

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"All social agitation arises from the persistence of right against the obstinacy of Law."  
 —VICTOR HUGO  
 ("Deeds and Words").

## The Summit-Once-Removed Talks will not be on Peace But POWER POLITICS

IN discussing the "at the summit" talks in Geneva last July ("Second-Rate Comedy at Geneva", FREEDOM, July 30), we compared them with one of those bottles of make-believe champagne which in outward appearance look the real thing but only when one tastes the contents does one realise that it is simply "good old bubbly after all". In the months that have followed, even the "old bubbly" has gone flat, and the "champagne" turns out to be just coloured water! When next week the Big Four summit-once-removed meets at Geneva to discuss the details their task will be more in the nature of a post-mortem than an ironing out of differences. Yet the present pessimism of the politicians of the West is as suspect as the phoney optimism of July. What in the politico-military situation has in fact changed to justify the present gloom?

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AT a N.A.T.O. meeting in Paris earlier this month General Sir John Whiteley, head of N.A.T.O.'s permanent standing group declared that the Soviet military threat to the West has never been so great as it is to-day. This in spite of the fact that he declared the Soviet bloc's armed forces have been reduced by some eight hundred thousand men since July. But, the General hastens to point out, this means no significant reduction in the "M-day" (mobilisation day) capability of the Soviet bloc forces. "The number of Soviet divisions remains constant at 175 and have been greatly strengthened in the quantity of their equipment. They are in much better shape than hitherto". He added that Soviet naval strength had also greatly improved and atomic developments were proceeding apace.

The general was followed by the admirals who declared that Russia was building up her navy as fast as "her economy would allow" and that N.A.T.O. channel forces were not getting enough minesweepers. The French Defence Minister, General Billotte said that he had just returned from Morocco convinced of the "absolute necessity of our solidarity for preservation of our freedom" (was he thinking of the Rus-

sian threat or of the rebellious Moroccans?).

According to the military leaders the situation is worse than in July. The reduction in Britain's fighting service of 100,000 men over the next thirty months is viewed with concern by the administration in Washington (N.Y. Times, Oct. 10), but a reduction of eight times that number in the Russian forces is discounted because they can still be mobilised. As if the other countries would not do the same in the event of war! The implication of the general's survey is that since July Russia has intensified her preparations for war. Russia is probably doing no more than the West in developing her weapons of destruction. It is a curious fact that in spite of the aggressive intentions of Russia (compared with the pacific, laissez-faire, attitude of the West), the West still possesses the lead in the deadliness of its weapons!

Russia, according to the U.S. Admiral Wright was building a ring to "separate the United States from Europe". This "ring" was made up of submarines, cruisers, destroyers and other attack vessels in the second biggest navy in the world". The admiral did not mention which

was the biggest navy in the world. And on the subject of rings it seems that there is no doubt as to who possesses the biggest ring. General Twining, American Air Chief of Staff, addressing the Union League Club in New York (Oct. 11), declared:

"Our bases, though inadequate for the number of aeroplanes and men that must use them, have been strategically placed around the globe. Our combination of long-range bombers, aerial refuelling, and world-wide bases gives us the ability to retaliate against an aggressor from many directions. In contrast the Soviet base system, located in the Soviet Union and its satellites, would tend to limit the directions from which they could attack us. If I had to choose I would much rather have our defence problem than theirs. Adding up all these elements of air combat strength you can see that we are ahead in our means to retaliate."

This was only one of three "advantages" that the United States enjoyed over Russia from a military point of view. And it is interesting to note that what the United States lacks in quantity she never lacks in quality, that is to say that the development of her striking force and her weapons are, as it were, still more striking and more deadly than any-

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## ARGENTINE'S NEW DICTATOR TAKES OVER THE TRUNCHEON

THE unprincipled behaviour of those in Government office is part of the equipment for "good" government and is generally accepted as being necessary for the sake of political expediency. Thus, for example, the United States Government opposes China's entry into the "United Nations" Organisation on the grounds that Mao Tse-Tung assumed power by overthrowing the "legal" government by force. One might suppose then, that having established the principle of non co-operation with illegal governments, it would apply in all cases; but no, this is not the case. We find a very different attitude to the new dictator of Argentina, General Eduardo Lonardi who, with the assistance of the Army and the Catholic Church, ousted Peron from power by the usual methods of those seizing power. The United States (and Britain), far from denouncing the new régime for the unconstitutional methods used has hailed the General as Argentine's liberator. Bearing in mind that the United States Government also has friendly relations with Franco Spain) who seized power by force), and Armas, President of Guatemala (who also seized power by force and was aided by the United States), we feel that we

would not be wrong in supposing that political and economic factors dictate the "ideology" of the U.S. allegiance and not the principle of upholding constitutional democratic Government. The United States, politically and economically speaking, has little to gain from recognition of Communist China, she has however much to gain from collaboration with Spain and Latin America.

### "Benefits" Under Lonardi

Let us look however at the benefits instituted by the new liberators. It is firstly announced from Buenos Aires that:—

The provisional Argentine Government to-day (Oct. 14th), threatened death to any supporters of Peron who demonstrate next Monday, the anniversary of the 1945 general strike which began the ex-dictator's rise to power. As a precaution the armed forces were put on the alert with orders to suppress any uprising.

The Labour Minister, Señor Costa, in a speech to union secretaries, said that all the power of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and police would be used to keep order. Inciting workers to engage in street demonstrations, he said, would be the same as "sending the worker to death..."

Textile workers indicated their feelings to-day by striking in protest against the destruction of a plaster bust of Eva Peron.

In effect, the industrial workers, traditionally Peronist supporters, who presumably prefer Peron to the new General are being suppressed by the same methods Peron himself used for opponents. This is no surprise to us but it serves to illustrate our point that the Western democrats are not concerned with preventing repressive measures if the government using it happens to be on their side.

All is not well however with the new régime. The Observer (Oct. 16th) reports that:

The main fear is that a hard core of fanatical workers will either strike on Monday or occupy factories to prevent work. Leaflets saying "Peron will Return—General Strike," have been lavishly distributed. Chalked incitements to

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## A CONFUSED RESOLUTION AT MARGATE

### Syndicalism Is Not Their Policy

THE Labour Party conference is a fine place for letting off steam, and it is interesting to note that, although this organisation is supposed to be democratically controlled by the members, reporters in the daily Press talk about 'a victory' or 'a defeat' for the platform, as though a continual struggle was going on between the executive and the rank and file.

Which, broadly speaking, is true, but, democratically speaking, it shouldn't be. Any organisation which has a leadership with policy-forming powers and the power to take decisions, will find clashes with the membership if the pretence is carried on that the membership has an effective voice in deciding policy. Especially is this so in the Labour Party, dominated as it is by the block votes of the massive trade unions.

However, the annual conference is the time when an appearance of rank-and-file participation is created. It is the time to which all the constituency Labour Parties look forward as to their opportunity to put forward resolutions for the approval of their leaders. But since their leaders have already made up their minds on what Party policy is going to be, it is only those resolutions which agree with the Executive's own line that stand much chance of being carried.

It is a pity that this is not understood more by those mass-minded militants who, thinking that you can only influence workers through the organisations of 'the Labour Movement', insist that the thing to do is to 'get among the workers' in the trade unions and the Labour Party to influence them right inside 'working class organisations'.

#### They Are Crushed

When we have seen how even Bevan can be held in check, and indeed pushed to the very brink of expulsion, when he is a powerful and popular figure with a large following in the Party and is not putting forward anything like a revolutionary policy, it is a continual source of amazement to us that small and insignificant bodies with 'revolutionary' ideologies can delude themselves into thinking that they can influence either the Unions or the Labour Party in a revolutionary direction.

The Trotskyists have set out to do this—or at least that fragment of them which put forward its policy of 'entry-

ism'. And they have been crushed. The Socialist Outlook, the journal circulated by Trotskyists inside the Labour Party, has been proscribed and has gone out of existence and in some cases known Trotskyists (and it's not difficult to recognise them), have been expelled from the Party.

This matter of expulsion came up at Margate, when a delegate from Norwood complained that three members of his constituency party had been expelled without any witnesses being called—although he admitted that there was no doubt of their 'guilt'. And the conference supported the expulsions. Another constituency wherein the Trotskyists had also been dealt with was Islington (East), and this party's delegate, Mr. B. Bagnari, admitted that the actual expulsion of the Trotskyists had been an unpleasant business, but now, according to him, he was heartily glad they had gone. They had brought to the councils of Mr. Bagnari's party a spirit of intolerance, abuse, and vilification. The general management committee had become a bear garden, and at every meeting it would be expected to pass resolutions about Kenya, Malaya, China, Timbuctoo, and any other place of which they could think. They had claimed the right to continue to propagate within the East Islington party the policies of revolutionary communism.

So of course the Trotskyists were slung out—what could they expect? They would hardly find less sympathy for their views in the Conservative Party than in the Labour Party of 1955.

#### Marxist Confusion

Recognising this, it was a foregone conclusion that the resolution moved by

#### ACTORS BUILD THEIR OWN THEATRE

ST. ALBANS has no theatre or public hall, with a stage, and an amateur group, the Company of Ten, has built its own theatre, which will be opened to-morrow. The auditorium is small and seats in comfort only 63 people. Within ten days, however, the group has enrolled more than five hundred theatre club members and there is now a waiting list.

the delegate from Govan (Scotland) should have gone down. And yet it had only a hint of revolutionary thought behind it, being an extension of what had been Labour Party policy only a few years ago.

The Govan delegate wanted to commit the next Labour Government to nationalise without compensation the iron, steel, textile, engineering, shipbuilding, chemical, building and shipping industries, as well as all banks and finance companies. They were to be controlled by those who worked in them.

To a party uneasily backing away from nationalisation (even with compensation), this resolution must have been a source of embarrassment, and the Govan party had better look out for more expulsions. For the confusion of thought behind the resolution indicates to us that all the Trotskyists have not yet been condemned to outer darkness. Someone had better send a bell, book and candle to Govan.

The confusion lies in the demand for nationalisation and workers' control. A demand for either of these separately could have made a sensible resolution—but nationalisation implies State control, implies a national board and a bureaucracy for management. Workers' control can only be carried out through works councils, through the direct management of the affairs of the industry by the workers themselves. But socialist groupings like the Trotskyists have for a long time used the phrase 'workers' control' while at the same time linking it with their Marxist ideology of political, statist action.

#### It Must Be Libertarian

Such an ideology, whether it is reformist in its application, like the Labour Party and Fabians, or professedly revolutionary like the Stalinists and Trotskyists, is essentially authoritarian and must be opposed to workers' control, which is equally essentially libertarian.

The Govan resolution was opposed by W. L. Heywood, of the Dyers' Union, who is such a good socialist that he thinks it would be dangerous to 'tamper with' the textile industry. Mr. Heywood saw in the resolution 'confiscation and syndicalism'. Neither, said he, was the policy of the Labour Party.

It is an intimation of the lasting nature of syndicalist ideas that they have to be so often repudiated by trade union and

## PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 41

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Labour conferences. There has been no influential syndicalist movement in Britain since 1914—but the ideas and methods which differ syndicalism—and even anarcho-syndicalism—from Labour trade unionism, still keep on breaking through in spite of the attempts by reformist politicians and reactionary union bosses to smother them.

Mr. Heywood was right. Syndicalism and workers' control are not Labour Party policies. Even nationalisation is not Labour policy to-day.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST.

MATTERS OF CONSCIENCE

IF it can be argued that many of the C.O.s who appear before Tribunals are muddle-headed or utopian, the questions asked by the wise-gentlemen on the Tribunals can often be described as grotesque and irrelevant. Conscience is not a choice between evils, it is not even necessarily rational or logical; with difficulty can it be reconciled with patriotism and nationalism. Yet this is just what the Tribunals assume in seeking to assess an individual's conscience. The fact, furthermore, that those appearing before them are generally still only boys, their conscientious objections are not all-embracing and though they represent deep feelings, and sometimes are influenced by their family circle, they have not been worked out as a philosophy of life capable of verbal expression. And above all these young people are not yet equipped to stand up to the pressures that society tries to exert on them to make them conform, to accept the idea that all conscience is vested in the Church and the State and that all they have to do is to follow blindly or obediently.

In Swansea last week a nineteen-year-old boy appeared before the C.O. Tribunal applying for exemption on religious grounds. It does not appear from the Press report that the Tribunal questioned his objections on religious grounds. What they asked instead were such questions as what he would do if "an uncivilised coloured man" confronted him and was determined to kill him or, whether if he had been old enough, he would have assisted in preventing the Germans bombing Swansea in 1941. It is interesting to note the form in which the questions were put. Not an ordinary "man" but an "uncivilised coloured man" just in order to work up a little bit of resentment about the coloured population of Swansea. Not German bombing raids on Coventry or London but the specific one on Swansea!

To the first question the boy replied that he would "try to stop him

and reason with him. I would certainly not kill the man". Surely a most sensible reply to an irrelevant question. Or would the Tribunal have preferred him to reply that he would have taken a leaf out of the Jack Spot book where it will be recalled, two men nearly killed each other with one knife?

To the second question he replied: "I would have attended the people who were injured but I would not help the anti-aircraft men." To which a member of the Tribunal asked: "Would you rather sacrifice Swansea women and children and not try to kill the men who dropped the bombs?" Answer to this one was simply "Yes". "I don't understand your attitude", replied the examiner.

In his innocence the boy could hardly have said other than he did. It had not yet dawned on him that he was either responsible for the war or for the lives of "women and children" (and why not the men as well?) of Swansea. What a dilemma to be faced with at the age of nineteen: by refusal to kill someone else's son or husband you place yourself in the rôle of cold-bloodedly conniving at the death of your mother and little sisters and brothers! For the tribunal there is no such dilemma though one would have thought that after years of having to examine other people's consciences they might have developed consciences for themselves, and approached their task with more humility and understanding. Or, better still, have given up their jobs.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

IN New York last June a number of pacifists were arrested for refusing to take part in a Civil Defence exercise. Whilst everyone scurried to the hide-outs the pacifists used the occasion to stage an anti-militarist demonstration. Commenting on these exercises and the demonstration, an editor of *Harpers* pointed out that "one of the nicest things you can say about the American people is that they don't take Civil Defence seriously". And he continues: "as a sounding-board of the popular will, in this as in other things, Congress itself has persistently ignored the problem. It has never participated in a Civil Defence drill. It couldn't even if it wanted to, because it has nowhere to go." The philosophy in which the laws relating to these drills are based, continues the writer:

"will justify anything from the arrogance of the small-time tyrants in tin hats to that of the bureaucrat who decides to tell people only what is good for them to know."

And he concludes:

"The last time there was an air-raid drill in New York, twenty-nine people were arrested in City Hall Park for openly refusing to take part in it—for refusing to flee from phantoms. Some were members of the War Resisters League and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and one carried a sign reading, 'End War—the only defence against atomic weapons,' which is hardly a revolutionary sentiment."

"Two of the group—Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy, of the Catholic Worker movement—have a long and honourable history of getting arrested for doing what ought to be done but

no one else dares to do. In meekly running for cover, the rest of us have only compounded the dishonesty of a Civil Defence programme that is neither serious nor safe."

They get arrested for "doing what ought to be done but no one else dares to do". In this sentence is the answer to the young C.O.'s dilemma. The responsibility for the bombs on Swansea is not the C.O.'s but of all the millions of humanity who know that war is wrong and evil but who do nothing to resist when governments order them to go out and kill and be killed.

GLUTS AND FAMINES

THE press reported this week that this country may save millions of pounds as a result of this year's bumper crops of wheat in countries such as America and Canada. The latter country's 500 million bushels is approximately double last year's harvest. From the point of view of "markets" there is a glut of wheat, and Britain hopes therefore to buy at low prices. From the point of view of the consumer one can be sure that the price of the loaf will not reflect the saving.

In N. West India devastating floods have killed 1,200 people, have swept away 250,000 houses and ten thousand head of cattle have perished. About fifty per cent. of the cotton crop has been destroyed and loss to the standing paddy and maize crops is estimated at more than £15 millions. Agricultural land in many areas has been covered by three or four feet of sand and rendered unfit for cultivation. Mobile medical squads are doing what they can to

prevent outbreaks of cholera and other epidemics.

In Pakistan, the Sutlej river has devastated many thousands of acres, is threatening the town of Bahawalpur, and is still rising.

In one part of the world record harvests have been produced as a result of an "Indian Summer". In the other part of the world Nature has brought disaster to vast areas and to thousands of human beings. If the money system did not exist there would be no need for heart-searching. The surpluses from one part of the world would be rushed to those parts which had suffered disaster. But even within the money system there is room for conscience. If this country can buy its wheat more cheaply this year why not spend the saving on purchasing more wheat for free distribution in the devastated areas of India, Pakistan and Mexico?

ALL GOD'S CHILLUN?

A REUTER report from New Orleans states that:

Archbishop Rummell has suspended services at the St. Cecilia Roman Catholic Mission at Jesuit Bend because its congregation refused to allow a Negro priest to celebrate mass. The Archbishop also reduced services at Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church at Belle Chase and at the St. Joseph Mission at Myrtle Grove. All three churches are across the Mississippi from New Orleans.

In a letter to members of the church and missions, Archbishop Rummell described the congregation's decision as "clearly a violation of the obligation of reverence and devotion which Catholics owe to every priest of God regardless of race, colour, or nationality." The letter added:

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VIEWPOINT ON

"All, all of a piece throughout:  
The Chase brought a Beast in View,  
Thy Wars brought nothing about;  
Thy Loves were all untrue.  
'Tis time an Old Age is out,  
And time to begin a New."  
—DRYDEN.

YOUR English farmer has a long face to-day. The "Credit Squeeze" has certainly given life to the correspondence columns of farming papers lately, and from their feather beds the farmers are slowly rising, some even shaking a fist; but I am interested in those who arise with a puzzled air for they will be the most significant in a few years time. I smile when I read via "Blythe" of the *Farmer & Stock Breeder* of the pig mystery, and hear from other sources of the "wheat and barley mysteries", the "N.F.U. mystery", and the "Ministers and Ministry of Agriculture mysteries": but what nobody as yet seems sufficiently advanced in their thinking to point out is what one might call "the farming mystery." Perhaps there will never be a unity of thought on that issue because there will probably never be a national conception of what is meant by the word "Polity" and what it constitutes. Nobody worth their salt to-day believes in "Parliament", they have seen through that sham years ago, also its foster phantasmagoria the popular dream called "Democracy". The average worker-drone (with apologies to Dryden) knows in his negation what "Politics" are, what a "politician" is, and what a "Policy" is, but he has no conception as yet of what "Polity" is which is a centralised and main policy, counter-revolutionary in its first essential, which runs like a central thread through the hidden backcloth of our Constitution in all ages. It propagates by the cellular machinery, the jungle of committees and sub-committees, trade and other unions, known as our political system, in which respected but puppet Ministers, like their counterparts in the early Chinese civil service cellular system, have power but do not have power, and so uphold the "mystique". When this is understood it will be easily realised why it is not necessary for a Minister of Agriculture to be a farmer or to even have seen a farm, and also why a Minister or "politician" can go from the post of Minister of Agriculture to that of Minister of Railway Trucks and Canary Seed with equal compunction and good grace when the Prime Minister acts "with a firm hand" at the occasional clearance sales, when the public have to be appeased. Evidence of the hidden hand for those who doubt but have wit and energy enough to seek it, can be found throughout English literature, particularly in poetry which has its own language and

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lends itself to allegory. Social historians and writers of vision who have touched on this have always been with us and any exist in their neglect to-day.

NO farmer can succeed; that is totally, by his own efforts to-day, he is the victim of a Policy, or rather a long-standing policy concealed in a current policy, which is Polity. In his topical discussions, letters, etc., on the farming "problem" he treats on how things are not why they are. He deals only with the petty contemporary state of things. As far as farming is concerned the Central Policy was determined at the beginning of the Enclosure Acts in the middle of the eighteenth century and later reshaped and intensified or put "into force" during the frightened era of the French Revolution with the consequent ruthless measures exercised against the hungry proletariat in general. Our barns at that time were over-stocked with a wheat surplus and that state of things continued for the proletariat until about 1845 when work was "made", or released, for them. The Hungry Forties and the years preceding them were a "worked job"—but the farmers strangely enough did well out of it—they were "featherbedded" deliberately as they have been "featherbedded" on two occasions since. Cold potatoes and hard dumpling-balls made

Vocabulary for progressive politicians

The anarchist contention that politicians of the Right and the Left have much more in common than the politicians care to admit, is borne out by Chief Minister David Marshall of Singapore.

Mr. Marshall, a socialist, in introducing Bills to make the Government's emergency powers for "the protection of the public security" valid for three years referred to critics of these measures as "dishonest professional agitators" (he was one himself a few years ago). He also called them "these plague-carrying rats" who "do not mince their lies—it is part of their daily bread". He said that according to these people "Singapore was like a goal with no difference whether one was in or out. Some of these persons speak from experience, and I trust they will one day give me an opportunity to let them gain further experience". One of the bills gives the Government powers, if a person is considered to be endangering the security of Malaya or the public order of essential services, to detain him for a period of up to two years without trial.

from toppings were the farm labourer's lot for which the parson told him to be duly thankful. Well did that great Englishman Cobbett know the truth of things. National Emergency measures which often grossly overrode personal liberty, practically limiting a man to his own parish (forerunner of the later identity card), and the acquisition of land, etc. were effected at this period under the Napoleonic scare just as they were in the last war under the threat of financed Hitler; yet in the years that followed Waterloo people actually starved on the land during a run of record harvests and the national measures that would have been taken to prevent this would have been trifling when compared to those recently experienced as Cobbett pointed out. He saw through the counter-revolutionary activation as he did through the tricks played with the monetary system for the same end, bank credits, "national debts", etc. and his condemnation of "paper-money" and the part it was to play in the future war so strong that the words remained with us as a common term. To-day we know what "paper-money" is in contrast to real value—but what a long time it has taken for that to filter through the thick English skull. Cobbett was in advance of the average farming mind in his day as he is still in advance of most farmers to-day, more to their shame, 150 years afterwards, but they have been "softened-up"—although they would be the last to admit it. Curiously in our day, the one political party that deals especially in these matters of bank credits, etc., and which could put the thoughtful farmer out of his misery, the Social Credit Party, has not been overwhelmed with earthly inquiries from the shires.

WITH farming the plan is briefly this; it is to be the basic industry still, but not through its national importance, but rather as a basis by which all industry can be measured and assessed and prices for labour and commodities fixed. This is what the farmer and farm worker cannot understand when they try to assess their true value to the community. The value given to the public by the State is false because farming is deliberately undervalued. There has to be a yardstick or there would be no shape to industry at all. Agriculture is something yet nothing, all-important yet non-important, it is the "X" in the algebraic equation of politics. In peace our agriculture is to provide fresh milk and a few seasonable vegetables, the rest can be obtained abroad or from the colonies. France and the Low Countries are the chief market gardens

of Europe but their produce is not seen as imports in the eyes of the propagators of Polity as it is in the lay mind, for the mind of Centralised Power, in spite of the sham fights since, made the dream of a united Europe a reality when they put a ring around Napoleon at the beginning of the last century. In war, when the dance of Polity is speeding up and intensified, "plough-up" is the cry as shipping space is wanted both ways. Agricultural labourers who knew farming before the first World War, and have noted the Agricultural pattern since, have, not being "subsidised", talked and thought in terms of this when the farmers of the new school, the "paper farmers", have been innocent of it. The older labourers easily predicted things that have since materialised, but the "subsidised" farmer did not and many of these will go to their graves without realising that the "subsidy" was only a form of bribe to silence, although since the Credit Squeeze many have not been quite so silent. It is almost amusing; I am sure Featherbed Evans is smiling, as he is entitled to. In five years time, except for the pukka "gentleman farmer", most farmers will be back where they were in the similar post-war period after the first World War—back to grass and one car and an economy car at that.

If anyone doubts the above contentions of a concealed policy operating through a set pattern generation after generation in spite of the "conditions of the day", I give him this piece of writing which is unique at this particular phase in our farming history. It comes from "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" which were first translated from the Russian in the middle of the last century and later in 1922 by Victor E. Marsden, for many years Russian correspondent to the *Morning Post*, from whose translation this quotation is taken. Marsden was later special correspondent to the suite of the Prince of Wales on his English Tour. The Protocols purport to be the decisions taken by a selected minority of Jewish intellectuals in order to acquire world dominion over the Goyim or Gentiles. The copy has been roundly declared a forgery, but in spite of the publication of a pamphlet by *The Times* in 1922 the resultant controversy produced a fifty-fifty verdict. In support of my argument I am not concerned whether it is a forgery or not but offer it as an example of how Polity could be activated, as the Polity of one nation is similar in essentials to that of another, and after all Marsden, with a political insight sharpened by his close contact with the political scene, both before and behind, might have offered it as our Polity disguised under a Jewish mask.

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## POWER POLITICS AT GENEVA

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thing Russia can produce\*. And as was shown in the last conflagration, in spite of Hitler's blitzkrieg tactics, quality, used in the above sense, is more important than quantity, especially when industry is so geared that at a moment's notice it can be switched from consumer to war production, as is the case in the United States†, if not also in Britain.

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SO much for the military aspect of the past three months of *detente*. What changes have taken place in the political situation? Russia has clearly played her cards ably and cunningly. Krushov in person has held back the Iron Curtain to admit government delegations from the West and the Far East, scientists, agricultural experts, journalists and the *News Chronicle's* competition winners, as well as Harry Pollitt's blind pilgrims, into the bear's lair. Even the Russian and British Navies have exchanged courtesy visits. No sooner had Adenauer returned to Bonn from Moscow than the first war prisoners (and war criminals), were being returned to Germany. In three months the whole political picture of Russia as presented by the West was cracking beyond restoration . . . other than in the military camp, that is, of power politics. Ideologically Russian communism is as rotten as Western democracy—or we have misunderstood Mr. Crankshaw in his series in the *Observer* on "Russia from the Inside". What Mr. Krushov's régime has gained in respectability in the West has certainly been lost among those who looked to Russia as the spearhead of the workers' revolution.

Politically, the West, on the other hand, has been having a bad time during the post-Geneva period, and the least of its worries is President Eisenhower's heart attack, whatever the popular press journalists may say‡. Washington is much more concerned about other matters such as, to quote the *N.Y. Times* (Oct. 10, 1955):

The rise of opposition to the allied powers in North Africa and Cyprus and in other places in the Mediterranean basin coupled with the creation of an effective coalition of Asian and African powers in the United Nations.

The intervention of the Communists in the Middle East with offers of arms to the Arab countries.

The drift of Yugoslavia away from the West and her more friendly attitude toward the Soviet bloc.

The increase in reports that a serious effort is being made by the Chinese Communists to subvert President Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Army and Government on Formosa.

\*The Soviet light jet bombers—declared General Twining—were not as modern as the American model, which was superior in range, speed, and payload but again the Russians had great numerical superiority.

†See FREEDOM "Permanent War Economy & Conformity", 9/2/52 included in *Freedom Selections*, Vol. 2, pp. 16-19.

‡For readers who may honestly believe that the fate of the world hinges on President Eisenhower's heart-beats let them recall that Roosevelt's sudden death was, journalistically, reported as a world calamity, yet the world did not come to an end; that Churchill's retirement was, journalistically, viewed as a disaster so far as world peace was concerned, yet our Anthony stepped into the breach and but for the fact that the Press announces that Lady Churchill has just returned to London, the public would not know that Winston is still sunning himself on the Cote d'Azur. Eisenhower's heart-beats may have some bearing on the prospects of job-hunters in the American administration but that's about all. Not even that can be said for Churchill.

## EAST versus WEST

# The Middle East Cauldron

IN order to comment upon the Middle East situation competently, or even adequately, it is necessary to achieve the impossible. One must be in at least six places at once, Cairo, Tel Aviv, Moscow, Washington, London and Teheran—and being in all these places, have friendly relations with all those politicians concerned with foreign affairs. Even then it is unlikely that one could successfully tabulate one's information in such a way as to make a coherent report; for none of the countries involved in the 'situation' seem to know what they are going to do next—whose side they will be on to-morrow—or, most of all, who they can trust.

These developments, concludes the *N.Y. Times* have

resulted in a much more pessimistic evaluation of the Bandung, Geneva and Belgrade conferences than was made in Washington earlier in the year when these three important diplomatic meetings were held.

But this, to our minds, is just a lot of journalistic, and political bread and butter talk. In the middle East, Yugoslavia and Nationalist China (formerly known as Formosa), the Russians are simply following in the footsteps of the Americans, seeking to redress the balance of power. If this is proof of Russia's aggressive intentions why not equally condemn America's policies, in these areas?

★

WE are equally opposed to Big Three democracy as to Russian communism because we seek to view the political problem in terms of *humanity*, and not the narrow personal interests of the editors of this paper, Mr. Koestler, Bertrand Russell or any other possible victims of Russian world hegemony "high or low". For the majority of mankind "freedom of culture", "death rather than intellectual slavery" are meaningless slogans (put out by the intellectuals themselves or by the politicians in order to recruit the intellectuals in support of their "cause"), however much they may be bamboozled into fighting and dying for them. If governments went to war over these issues there would surely be more evidence of their concern for these spiritual values in time of peace.

War is a weapon in the armoury of power politics and the escape-valve for capitalism in crisis. Today, total (nuclear), war means total destruction, and governments cannot risk having recourse to it. We are not sure that this means the elimination of war as such. The arguments of the scientists (the Russell-Einstein statement) that the advent of the H-bomb eliminated wars even with conventional weapons, because the losing side would in the last resort use the H-weapons and thus destroy humanity, is not as convincing as appeared to us at the first reading. In the last war, (discounting the atom bombs dropped on Japan by the *winning* side), neither side, when the military situation was critical, used bacterial warfare which might have played a decisive rôle in the military sense without the total, cumulative destruction that, we are told, would result from the use of the H-bomb.

The only certainty that war has been abolished once for all is when enough men will refuse to be used as "cannon-fodder" or as the hands and brains which control the weapons of destruction. At Geneva, this month, the Foreign Ministers will not discuss peace. They will talk power politics, each side assuming that they dispose of acquiescing hands and brains if and when the machine of destruction is set in motion. When mankind will have the strength to say "NO!" Geneva will come to be known simply as a tourist centre!

A giant fence has been erected, from East to West via the Middle East, on which the 'contesting Powers' are uncomfortably seated waiting for something to happen. Poised like a dark cloud over the whole scene is the supposed problem of the world—the ideological difference between "Western democracy" and the current brand of communism. However, there has never been a better example of what the real difference is—world domination by economic pressure, or if necessary by force.

Both major factions are busily lining up their wares for consumption in the Middle East market; each one using its economic strength to entice, bully, threaten or otherwise persuade the minor powers to their side; and these tactics are greatly assisted by the economic and political differences between Israel and the Arab States.

### Pacts and Power

Having this in mind it is only possible to report a series of facts which would seem to be relevant to this giant game of 'catch-as-catch-can'.

One important factor is the existence of the new Iraq-Turkey mutual defence treaty signed in Baghdad last February, which Britain and Pakistan have joined, to be followed in all probability by Persia. As a counter-measure to this the Lebanese and Syrian Governments have produced a joint plan for a new all-Arab defence pact, which is to be

submitted to Egyptian Premier Nasser for discussion. There is every likelihood that some form of agreement will come from this, and that Russian arms will be used for its implementation.

All the powers concerned in these negotiations hotly deny the existence of any underlying motives in their actions, and maintain that any arms deal in which they take part has no political significance other than a wish to defend their country against any aggressor, or alternatively that their one desire is to promote peace, stability and well-being in the neighbourhood!

Israel and Egypt remain even more dubious quantities. As a result of the Egyptian arms deal with Czechoslovakia (FREEDOM 15.10.55) the whole Middle East cauldron is bubbling over with speculations. A rumour has recently been thrown in for good measure, to the effect that in order to counteract the Egyptian deal Israel is also intending to buy arms from the Soviet bloc. This is denied by the Israeli Foreign Ministry. Unlikely as it seems though, the fact remains that Israel's trade with the East has not been negligible, and she has at the moment, a trade mission in Moscow negotiating for Russian oil.

In 1953, trading with the Soviet countries, Israel exported just over \$2 million's worth of goods and imported \$2½ m. In 1954 she exported nearly \$4½ m. and imported almost \$7 m. Among the countries with whom she has dealt are included, Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria and Russia itself.

What seems eminently likely is that she will use the threat of an arms deal with Russia as the lever with which to extract more and better arms from the West—a lever which she will probably have no dif-

ficulty in operating with considerable success.

Meanwhile America (rather more worried than usual), is continuing its extension of power in the Middle East, both in the political and electrical senses. President Eisenhower's special representative, Mr. Eric Johnston, has just returned from an official visit to Arab countries and Israel in connection with the \$200 million irrigation and hydro-electric power project for Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Israel promoted by the U.S.A. Speaking in Rome he said that he believed the plan was "closer to fruition to-day than it has ever been before . . ."

If the plan should go through one can only hope that its fruits will be more evenly distributed than is usually the case, and that the countries concerned will not find themselves too compromised with the United States.

From Russia come protests against Persia's probable membership of the Iraq-Turkey pact, which Mr. Molotov has called an instrument of aggression. In the view of the U.S.S.R. "the accession of Persia to this military alignment is incompatible with the interests of consolidating peace and security in the region of the Middle and Near East." This protest comes at the same time as the sale by one of her satellites of arms to Egypt, and the probability of further deals with other nations in the near future.

Meanwhile, after a long lull on the Syrian-Israel border it is reported that Israelis fired twice across the frontier. Two farmers were wounded and Syria has demanded a meeting of the mixed armistice commission. Who will fire next and when—and across which border at whom? It is all very uncertain; but what is certain is that the struggle for power will continue, arms will flow across the frontiers and eventually many farmers will be wounded, and with them thousands more innocent, peace-loving people.

H.F.W.

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## Matters of Conscience

Continued from p. 2

"Under these circumstances, and because the shortage of priests is such that we cannot replace the reverend father in question at the present moment, we hereby declare religious services suspended in the mission chapel of St. Cecilia at Jesuit Bend, and likewise the services at Belle Chase and Myrtle Grove reduced to one mass until the members of these communities express their willingness to accept for service in these churches whatever priest or priests we find it possible to send them."

The Archbishop's moral case is weakened by his reference to the "shortage of priests" making it impossible to "replace the [Negro] reverend father". Obviously the archbishop's conscience is tempered by other, material, considerations. The flock might cease to be sheep if they stayed too long without a shepherd!

### GOVERNMENT'S DOUBLE-THINK

THE following interesting letter appeared in the *News Chronicle* last week:

At the trial of the three I.R.A. men for their raid on the Arborfield R.E.M.E. camp last August, these men claimed to be soldiers of the Irish Republican Army and the judge declared the raid to be an act of war. So, according to these facts, these men should be regarded as prisoners of war and should be dealt with as such.

When our men were in occupied countries during the war such deeds were applauded by us. To judge these men by a Civil Court appears inconsistent, and to sentence three young men to life imprisonment for such an offence seems a very severe punishment.

Herein speaks a man with a conscience. His arguments are unanswerable and expose the hypocrisy of the State just as the C.O. did when he told the tribunal that "the State gives men guns to kill, but when a civilian kills he is hanged as a murderer." One cannot have it both ways . . . or can one? Governments do and get away with it be-

cause, curiously enough they make their appeal to our *interests*. They send you out to kill in order to protect your home and family from the Hun; they hang the murderer to protect you and society; they train commandos to surprise the enemy and destroy his military installations; they give life imprisonment to members of the I.R.A. to protect our military installations and to discourage other terrorists who may use the weapons they seize against our women and children!

Our prisons are full of people who have been put there in 'our interest'. Only last week at Lancaster Assizes Mr. Justice Donovan sentencing a man to life imprisonment for setting fire to three farms (and two others which he asked to be considered), told him that

people who went about setting fire to barns did untold damage, not only to farmers but to the general public. Holden "appeared to have an inclination to this conduct," and had previous prison sentences for arson including three years' penal servitude in 1937 and eighteen months' imprisonment in 1934. It was necessary to see that this did not occur again. The sentence was not necessarily for life, as the Home Secretary would decide when it was safe to let him out.

Viewed from the narrow standpoint of public—or self—interest the hangman's rope and the prison cell are the easiest way out. But in the process there is a blunting of human conscience and love. And can it be that the general unhappiness of mankind stems from the ruthless pursuit of self-interest? The mass entertainment of our time is surely a reflection of man's feeling of loneliness and isolation. In those underdeveloped societies of the world where mutual aid is the basis of life the sense of community is strong. We whose horizons are the whole world behave as if we lived in burrows.

NEMO.

# Problems of Catering Workers

CATERING workers in this country are 'organised' into two main unions—the Transport & General Workers and the Municipal and General Workers—although those working in railway hotels, buffets and on restaurant cars are members of the National Union of Railwaymen.

Few workers have any illusions to-day about the two huge general unions. Whatever effectiveness they have can only be felt where large numbers of workers are concentrated in a small area—as in the docks, for example, but even there it is only by unremitting pressure from the rank and file that the officials can be made to move.

In an industry like catering, however, the decentralised nature of all the working establishment calls out for a very different type of organisation—one with a decentralised nature itself, but at the same time providing the means for co-ordinated action over a wide area.

An attempt to form such an organisation is now on the move, and we print below a letter from George Hilbinger, who is one of the group of catering workers who are now coming together for this purpose.



One of the main obstacles to organisation in catering is the large proportion of casual labour which it employs—at least in the large 'popular' establishments. The big firms with chains of tea-shops are always open for the casual employment of Kitchen staff, cleaners, clearers-up, etc.—which is at once a cause and an effect of poor workers' organisation and the bad conditions that stem from it. Unfortunately, in such places the only permanent staff are the supervisors, who ally themselves with management and are unlikely to be good candidates for a militant organisation.

However, such problems should not be

## Argentina Continued from p. 1

strike or riot appear on factory walls. Women employees have been anonymously warned that their hair will be cut off if they work.

Troops have been employed in removing busts and portraits of Eva Peron from the factories, as employers did not dare to do this. Conversation in trains and streets suggests that Peronism is not dead and will die hard.

There is little doubt that the General Confederation of Labour presents a problem to the Government. It has been suggested by one political commentator that Lonardi had hopes that the rank and file would kick out the Peronista leaders. "Action Squads" were reported to have seized the headquarters of the engineers, printers, actors, sailors, oil workers and others. These squads were "discovered" to have consisted of pre-Peron union leaders who were after their old jobs. It is feared that the rank and file will resist their leadership, a view which has been confirmed with the lightning sit-down strike staged by 8,500 packing-house workers as a protest against the forced replacement of their present union officials.

Allegiances however, are fickle. And although the organised Unions in Argentina have no reason to support the present régime if, the present unrest can successfully be got over, and Peron's policy of improvements for the workers is carried on the old leaders will soon be forgotten. Already fantastic stories (some false and some true no doubt), are being officially circulated to the Argentine people about the wealth Peron managed to accumulate, in the hope that he will be further discredited.

Judging from reports it will be some time however before organised labour will settle happily under the new régime. This is reinforced by the fact that the present government was backed and assisted to power by the landowning class and the Church (often one and the same), a combined force which will inevitably be antagonistic to the demands of the workers if they cut across their interests. It would seem then that the workers do not stand a chance, particularly since the army represents the third force backing Lonardi, for only a revolutionary working class would be able to stand up to this. M.

insuperable. And that there is a crying need to improve conditions in catering establishment cannot be denied. We print below a short article from a comrade who, needing to supplement his income, took a Sunday job with a well-

known firm. In view of the fact that the finished product—the food—at such places is well-nigh uneatable anyway, there hardly seems any sound arguments in their favour from a social point of view. But, of course, they make a profit.

## A Day in the Lyons Den

FINDING myself extremely hard up I answered an ad. for part-time staff with a well-known Catering firm. I was interviewed in the West End, but arranged to do my stint as kitchen porter in the East End.

I was told to start on Sunday at 12 noon. I arrived a bit early on the first day and like a fool took only 15 mins. over my dinner (provided by the firm). At the end of the day, when my feet felt like lead, I bitterly regretted starting half an hour early. My duties consisted of working on the stripper, i.e. cleaning the dirty plates into the pig-and-dustbins and placing the dishes in trays and pushing them through the dish-washing machine.

My partner was a work-happy student who was working full time during the vacs. He kept shoving the dirty crocks through at an amazing rate, and in between answered the blower from the lower floor. There seemed to be very little organisation. Some of the K.P.'s who were old hands found themselves cushier jobs. The two worst jobs were on the washing machine, either feeding it with dishes or taking out the clean at the other end. I discovered that as far as pay went a K.P. was quite the best paid in the kitchen although my rate for Sunday only worked out at about three shillings per hour plus 25% for Sundays.

There were not many regulars, nearly all were part-timers, and there were many students. Two of my fellow K.P.'s were manual workers who were working fantastic overtime in their ordinary jobs. There were a great number of supervisors and manageresses and assistant manageresses. Very occasionally one of them would actually help for five minutes or so. Some were quite decent—others had airs and graces.

The infernal machine which I was chained to, periodically ran berserk or got jammed. Sometimes a tray fell out in the middle of the tunnel. As there was an unrelenting pressure of dirties piling up, one didn't have time to clean the plates properly. As a consequence the machine got choked up, and not infrequently overflowed. Then the thing had to be stopped and cleaned out. Precious minutes were lost, and sometimes the trays of dirty crocks had to be put on the floor. If the man on the clean end did not feed the monster with soap powder regularly the crocks would come out dirty, and had to be put through the machine again.

There were drinks on the house fairly often, but we couldn't have what we wanted. Coffee was forbidden. About 3 p.m. the main rush was over and we had our first half hour break. Then on

again to 6 p.m. when we had supper—normally the best free meal of the day. The last break was 15 mins. at about 8 p.m. Towards 9.30 we got ready to close down. We had to work like mad then to get all the work through the machine, and have it cleaned and stripped for the next day. About 10 we started eating the left-overs and had a free cup of coffee. By 10.15 it was nearly over. I staggered out into the street, with the knowledge that I would have to wait a fortnight for my first pittance. R.C.

## An Organisation for Catering Workers

A FEW catering workers are shortly to meet in London to discuss the possibility of forming a catering workers' organisation to secure better rates of pay and better conditions in the catering industry.

The few who are at present in bodies affiliated to orthodox trade unions are useless for the purpose of bringing beneficial results to the trade as a whole. We think therefore that an organisation belonging solely to catering workers themselves, with elected members for organisational duties answerable to the membership as a whole, is the only solution for the future of catering workers, who are now in the only industry without proper representation.

The Catering Wage Act of 1943, or rather what is left of it after having been whittled down to beyond recognition of its former aims, does not help—in fact its rates of pay are based on a pre-war cost of living.

We can only argue from strength and unity and it is about time that catering workers who comprise one of the largest industries really got down to organising themselves for protection.

Funds will be needed and those who are interested must be prepared to sacrifice a little of their time to distribute leaflets and other work which the beginnings of such organisation is bound to entail.

Those of us in London who are preparing the way intend to print leaflets, and hold a meeting.

Therefore if any reader of FREEDOM in any part of Great Britain is prepared to assist will they please contact me at the address below:

GEORGE HILBINGER,  
134 Palace Gardens Terrace,  
London, W.8.

## English Farming 1955 Continued from p. 2

I wonder the Jews did not take this line on its publication as then our system (or sins) might have been thrown back on ourselves! But whatever a man's political colour, and whether he be a thinker or not, whether he be positive or negative, I say there is not a man-jack of the soil who cannot feel a stir of memory from the changing days of the first World War or see the shadow of our time extending slowly into the future in this unique piece of writing.



### PROTOCOL VI

(1) 'We shall soon begin to establish huge monopolies, reservoirs of colossal riches, upon which even large fortunes of the Goyim will depend to such an extent that they will go to the bottom together with the credit of the States on the day after the political smash . . . .

(2) 'You gentlemen here present who are economists, first strike an estimate of the significance of this combination! . . .

(3) 'In every possible way we must develop the significance of our Super-Government by representing it as the Protector and Benefactor of those who voluntarily submit to us.

(4) 'The aristocracy of the Goyim as a political force, is dead—we need not take it into account; but as landed proprietors they can still be harmful to us from the fact that they are self-sufficing in the resources upon which they live. It is essential therefore for us at whatever cost to deprive them of their land.

This object will be best attained by increasing the binders upon landed property—in loading lands with debts. These measures will check land-holding and keep it in a state of humble and unconditional submission.

(5) 'The aristocrats of the Goyim, being hereditarily incapable of contenting themselves with little, will rapidly burn up and fizzle out.

(6) 'At the same time we must intensively patronise trade and industry, but, first and foremost, speculation, the part played by which is to provide a counterpoise to industry: the absence of speculative industry will multiply capital in private hands and will serve to restore agriculture by freeing the land from indebtedness to the land banks. What we want in that industry should drain off from the land both labour and capital and by means of speculation transfer into our hands all the money of the world, and thereby throw all the Goyim into the ranks of the proletariat. Then the Goyim will bow down before us, if for no other reason but to get the right to exist.

(7) 'To complete the ruin of the industry of the Goyim we shall bring to the assistance of speculation the luxury which we have developed among the Goyim, that greedy demand for luxury which is swallowing up everything. We shall raise the rate of wages which, however, will not bring any advantage to the workers, for, at the same time, we shall produce a rise in prices of the first necessities of life, alleging that it arises from

# Identical Twins

FROM the pub bar parlour to the B.B.C. Third Programme the influence of environment and heredity on character and personality is a subject for controversy. Anarchists and socialists have in general, emphasised the significance of environment for their case depends on it. "Right-wing movements, the wealthy and the 'ever privileged'" emphasize heredity seeing in it a justification for their privileges and a satisfactory explanation to them of the existence of poverty and human misery generally.

We have previously pointed out how most of the evidence quoted in such discussions is valueless for it can be interpreted as favourable to either environment or heredity. But identical twins who have been separated from birth are of exceptional interest. As they have identical heredities any differences between them must be due to environment. Fraternal twins brought up together form a contrasting group with different heredities but as nearly as is possible the same environment.

At first the interest was in the study of the so-called 'criminal tendencies' and Lange when he found a twin in prison sought out the second twin. Of 13 pairs of identical twins the co-twin had also been convicted of crimes while of the 17 fraternal twins only 2 of the co-twins had been convicted. There was also a similarity of crimes committed, among the identical twins.

Since then 222 cases have been studied, from among the general population con-

sisting of about half of each type, in Germany, Holland and America, and their general characteristics studied. A concordance of 72% was found among identical twins but only 34% among fraternal twins. Some characteristics such as fingerprints and blood groups, are not changed at all by environment. Others such as hair colour, susceptibility to infectious diseases, skin colour and body weight are affected from a slight to a moderate degree. Most change is seen in the intellect and personality, but even these have a considerable hereditary basis.

We are most concerned with personality and intellect and while in these fields the influence of heredity is least it still imposes limitations on sociologists, social reformers, Freudians, anarchists and all others who are concerned with changing the social environment or of correcting in individuals the bad effects of unsatisfactory environments. Heredity factors must be considered as contributing to the failures of the above-mentioned groups.

It is true that in practise we can only hope to effect changes in environment on any considerable scale and there might appear to be no point in emphasizing the importance of heredity except to give scientific backing to reactionary policies. But on the other hand the accuracy of our theory is important both for the ultimate success of our plans and for gaining the co-operation of many intelligent people particularly among those with scientific training.

So let us always remember that heredity factors set the limits within which environmental factors operate. In some cases these limits are very narrow but they are widest in the characteristics most important to the problems of social organisation.

Bios.

## Briefly

### Wall Street's temperature not normal yet

Stock market values are still falling when there is an adverse bulletin on Eisenhower's health. On the 10th, prices suffered a "severe tumble" when Dr. Paul White said the President's condition was not 100 per cent., although there was a slight rally after it was learned that the President had been wheeled out of his room for the first time. The total loss in share values due to the President's illness has now reached the fantastic total of \$16,000 million.

### This week's pious hope

"The Princess Margaret has asked the Press Secretary to express the hope that the Press and public will extend to her Royal Highness their customary courtesy and co-operation in respecting her privacy". Official statement from Clarence House.

### "The Times"—by a Russian

A Russian in Leningrad told a Times correspondent, after looking at a copy of that paper, that he thought the Times was a most frivolous newspaper because of its pictures, advertisements, and women's page.

## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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Every Sunday at 7.30 at  
THE MALATESTA CLUB  
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OCT. 23—Tony Gibson on  
THE RELEVANCE OF STIRNER  
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

INDOOR MEETINGS  
Friday evenings at 7 p.m. commencing  
Friday, October 14th at 200 Buchanan  
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OCT. 21—Mark William Kramrisch  
ITALY, CIVILISATION AND  
ANARCHISM

### The Malatesta Club

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"6 YEARS IN A QUANDARY"

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