for negotiation" however well wrapped-up, must sound to men and women who recall the pre-war days when they were the victims of this "margin for negotiation". This was the "evil" for them and not Mr. Pollock's definition of it as "jobs chasing men". The Employers' Confederation want to increase production by the whip of insecurity. Under capitalism workers can be made to produce more so long as there are enough unemployed workers waiting in the queue to step into the jobs of those who don't "pull their weight". In other words production will be greater when more workers are unemployed than if all were employed.

What a commentary on the capitalist system! But this is not all.

According to the employers' confederation the economic situation would improve in this country if our industries produced more, and more efficiently, if the government cut down not only on the Armed Forces but also on the "Welfare State" and nationalised industries, if "four times as many persons as at present [were] unemployed" and the pressure of wage demands reduced. In other words the workers would produce more and get less in return. What kind of economic system is this?

As it is, manufacturing production in this country—according to the *Chamber of Commerce Journal* (Sep. 1955) has increased by 33% since 1948. Has the standard of living increased in proportion? The very fact that vast numbers of people are mortgaging their future with building societies and hire-purchase syndicates to provide a roof over their

heads and a few frills, to the dull routine of their lives is surely an indication that the benefits of increased production have not come their way.

★

BUT perhaps the greatest criticism of capitalism is that it is concerned with profits and not needs. And only when one understands this fundamental fact can one understand the contradictions of the system and the crises which loom up periodically. Only then will one realise that "efficiency" has one meaning under capitalism and quite the opposite meaning when measured by the standards of human needs. It is, for instance, a mistake to assume that "markets" and "human needs" are synonymous. Production is geared to the former ("what agriculture needs—said Mr. Benson—is markets"), never to the latter. The "markets that are expanding most rapidly" and on which, according to

the *Chamber of Commerce Journal*, we should concentrate our efforts are "those of Europe". Yet the needs are greatest in those "Far Eastern and some Latin American countries" where, according to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation report (14/9/55) "consumption still remains below the very inadequate pre-war levels". Or as Dr. Dudley Stamp put it less euphemistically, when addressing members of the International Banking summer school at Oxford earlier this month: "Something like half the people of the earth were living at, or near starvation level".

The coalmines in this country provide us with an example of the many meanings given to the word "efficient". Mr. Pollock for the employers confederation said that any further expenditure on the coal mines must be looked at "very, very closely indeed. A good deal of money is going down the mine and there is less coal coming out of it than was hoped for". Obviously Mr. Pollock seeks efficiency in the mines through a shift in the unemployment position; the government is less concerned with cost as with output to supply industry and the power stations

Continued on p. 3

"Governments do not do that Sort of Thing"

NEHRU THE POLITICIAN

HAVING to try to find something to the credit of the Labour governments of 1945-51, the supporters of the Labour Party are proud to point to the granting of 'independence' to India in 1947. And since the emergence of India as the apparent spearhead of the 'Third Force' in the world, the head of her government, Pandit Nehru, has been hailed by all the sentimental Left as a great statesman of a kind different from any of those who snarl and smile at each other over the Iron Curtain.

In stubbornly refusing either to hail 'independence' as the work of the Labour government alone, or to hail Nehru as a different kind of politician, anarchists are

frequently dismissed as dogmatic, fanatical, or, at least, cynical. And since the arguments used against us are based mainly on emotion rather than on fact, discussion is often difficult if not actually fruitless.

The facts are, however, that the Congress Party in India was promised independence (i.e. self-government within the framework of Commonwealth), in 1943 by Sir Stafford Cripps, sent to India on behalf of Churchill's wartime government. At that time, Britain was very much up against it in Asia, where the Japanese were sweeping all before them, and where an India seething with discontent represented a very weak link in the chain of Empire.

Nehru, Gandhi, and other Congress leaders were in gaol for their support of disturbances against the British, and quite clearly such anti-European propaganda as the Japanese could put out ('Asia for the Asians') would not fall on deaf ears in India.

Set a Rebel to Catch a Rebel

Sir Stafford Cripps (who had been expelled from the Labour Party in 1937 for supporting the Commie "Popular Front" line, but readmitted after the war began and he toed the Labour Party policy of support for the war), was chosen by Winston Churchill as the most respectable British rebel able to talk turkey with the Indian rebels.

Britain desperately needed India in those dark days of the war. She needed the labour power and the raw materials, and even more she needed the reassurance that there would be no revolution in India, no stab in the back, but free access to Burma, unhindered use of bases to win back Singapore and whatever fighting forces could be provided.

Negotiating from strength, the Indian leaders were able to demand a high price—nothing less than independence as soon as the war was over. And Socialist Stafford Cripps, on behalf of Conservative Winston Churchill and his wartime government struck the bargain with the Pacifists Nehru, Gandhi and Co., who were released from gaol and became respectable allies in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Labour Government in 1947, therefore, was only carrying out policies laid down by the Churchill Government four years previously. Certainly, if the Tories had been returned to power in 1945, they might have tried to rat on their promises, but that would certainly have caused far more trouble than Britain was in any position to take on

at that time. Even as it was the Labour Government had to be jogged into action by a certain amount of rioting and civil disobedience.

The Great Change

So Independence came. That is to say, the reins of government passed from white hands into brown. The British bayonets marched out (although British capital remained), and the armed forces were taken over by British-trained Indian personnel. The Indian people became the subjects of an Indian government; no longer were they ordered about by British masters—now they were ordered about by Indian masters.

The change-over was watched with great interest by all those who had sympathised with the plight of the Indians under the heel of the British imperialists. Pacifists in particular pointed with pride to the fact that a large part of the struggle against the British had been carried on by means of non-violent resistance, and the eventual evacuation of the British military seemed a victory for these means. In claiming that, they ignored the wartime bargain through which the pacifist leaders of the Congress Party helped the British militarists to defend their empire—and incidentally to win back Malaya, which is still being held down by force.

But, strange to say, the new government of pacifists turned out to be very similar to the old government of non-pacifists. The armed forces were not disbanded—indeed they were strengthened—and although certain inevitable reforms were carried out, no noticeable alterations in the status of the ordinary people of the sub-continent were effected.

Non-violence Begets Violence

It is irrelevant here to discuss the religious differences which played such havoc with the relationship between the newly-formed states of India and Pakistan. The bloodshed and misery caused to and by both Moslems and Hindu have, however, been used by the governments of both sides for political capital and in order to justify disciplinary policies of their own. And precisely herein lies the lesson that pacifists should learn in the story of Indian emancipation from the British: that the methods of non-violent resistance can only lead to non-violent ends of they are divorced entirely from institutions of power.

The Congress Party of India was happy to use the methods of non-violent resistance against its enemies, but it is itself a political party—now the ruling political party—and as such cannot divorce itself

from the use of force when it achieves power. You cannot govern without coercion, and just as in this country the Labour movement was pleased to use industrial militancy on the road to power but embarrassed by it when power was achieved, so in India the Congress Party has used the revolutionary means of non-violent resistance in its climb to power—but is now embarrassed by its use.

We have referred in FREEDOM to the *satyagraha* methods being used by Indian demonstrators in Goa, and it has been clear to the whole world that Pandit Nehru's Congress Party had every sympathy for the demonstrators, although, as the governing body, it could not say so openly. Government activity was limited to demands for the independence of Goa from the Portuguese and to putting on certain pressure and sanctions on the colony. It was left to the Indian workers and peasants to provide the forces for the passive resistance demonstrations, to get their heads cracked and to be shot down by the Portuguese police and military. World opinion was by these events directed on to the problem of Goa, and Nehru sat back, hoping that the old, well-tried methods would do the trick again.

Fence-sitting Politician

Unfortunately, Nehru is no longer a rebel among rebels. He is a respected World Statesman, and it suddenly became clear to him that since he is now the Government of India, he is himself a target for *satyagraha*. So, like any other politician, he dropped the idea like a hot potato, and ordered an end to *satyagraha* on the Goa border. Last week in the House of the People in New Delhi, Nehru won a vote of confidence for his foreign policy, which included the calling off of the demonstrations for Goa.

Nehru denied that this represented a change of policy. He said he had always opposed mass non-violent invasions.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 37

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Total	25 19 11
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1955 TOTAL TO DATE	£503 1 9
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*Indicates regular contributors.

WHITE INTOLERANCE ...

SOUTH AFRICAN *apartheid* took one more step last week in Bloemfontein, when Africans were barred from attending a rugby football match between the Junior Springboks and the touring British Lions.

Segregation has, of course, always been the rule at all sporting events, and non-whites are usually allowed a space equal to about one-tenth of a stadium's capacity. They usually show their feelings about this by cheering loudly any opponents of a South African team at international matches.

Three weeks ago the non-European cheers for the British Lions practically drowned white support for the Springboks (a different team from the Junior Springboks), and the city fathers of Bloemfontein decided that wasn't going to happen in their nice new stadium if they could help it. And they helped it by barring non-whites altogether.

As is usual in South Africa, this was said to be in the blacks' own interest: "The non-Europeans," said one Bloemfontein councillor, "derive the greatest benefit from taking part in sport, not watching it."

.. BLACK TOLERANCE

WHEN Louis Armstrong took young Gary Crosby under his trumpeting wing, some Negroes shook their heads, wondered: "With all the promising Negro youngsters who need a musical break, why did the mighty maestro choose, as his protégé, a towhead born with a silver spoon, heir to a golden throat?" When wealthy Mrs. Pearl C. Anderson gifted the Dallas Community

Chest Trust Fund with several blocks of downtown property worth over \$200,000, more than one brother gasped: "Why give all that wealth to the white folks?" When Michigan's Congressman Charles Diggs Jr. named, as his first military academy appointee, white Thomas Jozwiak, there were those who said: "Ain't that a shame!"

All three of these famous Americans have contributed unstintingly to the welfare of the Negro. In addition, they have succeeded, as few of us have, in rising above the narrow confines of colour. When any Negro is big enough to bestow his favours on deserving persons and causes without regard to race, creed or colour, he should be commended for his tolerance. Such deeds should be labelled a blessing instead of a shame.

Racial discrimination is as reprehensible when practised by Negroes as it is when employed by whites. And the Golden Rule works both ways. Like many Negroes, Mrs. Anderson, Louis Armstrong and Congressman Diggs owe much of their success to white people. By virtue of their position they have a moral obligation to society in general.

Granted, the white majority has done the Negro wrong, is responsible for much of his inferior status in society. But even though restrictions are placed upon the Negro, it profits no one to retaliate in kind. Two wrongs make nobody right. Negroes should be proud that there are members of their race who abide by the Christian principle of doing unto others as they would that others should do unto them.

(From the *American Negro* magazine EBONY).

The Intrusion of Politics and Nationalism

"I myself doubt the value of a Jewish State, even in Palestine. If in Zionist circles this idea had not been so dominant, the bitter conflicts between Jews and Arabs could, I think, have been avoided. To attain Statehood, it was necessary to strive continually for a Jewish majority in the country, and that has caused suspicion and hostility among the Arab nationalists. As a result, a considerable amount of energy has been directed from the creative spheres of construction (the marvellous agricultural colonies, the urban co-operatives, the medical, educational and artistic accomplishments) to the more conspicuous but sterile fields of politics, diplomacy, strategy, etc. The passion of youth has been focussed on a single political aim—the formation of a Jewish State. And such preoccupations may lead to the weakening of the universal and moral value of Jewish culture."

—I. N. STEINBERG:
"The Promised Land."

NATIONALISM (which is not the same thing as patriotism), is a disease of the last hundred years. Jewish nationalism is the result of anti-semitism. Arab nationalism is the revolt against imperialism. The two nationalisms were bound to collide, the two peoples need not have done so (The Arab is a Jew on Horseback, said Disraeli). Many of the arguments for the 'Arab case' put before British readers (stuffed with romanticism supplied by Col. Lawrence, Rudolf Valentino and Glubb Pasha), are not true. The Jewish settlers did not steal Arab land, they bought it at inflated prices. Few of the poverty-stricken, debt-ridden *fellahin* were dispossessed, for the land when the settlers first came was largely desolate and sparsely inhabited, and while the *lot viable* for an Arab family was fifty acres, for a Jewish family it was five. The enormous increase in the Arab population by immigration and a greatly reduced death rate was a tribute to the life that was brought back to the land by the Jews, and there can be little doubt that one of the main causes of strife was the Mandatory Government's policy of playing off one community against the other for political, strategic and economic (Middle East oil) reasons.¹

The ambitious politicians of both sides

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responded true to type, from the Mufti of Jerusalem to the Jewish fascists (The Revisionists of Vladimir Jabotinsky). There were notable exceptions—some of the trade unions, the *Hashomer Hatzair*, and such figures as Chaim Arlosoroff, the labour leader, Smilanski, the farmer's leader, Henrietta Szold, the organiser of the Youth Aliyah, and Martin Buber the philosopher. The exceptions too included the collective settlers, who had done most to win the friendship of the Arabs and had most to lose by their hostility. As Dr. Infield wrote, before the war with the Arab states and the present uneasy truce,

"Responsible Zionist leaders look to Arab co-operation. This hopeful tendency has long been that of the Kvutzot. But it is still possible that the Kvutzot may have little to say in this matter. Their fate may be decided, as it has been up to now in this much too promised land, without consulting those most immediately concerned."

We abominate Chauvinism in other nations; we must combat it in our own, said Arthur Ruppin, but it was not to be so, and just as the settlements bore the brunt of the war, while the politicians and the terrorists argued in the cities about the future of the State, so they have also suffered a loss of prestige and unity by their own excursions into political activity:

"Twenty years ago a leader of one of the big units could say emphatically: 'We are a community and not a Party'. This has radically changed in the meantime . . ."

The New Situation

IT was possible before 1948 to refer to the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine as an example of socialism without the State, a network of voluntary organisations for every purpose with co-operatives for production, distribution and consumption. Much has changed since then. The population has more than doubled with Oriental immigrants "most of whom came with a primitive idea that Israel would be the Promised Land where they need do no work". The Histadrut has become in several fields dictatorial, and the government, to retain support, has had to make many concessions to religious fanaticism.

The agricultural population was always a minority, and the collective settlers a minority of a minority, but it was an élite—the people who were looked to for moral leadership. Now,

"The result of the indifference (of the new immigrants) has been that the percentage of the Kibbutz population to that of the rest of Israel has sunk from six to four per cent. The Kibbutz always represented a small minority, but for-

William Morris Society

WHILE there are many who admire William Morris for one or another reason and there are such excellent societies as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, the Kelmscott Fellowship, the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, and the Art Workers Guild, which, originally inspired by him, carry on much of his teaching on some particular aspect, there exists no society whose aim it is to extend the knowledge of the man as painter, embroiderer, weaver, carver, calligrapher, wood engraver, printer, writer, and socialist.

Simultaneously, personal knowledge of his many-sided character has faded with the passage of time and the very breadth and diversity of his work and interests has hindered the comprehensive appreciation of his outlook as a whole and of his contribution to art, crafts, literature, and social and political thought.

For these reasons a "William Morris Society" was founded at a commemorative gathering at Red House, Morris's home at Bexley Heath. The society aims to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas on his contemporary influence over the whole range of his artistic and political activities; to spread the knowledge of his work among a wider audience, and to sponsor publications illustrating the work of Morris and his circle.

Our project has the blessing of Sir Sydney Cockerell, who is, we believe, the only surviving member of Morris's intimate circle. We invite those who believe with us that Morris's life and teachings have value to Britain and the world today to address themselves to the honorary secretary, Mr. Graeme Shankland.

Yours faithfully,
J. BRANDON-JONES,
NIKOLAUS PEVSNER,
STANLEY MORISON.

Red House, Red House Lane,
Bexley Heath, Kent.

merly this was an effective one. Now it risks becoming ineffective. Instead of being the pioneers . . . the Kibbutz population suddenly appears as a monastic cult of specialists who have chosen to lead this particular kind of life. Apart from the indifference of the immigrants, the political split between the Mapai and Mapam, in addition to splitting up some of the communal settlements, has caused a good many people to leave them altogether."⁴

Must one say then that now that the 'heroic' period is over, the collectives will fail as a result of the intrusion of politics and the State? That would be far too sweeping, when one is discussing such institutions of such variety, and in a sense it is beside the point, for the reason which Infield, paraphrasing Charles Gide, gives:

"Gide discards permanency as the one determinant of success: 'Are we then to expect them to be immortal?' He answers: 'No, for how many business companies or commercial houses are there which can celebrate their centenary? Few indeed. So why be astounded if out of two hundred communist societies . . . only two or three should be able to celebrate their 100th birthday?' The fact that some have existed 'a long time', Gide takes as proof that they are practicable. 'The real proof of vitality lies not in continuance but in rebirth.'"⁵

Society and the State

THE importance of the collectives in the libertarian tradition will be discussed in the closing pages of this notebook, by way of Martin Buber's *Paths in Utopia*, where they appear in "a kind of epilogue" to an appraisal of the ideas of the anarchists, Proudhon, Kropotkin and Gustav Landauer. But before turning to this book, we must examine an essay of Buber's called *Society and the State*. Here he traces through philosophers from Plato to Bertrand Russell the confusion between the social principle and the political principle. The political principle is seen in power, authority and dominion, the social principle in families,

groups, unions, co-operative bodies and communities,

"The fact that every people feels itself threatened by the others gives the State its definite unifying power; it depends upon the instinct of self-preservation of society itself; the latent external crisis enables it when necessary to get the upper hand in internal crises. A permanent state of true positive and creative peace between the peoples would greatly diminish the supremacy of the political principle over the social."⁶

Administration in the sphere of the social principle, says Buber, is equivalent to Government in that of the political principle.

"All forms of government have this in common: each possesses more power than is required by the given conditions; in fact, this excess in the capacity for making dispositions is actually what we understand by political power. The measure of this excess, which cannot of course be computed precisely, represents the exact difference between Administration and Government. I call it the 'political surplus'. Its justification derives from the external and internal instability, from the latent state of crisis between nations and within every nation . . . The political principle is always stronger in relation to the social principle than the given conditions require. The result is a continuous diminution in social spontaneity."⁷

Will society, he asks, ever revolt against the 'political surplus' and the accumulation of power? He sees this revolution as remote, but he thinks that the way to prepare the ground is in education:

"Social education is the exact reverse of political propaganda. Such propaganda, whether spread by a government or by a party, seeks to 'suggest' a ready-made will to the members of the society, i.e. to implant in their minds the notion that such a will derives from their own, their innermost being. Social education, on the other hand, seeks to arouse and to develop in the minds of its pupils the spontaneity of fellowship which is innate in all unravaged human souls and which harmonises very well with the development of personal existence and

personal thought. This can be accomplished only by the complete overthrow of the political trend which nowadays dominates education throughout the world. True education for citizenship in a State is education for the effectuation of Society."⁸

★

IF we apply these brilliant definitions of Buber's to the State of Israel, we can see how, as to a greater extent in Israel's neighbours, and in most countries, the 'latent external crisis' is continually increasing the supremacy of the political principle. We can see too how in the education of the new immigrants, as Spender says:

"While being taught to forget the colour of their skins, the children are enlisted to enter into the views of ideologies. It has been easier for the educators to tell them to merge all their separate tongues in the one language of Hebrew, than to give them a background of faith common to all. They are educated to hold different political views and to practise different ways of living. So that in taking away physical barriers, the Israelis set up spiritual and ideological ones."¹⁰

This notebook will conclude next week with a consideration of Buber's *Paths in Utopia*.

- 1 See for instance Jon Kimche's *Seven Fallen Pillars* (Secker & Warburg).
- 2 Henrik Infield: *Co-operative Living in Palestine* (Kegan Paul, 1946).
- 3 Martin Buber: *Paths in Utopia* (Routledge, 1949).
- 4 Stephen Spender: *Learning Laughter* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1952).
- 5 Infield: *op. cit.*
- 6, 7, 8, Martin Buber: *Society and the State* ("World Review", May, 1951).
- 9 "What lies behind Egypt's admission of violence?"
- 10 Some observers think that Egypt's internal affairs are so shaky and the position of Colonel Nasser, the Premier, so precarious that something has to be done to divert attention.—"News Chronicle", 1/9/55.
- 10 Spender: *op. cit.*

"Authority and the Individual"

READERS may be interested in attending a Peace Pledge Union Week-end School on the above title. It will be held at the Friends' Meeting House, South Terrace, Hastings, on October 1st and 2nd.

- Programme is as follows:—
Saturday, 2.45 p.m.
 "SOCIAL COHESION AND HUMAN NATURE"
 opened by ARLO TATUM
 (Assistant Secretary WRI; previously Secretary of WRI in New York).
 Tea
 7.00 p.m. Social.
Sunday, 2.30 p.m.
 "THE PLACE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN SOCIETY"
 opened by JACK ROBINSON
 (Member of the London Anarchist Group).
Sunday, 7.00 p.m.
 "SOCIAL COHESION AND GOVERNMENT"
 opened by BRUCE CAMPBELL, LL.B.
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CINEMA

SEAT OF LEARNING

NOW that *Blackboard Jungle* has arrived at the Empire Cinema, Leicester Square, we can understand why Mrs. Luce was so anxious to prevent its being shown at the Venice festival. It shows an aspect of the American way of life that a politician would not be anxious to have advertised. But its very sincerity impresses more than a mountain of propaganda, which just goes to show how stupid some ambassadors can be.

This is the story of Mr. Dadier (Glenn Ford), a newly-fledged teacher who is taking up his first appointment at a manual trades high school in one of the less salubrious quarters of New York. It is the sort of school that I wish some of my teachers could have been compelled to work in. The inmates (one can hardly call them students), are the toughest bunch of delinquents ever assembled in one place. Although they lack the sartorial elegance of the English teddy boy they make up for it by added toughness.

The first day of school is like the preparation for a battle. "We have no discipline problem here," the principal says stuffily. But the cynical history master knows better: "Take a ruler to these kids and they'd beat you to death with it." He tells the new (and only), woman teacher, who is wondering whether she is suitably dressed for the classroom, "They might even fight over you." It is a dubious compliment: on her first day she narrowly escapes being raped.

Most of the teachers manage to survive by a policy of appeasement, but Mr. Dadier is saved by his skill at unarmed combat. He wants to *teach*. He is undaunted when the leader of the gang of thugs that make up his class says to him: "Ever try to fight 35 guys at once?" Seven of them beat him up in a dark alley. They send anonymous letters to his wife. They make false accusations against him to the principal. One of them pulls a knife on him.

He very nearly gives up this unequal contest, but finally he does "get through" to them.

There are a number of criticisms that can be made of this film. For one thing it is not entirely credible because there are too many questions left unanswered. How did these anti-social louts get that way? We are told no more than that they are the wartime generation who had no home life "and no church life" (!) Artie West, the irredeemable, psychopathic gang leader gives us no more than a hint of their psychology when he ex-

plains why he is not concerned at the thought of going to jail: "When I'm 18 the army's gonna say to me 'You go and be a soldier' . . . And perhaps I get my lousy head blown off."

Then again, the standpoint is authoritarian. The problem is treated as one of a breakdown of authority: it is a problem of "discipline". The contrast is between the "nice obedient boys and girls" in other schools and these savage by-products of the mechanized barbarism that is our civilization. One of the teacher's stratagems in his attempts to obtain co-operation from his class is a familiar one: he appeals to the Negro boy, Millere (Sidney Poitier), whom he regards as a "natural leader" and tries to make him an N.C.O. as it were.

Nevertheless, in spite of its faults it is an interesting film, honest within its limitations, and if it does no more than make people aware that there is a problem it will have achieved something.
E.P.

Equality and Marriage Don't Mix

THAT compulsive marriage is incompatible with freedom has long been an anarchist contention, and in maintaining it, we do not distinguish between the various forms of marriage practiced under the major religions of the world.

At a meeting of Arab students in London last week, Dr. Edith Summerskill attacked the polygamy practiced in Arab countries. She told the students:

"Your marriage laws are so outmoded that they degrade women and men equally. And you men are afraid to face up to it." Later she said: "The marriage system of some countries renders women submissive".

She should have been more general, in our opinion. The marriage system of this country, too, renders women submissive, although Dr. Edith would probably not like to admit that. And when women cease to be submissive, marriages tend to collapse.

This was pointed out by Mr. Joseph Brayshaw, general secretary of the Marriage Guidance Council, in an article in *Family Doctor*, the British Medical Association's monthly journal.

He said:
 "It is the new equality of women with men that has really shaken the stability of marriage and family life".

"Recognition of women as the equal of man always means the crumbling of outmoded patterns of marriage and an increase in divorce," he declares. "Equality of sexes has come to stay."

Mr. Brayshaw was discussing the present divorce rate—27,000 in 1954—which is four times higher than 16 years ago, and he pointed to the various causes of divorce, which included war-time separations, the housing shortage, decline in religious belief, selfishness, emotional immaturity, marriages forced on young people because a baby is expected, the false value of films and the "misguided but common tendency to regard sex harmony as the sole test of a successful marriage."

Sex harmony, in our opinion, is not the sole test of a successful relationship, but the lack of a satisfactory sex life can be the most important reason for a relationship failing.

But we think Mr. Brayshaw's point about equality worth noting. It means that the more economic independence and social equality women have with men, the less ready they are to submit to the bonds of marriage.

From this it follows that marriage is repressive to freedom-loving people. Which is what anarchists have always said.

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 16, No. 39 September 24, 1955

A CRISIS OF MANKIND Continued from p. 1

to increase industrial production so as to increase exports of manufactured goods. But if one pauses for a moment to ask what is the purpose of increasing exports, the answer we shall receive is that it is in order to import the raw materials to keep our factories going, and the foodstuffs which we cannot produce here! In the circumstances would it not be more efficient to direct our attention to developing the land in this country and producing more food than by pouring money (by which we mean human energy), into the mines? Not of course from the capitalist point of view since it would cut out a whole number of business interests such as shipping firms, factories and parasitic import and export concerns.



THE crises of capitalism are an integral part of that system, from which it recovers at a cost of a few sensational suicides and untold misery for millions of its victims through wars, mass unemployment and penury for the aged as their reward for long years of toil. Man's mastery over land, sea and air has reduced capitalism to an anachronism. That capitalism still dominates human relations, production and distribution in our time is the real crisis, a crisis of mankind. The mountains, the jungles and the oceans that in former times were the insuperable physical barriers that kept the peoples of the world from one another have been broken down for ever. Potentially, mankind is one; in fact artificial barriers, political, religious, economic, racial and national have been erected which are worse than the isolation of former times, for to-day we can actually observe each other from the iron cages of our own creation and we do nothing.

In the days when mankind was physically isolated, "self-sufficiency" was the concern, the obsession of every tribe, of every community. To-day, with the development of communications, "self-sufficiency" is, ethically and practically, a world concern. And yet each nation, and within each nation, each family, is struggling to be a "self-sufficient" unit "paying its way". And in the process half the world is in rags and dying or nearly dying of hunger while in the other half, warehouses are bulging with vast stocks of food, cotton and manufactured goods for which no "markets" can be found.

The United States has carried over from last year a food surplus of \$8,500 million (£3,000 million) and 11 million bales of cotton (or more than the total stocks of the rest of the world). Speaking of this "problem" at a meeting in Rome of the I.F.A.P. (International Federation of Agricultural Producers), the United States' Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson outlined the measures being taken to solve it. Included among these was "acreage reduction".

"Wheat acreage has been reduced 30% in the last two years and cotton 28%. In 1955 rice acreage would be reduced 22%; tobacco growers were also limiting production."

This in spite of the fact that the real need in the world to-day was not more motor-cars and nylon stockings but more food and clothing. During the years 1946-7 to 1954 world food production increased by 25 per cent, which meant that it was just about keeping pace with population increases, though, as the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organisation points out in its report, "gains have been unevenly spread". But even more serious is the fact that preliminary estimates for 1954-5

SCIENCE NOTES

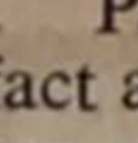
IN his recent address 'The Fragmentation of Science' to the Assembly of Corresponding Societies, Ritchie Calder complains that in general scientists are illiterate, inarticulate and irresponsible. That they cannot explain to the public what they are doing and that the ever-increasing specialisation prevents them even communicating with one another. He said that basically it was a problem of education and that somehow we must get a synthesis of scientific knowledge if science and humanity are to progress together.

It is true to say that it is a problem of education, not particularly of scientists but of the general public. The science curriculum in schools is geared to examinations and consequently taught unrelated to everyday needs and uses, and is soon forgotten. It is in the main boring and something which has to be put up with. This applies to those schools where science is taught, but many children who leave school at the age of fifteen have had no instruction in any of the sciences, surely a serious handicap in a society which is becoming increasingly aware of the importance of science and its application. It is true that for a pupil who intends making science a career it is necessary to keep examinations in mind but it should begin at a late stage as a too early specialisation makes for narrow interests.

Except for occasional articles by Ritchie Calder and Haldane's past articles in the *Daily Worker* very little attempt has been made through popular

show that world food output, for the first time since the war, has failed to show an appreciable rise on previous years. This is accounted for by the less favourable weather in certain areas "and to acreage reductions in North America".

The F.A.O. states that stagnation in agricultural products has been caused by national self-sufficiency programmes and greater emphasis on the importing of capital goods in many countries. This could be partially relieved by relaxation of world tension and the easing of international payment difficulties.



IS there a human solution to these problems? We say without hesitation that under capitalism there cannot be. For Mr. Benson, representing American capital, the problem is as follows:

Unless nations learn to trade upon a mutually profitable basis the problem of agricultural surpluses in some countries and shortages in others can never be resolved."

For Dr. Dudley Stamp, professor of social geography at the London School of Economics and a man less concerned with "profitable trade" and more with the feeding of the hungry millions, the problem is that "resources, particularly of land, are very unequally distributed" in the world and that immediate increases in world food supplies could be obtained from the mid-latitude lands.

"One of the greatest of all the underdeveloped countries is the United States. The possibility of an increase in output per unit area is as great there as anywhere."

For Mr. Benson the solution is to get rid of present food surpluses (without upsetting world prices, of course), and avoid future gluts by drastically reducing acreage. For Professor Stamp the solution is to greatly increase food production in such countries as the United States* where conditions are so much more favourable than in the "still little understood lands in the tropics such as Africa".

That capitalism chooses "profitable trade" at the expense of more than a thousand million starving human beings is understandable. That the peoples of the Western world stand by silently as this crime against humanity is being perpetrated is beyond expression in words. This is the real crisis, a crisis in human values, a crisis in elementary solidarity and human decency.

*Professor Stamp includes England and Wales among the countries in which food production could be considerably increased. See the report of his lecture "The Underdeveloped Lands of Britain" (FREEDOM 6/3/1954).

SCIENCE AND THE CITIZEN

channels to acquaint the public with scientific discovery and its effects on their lives. Surely the B.B.C. could make better use of its time, than it does, with programmes of a scientific nature? And oh! Those awful films, at the local cinema, that fill in the time until the main feature begins. A film on medical research or plant nutrition would be received with less derision and fewer groans than these countless unimaginative travelogues.

To say that scientists are incapable of communicating their ideas to the public is utter nonsense. What about H. G. Wells, J. Huxley, B. Russell, F. Hoyle, L. Hogben, J. Z. Young, Haldane and Bernal to mention but a few, and the Pelican series, Science News and New Biology? Libraries and Bookshops are full of books on science written by knowledgeable and responsible people. It is not to be expected nor is it desired that every scientist should be as agile with his pen as his research tools, and as one scientist said in a letter to a daily newspaper, 'What am I supposed to do, write a popular book every time I publish a paper?'

The real cause of the gap between scientists and the public lies in the fact that the schools, press and radio fail to give scientific information in an interesting and comprehensible manner. The public have no say and no control in the application of science and for this reason fear it, often with good reason. Scientists seeing the misuse and misapplication of their work retreat into their ivory towers and care little whether the public understand their work or not.

With regard to the lack of communication between one scientist and another. It is to some extent inevitable particularly in the comparatively young sciences of genetics, sociology and psychology. The thousands of papers, on various scientific subjects, published each week make it impossible for any one scientist to be up-to-date in any but his own particular field. The answer to specialisation lies in co-operation between scientists in various fields. For instance, electronic engineers, psychologists and brain anatomists all work together to further our knowledge of brain functions. As these sciences develop, as their principles are formulated and errors eliminated it will become possible to see and appreciate a larger and more general pic-

ture of them. They may become more complex but they will be less complicated.

Freedom and Fluorine

THE medical profession is often accused of placing too much emphasis on treating the sick and not enough on keeping people healthy. They may be said to have a vested interest in disease equal to the policeman's vested interest in crime. But measures for prevention of disease often arouse intense opposition, not least from those who emphasise the freedom of the individual. The preventive measures are usually described as unnecessary, valueless or even dangerous in spite of evidence to the contrary.

Difficulties arise because preventive measures need the co-operation of most of the population. Improved standards of hygiene and sanitation reduce sickness, but if the man next door insists on retaining his open sewer one's own efforts may be in vain. Vaccination against smallpox and immunization against diphtheria may be effective measures but only if applied to a large proportion of the population.

The latest controversy in preventive medicine concerns the value of fluorine in drinking water in the reduction of the incidence of dental caries. Many surveys in America have shown that the higher the fluorine content of the water supply the lower the incidence of dental decay among the children. At the moment in this country fluorine is being added to the water supply in four areas for a six

year period as an experiment, to bring the fluorine concentration up to 1 part per million. Investigations in certain parts of Hungary and Kenya have shown that where the natural water supply contains 6 p.p.m. the whole population is affected by a mottling of the teeth. There are not other apparent effects, and at the suggested fluoride level of 1 p.p.m. this discoloration effect is negligible.

Is the deliberate addition of fluorine an infringement of individual freedom? In so far as we are dependent on a piped water supply we are dependent on the judgment of experts, we cannot after all dig our own wells. We must also remember that our water supply is already chemically treated in numerous ways and the latest proposal is only that the natural fluorine content should be raised to a level at which it is already present in many water supplies with no apparent ill effects. A similar deficiency, but of iodine, was found in the water supply in some parts of Switzerland and was related to the high incidence of goitre and cretinism in these areas. This has now been remedied by the addition of traces of iodide to the diet, usually in the cooking salt.

We feel that those who oppose such measures on the grounds that they infringe the liberty of the individual misunderstand the nature of freedom. Those who oppose, believing that good health is a natural prerequisite of man not needing any chemical juggling with the food supply misunderstand the relationship of the individual with his environment. While upholding the myth of the "healthy savage" (although dental caries have been detected in skeletons many thousands of years old), they fail to bring forward any convincing evidence to substantiate their theory which is held more as a faith than a rational point of view. The answer in both cases is more education and better knowledge to dispel the cloud of ignorance and muddled thinking.

Bios.

SEATTLE READERS PLEASE NOTE

The address given recently for Seattle readers to contact a comrade there for the purpose of forming a group, was wrongly printed.

It should have read:
Box 949,
920 Third Avenue (not 930),
Seattle, Wash.

REVIEW

THE C.P. AND FREEDOM

THE Communist Party have done a very useful piece of work by publishing the pamphlet "Freedom and the Communists", since on the one hand it contains valid criticism of what is generally regarded as freedom by the citizens of the "free world"; while on the other hand it attempts to show that the workers in the Soviet Union enjoy genuine freedom are so absurd that it is possible to hope that no-one outside the ranks of the faithful will believe them.

In support of the first part of the thesis the writer (Derek Kartun) discusses the capitalist press, and the way in which its millionaire proprietors are able to hamper the growth of newspapers which threaten their interests. In addition he points to the fact that even with universal suffrage, the people who vote do not get the government they vaguely wish for, as for example the betrayal by the first Labour government of the aspirations of its supporters.

A peculiar paragraph in this part asserts that during the war things were different, and democracy was more of a living force, and not just a word. In actual fact, the amount of freedom enjoyed by most people was far less than either now or before the war, but the fact that the Communists seem to prefer the wartime conditions is highly significant.

Examples quoted in defence of the second theme are that Russian workers have the power to give their manager the sack should they wish to, and that the police force and legal officials are largely recruited from among the best socialist workers. Objections are blandly disposed of, including the fact that Soviet trade unions never call strikes (since, after all, they own the factories), the lack of opposition in Parliament (everyone supports the government), and the stories of forced labour camps, which are apparently made up by men who have run away to escape from their wives.

While at the beginning of his essay the writer announces his intention of showing the difference between Communist and capitalist ideas of freedom, he merely succeeds in showing their fundamental similarity. (A similar criticism is applicable to Rothstein's book "Peaceful Co-existence"). In the first place it is assumed that the people as a whole have to be protected against tiny minorities, by the apparatus of police forces, legal hierarchies, and prisons. If the vast majority of any people were free, and organised their economy as they wished to have it, they would be able to

spontaneously protect themselves against attempts to re-establish oppressive régimes. The existence of an organised police force suggests that the workers either cannot or do not want to protect the existing system; for instance that they do not really care whether thieves steal Lady Docker's car or rob the Bank of England... or displace the highly-paid ruling classes of Eastern Europe.

To the Communists freedom is all very well, within the limits they decide on. There is the usual paradoxical nonsense about "Freedom involves not only rights but duties" which can be heard every day from the advocates of conscription, religion, colonialism, etc: A People's Democracy is obviously not a country where the majority of people are clamouring for Communist Party rule, since if they were they would simply not work for would-be restorers of capitalism, rather than hire a police force to suppress them. And now that there is such a stream of prisoners returning from the Soviet Union, and the government is openly boasting of these releases from previously non-existent prisons, it is a bit out of place to talk of "corrective labour camps" as being mild editions of Parkhurst and Wormwood Scrubs (although anarchists object also to these as being anti-social institutions).

Since the pamphlet claims to be dealing with real freedoms, and not just empty ideas, perhaps the C.P. will deal somewhere or other with the following concrete points.

- (a) The freedom of working-class anarchists to hold meetings and produce literature.
- (b) The freedom for women to obtain abortions.
- (c) The freedom of development of schoolchildren.
- (d) Freedom from compulsory military service.

There is a big difference between freedom from restrictions, and opportunity for realisation, which anarchists aim towards, and governmental ideas which really boil down to inhibiting peoples' desire for freedom, so that they don't notice the lack of it, as in the Christian hymn "Make me a captive Lord, that I may be free." The latter is the object of all governments. It is very fitting that the C.P. pamphlet should contain the words of Gerrard Winstanley: "Every-one talks of freedom, but there are few that act for freedom, and the actors of freedom are oppressed by the talkers and verbal professors of freedom."

P.H.

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.**

THE BIG BRIBE PATRIOTISM IS NOT ENOUGH

WHO are the most important teenagers in the country? To save you the trouble of trying to work it out by any standards of your own, we would point out that by the yardstick of pay, the young men of the Royal Air Force will shortly win the title hands down.

The *Sunday Express* has just told us (and we know it is never wrong, don't we?), that an approach is being made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to raise the pay of the 19-year-old young men who fly Britain's jet fighters and bombers. And not merely to raise it by the 3s. 6d. a week which is all we can afford for railwaymen and similar earth-bound types, but to give it a jet-propelled thrust of an extra £12 a week, which will cost the nation an extra £6,000,000 a year.

This increase—and they didn't have to strike for it, either—will bring the pay of these glamorous young men up to the £1,000 a year bracket which is actually pretty dashed good don't you think?

We are told that Mr. Butler is almost certain to say 'Yes' to the proposal, although we must admit to being a little puzzled at how the arguments for the extra pay for jet pilots fit in with the well-known formula upon which pay increases for lesser mortals are assessed. If you remember, the line is that in order to earn more we must produce more, and, presumably, our increased production should be in proportion to our increased pay.

So what are our jet-pilots going to produce more of? The more they fly the more fuel they will use up and the more they will crash, which seems to our pedestrian minds to be productive only of wreckage and corpses. Perhaps this in fact is what the Government really wants—for after all it's about all that governments provide for their people.

More jet-planes being flown will mean more sound-barrier bangs, more broken green-houses, more ruined lettuces and tomatoes, more bankrupt market-gardeners, more terrified children, more inmates of mental hospitals, more pre-

paredness for the next war and therefore more likelihood of the next war. More of a lot of things that we don't want.

Why is jet-pilots' pay to be boosted so generously? Because the number of volunteers for air-crew duties has fallen to an 'alarmingly' low figure.

The recruitment rate has been causing great anxiety to the air marshals. Research at public and grammar schools has revealed that the 'right type' of young man is being dissuaded from joining the R.A.F. because of:—

1. The high accident rate; and
2. The unrealistic scale of pay.

The new plan aims at backing the 'glamour' of a flying career with a 'business man's' pay. But what do these empty phrases mean?

They mean that, to their credit, young men are not so patriotic that they are prepared to risk their necks in a dead-end job. (For what does a jet-fighter pilot do in civvy street?) for no more pay than they can earn in many other occupations with far better prospects of survival.

And so they are to be bribed. By offering them very attractive rates of pay, young men of 19 are to be tempted into this mad, dangerous and useless occupation.

Of course, the RAF wants only the 'right type' and that means 'the officer class', which, lets face it, does not produce many useful members of society anyway. The useful work in society will go on being done by the 'wrong type' for the RAF, but it is interesting to note how society rewards those who do the essential work compared to those who serve the State as its high-speed killers.

At the age of 19 a farm worker producing society's food gets £5 2s. a week (i.e. one jet-pilot is worth four farm workers); a ship-building apprentice—£4 15s.; a coal-miner (underground, a dangerous job)—£6 13s. 6d.

It's a very interesting scale of values, isn't it?

MISSILES GALORE

THE Ministry of Defence has recently announced that it is to set up a permanent guided missile range on the Island of South Uist, in the Outer Hebrides. This announcement, like the one on the Fourteen-Day-Ban, was neatly slipped in immediately before Parliament's summer recess, but there has been little comment on it south of the Border. The national press has treated the item in the usual sober manner accorded to scientific-military projects, and the public have been led to treat it as a useful contribution to science and national defence in the remote and unproductive Highlands. With this view in mind it is expected that the scheme will go through.

The range, quite an ambitious one, is to be built at West Gerinish, on the Atlantic side of the island. South Uist is not insignificant by any means, having an area of 150 square miles and a population of 2,462 souls, the majority devoted to the Catholic cause. Apart from the tiny port of Lochboisdale in the south, the aspect gives the visitor an impression of barrenness and extreme poverty, more so even than Western Ireland. The island is divided lengthways into three distinct sections. On the east is a string of high mountains rising straight from the sea. These slope down to an expanse of moorland which

gradually becomes mingled with the sand blown in from the Atlantic to make a narrow but very fertile strip of arable land known as the "machair" where the population of the island is concentrated. As the Government intends to build its range right on this very strip, it is obvious that it is not merely a case of making use of unproductive land do "useful" work.

Although the crofters have been assured that they will have an opportunity of raising objections under the Services Land Requirements Procedure there is not much hope for them as the Ministries are quite fond of the compulsory purchase idea.

Even if there has been no comment in England on the proposal it has aroused a considerable controversy in the columns of the *Scotsman*. Most of the opponents see in the scheme the beginning of the destruction of the way of life of these crofting communities, in spite of the Secretary of State for Scotland's assurance that "the general life of the island need not be affected", and that "there will be considerable benefits from the new activity".

Those two romantically Highland characters Compton Mackenzie and James Robertson Justice in a joint letter to the *Scotsman* ask: "Is this not one more of many instances of a Department seizing on a site consecrated to beauty or antiquity only because of the absence of suitable first-class agricultural land?" There is cause for concern that the "success" of the project will be taken as an excuse for the wholesale invasion by the War Department of the Hebrides, in which case the traditional way of living will be destroyed. Not only is there on South Uist a strong living tradition of music and folk-lore, but also the inhabitants have a strong leaning towards independent co-operative enterprise, and their profit-sharing scheme for marketing produce has shown great success. But there is no cause for the romanticism of preserving a culture merely because it is old or different. The Hebrides have a long way to go before possessing the necessities of electricity and piped water that the mainlanders take for granted. It is the Islanders' chief attack on the rocket range scheme that Government interest in them will end there.

The Malatesta Club

OWING to Post Office re-building plans, the Malatesta Club has to vacate its present premises by Christmas. In order to discuss the future of the Club on the widest possible level all members are invited to a

MEETING OF ALL MEMBERS

to be held at the Club, on Saturday, October 8th at 4 p.m.

All members are asked to give consideration to the problem of moving, and of finding new premises. Suggestions, criticisms, and items for the Agenda should be sent to the Secretary, if possible by October 1st.

All members interested in the future of the Club are asked to attend. Admission by membership card.

Nehru the Politician Continued from p. 1

although he might have been guilty of not making his policy clear and of laxity in not enforcing it. He might indeed.

The fact is then that Nehru sat on the fence, waiting to see what transpired out of the demonstrations. And what in fact did happen? We can do no better than quote from *Time* magazine (19/9/55) to show the reasons for Nehru's sudden decision:—

The End of Soul Force

'Soul force, a made-in-India device for non-violent resistance to authority, is a dangerous weapon which, like poison gas, can blow back in the faces of those who use it. Last week India's Prime Minister Nehru decided that India had been soul-forced enough for the time being. Reliance on soul force, or *satyagraha*, had resulted in 22 deaths on the border of Goa, but it had neither led the Portuguese to give up their tiny 400-year-old colony, nor bestirred the Goans to do anything about their own liberation.

'Besides, soul force had become too catchy. Across the border in Pakistan, 15,000 Moslems were planning to march in *satyagraha* fashion against Kashmir this month, in protest against India's occupation. And every local disgruntled Indian seemed to be threatening to use *satyagraha* as a weapon against Nehru's government: Socialists protesting the Congress Party's corruption right-wingers protesting the Congress Party's socialism, Communists protesting against anybody and everything. On a flying tour of Assam, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh states, Nehru was shocked to discover "fissiparous tendencies" among India's students, Sikhs, Moslems and militant groups of all kinds. There were other "fissiparous tendencies" among Indian's millions who speak Telegu, Malayalam and Tamil, who are raising a Babel cry for linguistic states of their own, and threaten to use soul force.

'The old Gandhian ideal of *satyagraha* invoked the power of souls when souls were pure, but to-day's soul force rioting, often stirred up by Communist agitators, is really only mass hooliganism. Addressing a crowd of 200,000 in Bihar, amid unprecedented booing, Nehru told students, "In Russia, I saw tremendous progress through discipline and hard work. But you want only chaos and confusion. You cannot even dream of how you would be dealt with in Russia."

'Last week the time had come to assert the ascendancy of police force over soul force. First Nehru ordered that there be no more *satyagraha* against Goa. "As a government," he said, "we obviously cannot have *satyagraha* against another government. Governments do not do that sort of thing." Then, exerting all the strength of his prestige and popularity, Nehru compelled the Congress Party executive to reverse its Goa resolution of last July and vote, ruefully but unanimously, to renounce *satyagraha* as a method of political action, "whether undertaken individually or collectively." (Our italics).

Use—and Abuse—of the People

It seems to us to be rather unfortunate that the House of the People could not make up its mind before 22 of The People had been killed. But perhaps now the 'realists' who have hailed Nehru as a great man, because he stepped into a particularly significant position at a particularly important time; who have tried to pretend that the replacement of white bosses by brown bosses is a step towards a better world; perhaps these people will now give a little credit, however reluctantly, to the anarchist criticism of Nehru in particular and government in general.

Pandit Nehru is a politician. As such his concern is primarily with his position of power, and in defence of that position he will use the people under his domination as ruthlessly as the situation demands. When he was out of power, Nehru encouraged the Indian masses to develop means of struggle, so that he could use them. He used their strength and their sacrifice to lift himself to the top of the tree, but now he is there, he has no further use for their means of struggle against authority. For he is the authority.

Governments have more in common with each other than they have with their own subjects. Nehru would rather see the dictatorial Portuguese government of Goa continue to exploit Indian workers than that Indian workers should discover and develop their own strength against a government. He cannot stop them doing it if they are so determined, but he is a wily enough politician to know it is not in his interests as head of the government to do anything to help them—even against a temporary enemy. As he said: 'Governments do not do that sort of thing.' P.S.

What is significant for anarchists in these events is that they provide an excellent illustration of the ignorant high-handed way in which the Government deals with minorities. Because they are statistically insignificant the islanders are invisible through London-impaired vision, and therefore they can be made to put up with schemes regarded as unsuitable for the average Englishman—without even being asked. This is by far the most disturbing aspect of the whole problem. One has to be fairly subtle with the British people and talk about National Interests, but the Hebrideans matter less and one can be more blatant. In fact the whole business has the atmosphere of typical Colonial Office methods.

Firstly the Government has been very unwilling to give financial aid to these underdeveloped areas because returns would not be immediate.

Secondly, as in the present issue, decisions are made without the people involved being consulted. This is nothing new about democracies in which Parliamentary parties come before human communities. It is merely the way in which an area is to be evacuated to make room for a rocket range which the Government dare not put anywhere else. After all, even if they are only aborigines they might have been asked for their formal consent. Why not go one stage further and press for a Minister of Native Affairs?

P. J. HITCH.

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. 25—Schleim Fanaroff
THE THREE R's—REAPING,
RAPING AND REVOLUTION
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.

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OCT. 6—Bonar Thompson
"HAMLET"
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OCT. 13—S. Fanaroff
"MYSELF AND THE WORKING CLASS"
OCT. 20—Bonar Thompson on
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Workers of the World Wake Up!

ON the whole, it would be safe to say that the world's toilers approach their labours with as much social consciousness as a Pocket Battleship. To them work simply means getting up in the morning, fighting like mad for a seat on a tube train, and emerging from the hole in the ground like so many ants; dashing off to their respective slaving establishments, doing some boring toil

and then repeat the travelling performance a few hours later, just for the sake of receiving the means of survival.

Never a thought is spent in concerning themselves with the usefulness of their labours to society. But, after all, workers are forced to do as they are told and to mind their own business and are not encouraged to be responsible in their realms of management.

That is precisely why so many of the working class are unconcerned with the job they do. If on the other hand they were responsible members of society, they would take more interest in their labours, and, being responsible, would not need to be governed. So the existence of government simply means that its supporters are irresponsible; it is a vicious circle.

The anarchists appeal to the people firstly to understand their position, see how they are being exploited, and then attempt to rectify it. Some suggest by demanding more say in management for a start, and by beginning to make more people more responsible to make this the basis on which to build the free society of the future. By taking the control of industry out of the hands of the few who represent the owning classes, and diverting our industrial potential to a socially useful field for the benefit of society is after all true socialism in its simplest form. It is also syndicalism, for it is the basis upon which a free and equalitarian society can be founded.

There can be nothing more annoying to an anarchist to see a world in which vast numbers of people are still on the starvation level and at the same time have a society with the enormous scientific and industrial potential being wasted by its diversion to the wrong channels. With production to-day being greatly assisted by science, nothing should prevent the satisfaction of everybody's needs.

But unfortunately we have the encumbrance of an economic system not intent upon satisfying freely everybody's needs, but more concerned with selling commodities to people who can pay. That after all is the essence of capitalism. So let us resolve to render useless the monetary system and its appendages, and thereby bring into being the society where free access comes into its own. But this can only come about when the world's toilers awaken to their irresponsibility and are prepared to do something about it.

Commonweal (U.S.A.)

MONTY.