

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"All social agitation arises from the persistence of right against the obstinacy of Law."

—VICTOR HUGO  
("Deeds and Words")

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Threepence

## TRADE UNIONS AND THE LAW

THE legislation of trades unions did not end with their simple recognition in law. The legal implications of their existence and activities will continue to develop as the 'necessity' to cover everything by statutory boundary and safeguard develops.

Two recent events show this. The unions are not so old but that test cases are not still cropping up, in which new rulings are laid down by judges affecting not only the standing of the trades unions with respect to the outside world, but the relationships within the organisations themselves.

The recent ruling in the case of *Bonsor vs. the Musicians' Union*, which went as far as the House of Lords, renders trades unions liable for damages to their members for any (wrongful) exercise of their disciplinary powers—in this particular case for wrongful expulsion. Mr. Bonsor had been wrongfully expelled from his union, as a result of which he was unable to follow his profession of musician, for the M.U. is very strong and without a union card it is almost impossible to get work.

He suffered considerable loss of earnings and had to resort to poorly paid casual labour, but at the same time he carried on a struggle against the union for reinstatement or compensation. As we have said, this struggle went as far as the House of Lords, but before he could taste the fruits of victory, Mr. Bonsor died. But his widow carried on and can now sue the Musicians' Union for damages for the years of hardship and loss of earnings she and her husband suffered.

The right to claim damages of 'wrongful' action by a union has now therefore been established in law—but still the 'wrongful' nature of any disciplinary action taken by a union against a member has to be proved. And clearly the unions will now have to take some prompt action to cover themselves on that point.

### Change the Rules!

Membership of a trade union implies acceptance of its rules. The union can discipline a member if he breaks any of those rules, and that is proper discipline. But if a union disciplines a member who has not rendered himself liable for that discipline according to the rules, that is improper, and if a union acts against a member in any way contrary to its own rules that is also improper, and in both cases the union, now, becomes liable to be sued for damages for any loss that may ensue.

Therefore the next step for the unions to take, to protect themselves against their own members, is to alter their rules! Nobody can sue the Crown—and we may be sure that the unions will do their best to put themselves in the same unassailable position. And it shouldn't be difficult. A rule to the effect that the union shall accept no responsibility for damages arising out of wrongful expulsion or any other improper misinterpretation of its own rules can be inserted and accepted by a member alongside all the other rules, and the rank and file will be tied up just that much more.

Unfortunately for the unions, such amendments to the constitution are somewhat complicated and costly to achieve. Most unions cannot alter their rules within a certain, fairly long, period—perhaps from three to seven years. Some can only amend their constitutions at a specially convened conference—which may cost as much as £10,000—and in any case the amendments have to be

agreed to by certain fixed majorities of the memberships.

### It Can Be Arranged

It would be thought to be very difficult to get the membership of a union to agree to an amendment which took away from them a constitutional right and protection against arbitrary action from above. But knowing how things can get wangled in a modern union, we would most certainly not put it beyond the ingenuity of any executive with a well-trained hierarchy to fix it properly.

We have not left ourselves any

space to deal with the other topical legality with regard to the trade unions, but in any case this is no more than a suggestion as yet. This is the recommendation by the Association of British Chambers of Commerce that the Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Act, 1948, should be amended to make it applicable to all engaged in trade and industry, both owners and labour.

In other words, that the 'restrictive practices' by which workers defend their standards of living should be as subject to penalty by law as price-fixing and other tricks of the

trade associations.

There is a certain rough logic in this argument, but it leaves the consideration that in the case of the collective bargaining by the workers (who are the majority), it is their direct and basic living which is being fixed—it is human beings that are being priced. The monopolists on the other hand are fixing the prices of goods, in the interests of the profits enjoyed by a minority.

But all this business is but the legalistic trappings of organisations caught up in constitutional superficialities. The realities: man and work, the relations between men, the purpose of collective production and the needs of the community, these do not demand laws—they demand freedom.

## Our Police are Wonderful . . .

WHEN the Metropolitan Police Commissioner feels called upon to gather together 200 police men and women at Savile Row police station (which covers Soho) and make a speech telling them (in a voice loud enough to reach the Press) that, in spite of the nasty smell of corruption that is rising from that quarter, they are really a fine, upstanding, honest and reliable body of public servants, we can be fairly sure that there is a great deal of uneasiness in official quarters about our wonderful police.

There are two trials pending at the moment in which policemen do not seem to have been quite as upstanding and honest as Sir John Nott-Bower would have us believe. One involves a solicitor and a policeman who are alleged to have conspired to interfere with the course of 'justice' and the other is a sequel to the notorious Jack Spot stabbing case, arising out of which Mrs. Comer (or Spot) is being charged with two of the gang on a similar charge. These two cases are of course *sub judice*. So we had better say no more about them at present.

One of the questions that are on many good citizens' lips, however, asks how it is that people like Jack Spot and his adversary in the knife affray, Albert Dimes, can so openly go about their nefarious activities. The Jack Spot case lifted the lid a little on Soho's shady

underworld—which most people know about, but what has disturbed the bourgeoisie is that it is clear that the police also know most of what was going on, but chose to remain silent and inactive.

Imputations of bribery and corruption against our wonderful police, would of course be in very bad taste, and nobody would like to say openly that London policemen are paid by the mobsters to keep out of their way. But suspicions have been aroused in certain quarters sufficiently strong for Sir John Nott-Bower to institute an internal inquiry into corruption in the Force.

### Yard Files Missing

How far-reaching this inquiry will be remains to be seen, but another recent disclosure shows that it is not merely in local police stations that fiddle-me-ree goes on, but right in the heart of Scotland Yard itself. This is the case—and no charges have been brought as yet on this—in which a number of police records, secret files from the depths of the Yard's collection, were found in a woman's flat after information had been laid by another woman.

Now it is probably exaggerating to say that the British police force is riddled with corruption. Our American readers are probably reading this piece and asking themselves what all the fuss is about, since we understand that police corruption in the States is really something (although we are open to correction on this by any transatlantic reader). The point is, however, that the British police have a very high reputation for rectitude and honesty and it is very seldom indeed that there are any official admissions of anything else.

The fact that this reputation does not entirely conform to the facts is a tribute to the ability of the police to cover up their own tracks. Although hardly a month passes without some case being reported of policemen being charged (and usually convicted) on counts of larceny or shop-breaking or receiving, still the general opinion in the country is that they are incorruptible. It is only if one mixes with the so-called 'criminal' classes (as the majority of solid citizens most certainly do not), that one begins to hear of the charges that are not pressed, the evidence that is withheld, as a

result of dropping a suitably-sized hint in the right direction.

The massive buying-off of almost entire city forces which is alleged to go on in America certainly does not happen here, but on a smaller, quieter, *British* scale the corruption is definitely not absent.

### The British Are More Subtle

This is no doubt why Sir John Nott-Bower attempted to make his point before the enquiry got going, but the fact that he said nothing was not lost on anybody. What Sir John said was that the fact that an enquiry had been set in motion was a guarantee to the public that the police authorities were determined to stamp out what corruption there was. But that on the whole the police force was a body of fine and honest men and women.

If the enquiry really digs, however, we feel sure that the eminent people who will do the enquiring will get a severe shock. Their report, on the other hand, will echo Sir John's unctuous words, for the last thing that can be allowed in this law-abiding country is for the public to lose confidence in our wonderful police.

## . . . Send them to Cyprus

IN view of the impending enquiry, we shouldn't be surprised if quite a few policemen decide that a sojourn abroad for a couple of years might be a good idea.

Their opportunity lies most conveniently to hand in that British policemen are being asked to volunteer for duty in Cyprus. Between 150 and 200 men are wanted as a first step to bolster the colony's force of 2,000 men under 70 British officers.

The request for these reinforcements was made by the Governor of Cyprus, Field-Marshal Sir John Harding, who is understood to have decided that a strong police force could be more useful to him than many more armed troops.

His request has been given top priority in England and to speed enlistment Police Commissioner G. N. Robbins has been sent from Cyprus for talks with police authorities in London.

Higher rates of pay will be offered and the term of service will be for two years initially.

British volunteers will be stationed in key spots where a stiffening of discipline is considered necessary.

In this way, they may be able to expiate their sins in a baptism of fire, for the Cypriots have no illusions about the nature of the British police or their function, and are inclined to reward them for their services with a different kind of back-hander.

## BILL TO ABOLISH CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN TASMANIA

HOBART, NOVEMBER 16.

The Tasmanian Assembly to-day passed a bill abolishing capital punishment for murder, but retaining it for treason. The bill, which has yet to be passed by the Legislative Council, removes attempted suicide as a crime from the state's criminal code.—*Reuter*.

## The Pope Ahead of his Time

IT has now been confirmed by the Vatican Press Office that the Pope saw a vision of Christ during his illness last December.

It appears however, that the visit of Jesus was premature, because although the Pope recited 'In the hour of my death call me' Jesus had not really come to "take him away, but rather to comfort him, and, we think, to give him the certainty that his hour had not come". For those who might think that His Holiness was delirious in the crisis of his illness, the Vatican press statement says that "The Holy Father is absolutely positive he saw Jesus. It was not a dream; he was fully awake and lucid in that moment".

## Billy the Prophet

THE credulity of the Pope is matched by the 400 Cambridge students who "Made Decisions for Christ" when Billy Graham visited Cambridge at the invitation of the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union which happens to have 400 members. A warning in the University newspaper that "the senior proctor has warned undergraduates that Billy Graham must not be kidnapped when he arrives in Cambridge" was thought necessary because of the traditional Poppy Day activities to collect money, and the rumour that five separate groups of undergraduates planned to kidnap and hold him to ransom.

Protected however, by Jesus and plain-clothes men Billy went unmolested. Without the usual trappings which accompanied his arena performances Billy disclaimed any pretensions to "learning or theological subtleties", a statement that was more easily verified than his claims about Christ.

His judgment after his visit to Oxford may be open to doubt however: "Oxford is on the verge of a religious awakening that may be the greatest in its history".

## Argentina: Exit Lonardi

THE thieves have fallen out again in Argentina and, true to type, are squabbling over the spoils. General Eduardo Lonardi, who took over the truncheon from Peron has been replaced by General Aramburu who immediately came to terms with the trade union leaders thus averting a threatened general strike. Three hundred shop stewards were released from prison, but immediately after the union leaders had unconditionally surrendered, the Government sent troops to occupy the C.G.T. headquarters, arrested shop stewards and pickets, and appointed a Government official to administer the federation's assets.

It is difficult to place the various factions for and against the new dictator, as the only common factor seems to be their opposition to any remaining Peronists. *The New Statesman* describes General Aramburu as a weak figure, while *Time* labels him a tougher revolutionary than the deposed Lonardi. Tough or weak, his strength will be decided by the amount of support he is able to muster and this will call for the impossible task of satisfying the many interested parties.

The decisive split which led to Lonardi's removal is reputed to be over the methods of dealing with ex-Peronists. Some were in favour of treating them as criminals and others with leniency in the hope of winning support from a leaderless organisation. Those in favour of a "crackdown" included military officers, the Radical Party and other minority groups who between them hold eighteen seats on the Consultative Council set up by Lonardi. Those in opposition to

obvious repressive measures consist of "rightists and neo-Nazis; a group of un-reconstructed Peronists; and new right wing parties some under Roman Catholic auspices". Lonardi tried to appease all elements and ended by satisfying none, and there is little evidence that the present dictator will be any more successful since he has not the full support of any of the parties mentioned.

In addition to this motley collection there is the new Christian Labour Party which, it is claimed, is both Christian and Socialist. It has already been condemned by the Church in a pastoral letter for its "Christian-Socialism". This party however, is reported to favour a concordat with the Vatican but it realises that the "Peronist legislation on divorce and legitimacy cannot be revoked without rousing opinion against it".

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## HOMOSEXUALITY AND THE WESTERN CHRISTIAN TRADITION, by Derrick Sherwin Bailey. Longmans, 15s.

HOMOSEXUALITY is rapidly attaining the same status of a "problem" in this country as have delinquency and irreligion. The steady flow of literature from the apologists of homosexual practices, from the seekers after a "cure", from the law-reformers, and from religious organisations, has been, so to speak, quite sufficient to keep the trouble brewing nicely. Unfortunately, so much that is written and talked about the subject fails to get beneath the surface: bias, passion, and prejudice are too often allowed to subvert an argument. If some of those who air their views would examine the bases of their assumptions and realise how small is the scientific knowledge on the question—so few statistics are available, so little is really known about homosexuals—then a great quantity of irrational vapouring would have been spared us.

No one, for example, can hope to arrive at an accurate appraisal of the extent of homosexuality in this country on the evidence now available: police arrests are far too haphazard to be of any value (and only apply, of course, to males) and no survey even on the scale of Hirschfeld's (carried out in Germany, 1903-4) or Kinsey's in the U.S.A., has been made. Until more reliable figures are available those people who are so ready to provide remedies for their "problem" are only making it more difficult for a rational approach to be attempted.

Most of the responsibility for the existence of a problem can be laid at the door of our present-day society. The State's responsibility can be shown broadly under three heads:

Firstly, the Law. It is an anarchist's truism that laws create more problems

than they solve and it has seldom been better demonstrated than in the last major piece of legislation against homosexual offences. The relevant clause in the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 was inserted almost casually: the government had not intended that the Bill should deal with homosexual practices but at the committee stage one member moved the insertion of a clause which would make it an offence for any male person to indulge in "any act of gross indecency with another male person" in public or private. The maximum penalty was also increased from one year to two. The clause was adopted without discussion; this law has been a boon to blackmailers, sent Oscar Wilde to prison for two years, and has given the police intolerable powers for the invasion of privacy.

Repressive laws have been as unsuccessful here as they have in other fields though their effects have been serious. In fact if it were not for their effect laws against homosexual acts would be merely comic—one might as well legislate against copulation. Secondly, Religion. Christian teaching has long condemned homosexual practices as being unnatural and against the will of God (these doctrines are discussed below) and, until modern times, nearly all legislation in the Western world was justified by reference to such teaching.

Thirdly, institutions. The armed forces, prisons, and any other institution where segregation by sex is enforced encourage indulgence in sexual perversion. The State, in its typically blundering way, creates conditions where almost the only form of sexual satisfaction can be in homosexual relationships and then proceeds to punish

## BOOK REVIEW

# Christianity, Prejudice and Sex

those who do so indulge! It is little wonder that homosexuality has become a problem.

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In any discussion it is as well to be clear what one is talking about. Homosexuality, as the word is now understood, is a conception of recent origin. In earlier times it was not realised that there was a condition of homosexuality: knowledge was confined to homosexual acts. It is important to realise this when considering for instance, Biblical references or the legislation of the Christian Roman Emperors. Present-day law-makers have the advantage of greater knowledge which induces them to act more humanely than their predecessors could, since according to Christian teaching, which governed early legislation on sexual matters, those who indulged in homosexual practices did so with deliberate perversity in order to enjoy the lusts of the flesh, which was against the declared will of God.

Definition is also needed when the word "homosexual" is used. A person who participates in homosexual acts is not necessarily a homosexual: he (or she) may be a normal heterosexual seeking different pleasures. Conversely a person who does not participate is not necessarily a heterosexual. Alternative term used to describe the conditions are invert (the true homosexual) and pervert (the heterosexual who indulges in homosexual practices). Clarity on these distinctions is essential if one is to avoid the sort of wholesale moral condemnation that Christians are inclined to.

The main sanction for Christian censure of homosexual practices for centuries past has been the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, the cities of the Plain destroyed by God because of their inhabitants' alleged "unnatural vices". This dramatic demonstration of the will of God, through the legislation and teaching it has inspired, has had far-reaching effects. But has the story been correctly understood? The Rev. Dr. Bailey, in his scholarly book, maintains that it has not. He examines the original sources of the story and shows that there is no evidence that the Sodomites were destroyed because of homosexual practices but only for inhospitality and "wickedness". How then did the false story arise? Dr. Bailey traces it back to the historians Philo and Josephus in the second century B.C. when homosexual practices were common in Greece. To the Jews the Hellenistic society was alien and hostile and their sexual code was anathema; "what was more natural than that the concep-

tion of Sodom should change with the times—that it should become the symbol of the peculiar vices of Hellenism?" Of the conclusiveness of Dr. Bailey's interpretation the present reviewer is not qualified to judge but there is no doubt of his thorough and careful approach.

If he is right, historically it is a most important discovery: it knocks the bottom out of an argument used in innumerable cases to persecute homosexuals, through centuries of repressive legislation.

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However, not all theologians relied on the story of Sodom and Gomorrah for condemning homosexual acts. Thomas Aquinas was one of the first who did not: he maintained the doctrine of *peccatum contra naturam*—a sin against nature. His argument runs thus: "Discordance with right reason is evident whenever something is done which is inconsistent with the proper end of such acts" and the proper end of coitus is procreation. Therefore sodomy is a "discordance with right reason" and consequently against nature. It is noteworthy that there has been little advance in Christian thought on the subject since Aquinas wrote in the thirteenth century; his argument is still used to-day. The weakness of Aquinas' reasoning lies in the fact that he failed to condemn heterosexual acts which are not deliberately undertaken for the purpose of procreation—surely just as much "against nature" as homosexual ones. What Aquinas could not admit was that sexual pleasure was natural: if he had admitted it, he would have had difficulty in maintaining that any sexual act was "against nature". By this denial it was easier for him to rationalise about the morality of particular acts.

To cling to this antiquated reasoning, as many clerics (and others) still do is to deny two facts which are now well-established—(1) that homosexuality is a condition, often formed in early childhood, and is possibly hereditary, (2) that certain animals indulge in homosexual practices. One cannot accept these facts and still maintain that a homosexual act is a deliberate sin. It is much to Dr. Bailey's credit that he is fully aware of this and he accepts besides many advances of science which conflict with traditional Christian thought, but unfortunately he still sees homosexuality as a problem to be solved within the framework of Christian theology.

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In the tradition of Western Christian thought and practice on homosexuality, which Dr. Bailey traces with such care,

## ART

### Stanley Spencer at the Tate

STANLEY SPENCER'S art baffles me. In spite of my dislike of his obsessive subject matter and of his distortions which so frequently seem really hideous, yet there is no doubt, in my mind, that while I was at the Tate Gallery I was

nevertheless looking at the works of a great painter. Nearly all his paintings possess an astonishing richness of colour and design, and these on an imaginative level of great originality and intensity.

His concern with religious subjects—and most of these works are of that kind—is so obviously sincere. There is a passionate intensity about all these paintings which indicates, with complete certainty, that Spencer never doubts the genuine nature of his experience. Nor need we. There is a sense of conviction about his work, similar to that which we experience when we look at a religious composition by an old master. It is unthinkable that we should doubt the genuineness of feeling of say, Bosch or Breughel—and so it is here. Spencer's gifts are many, and almost the most obvious are his clever incisive drawing and his highly personal colour, ranging from the warm rich honey-coloured harmonies of many of the interiors to the bright joyous colour of the outdoor pictures. Spencer's private world is very real, even to me, even though I do not find it much to my liking—yet I know it exists for Spencer with tremendous authority. It is his unwavering belief in the authenticity of his vision that has always made his work so certain and assured; look, for example, at the early paintings done when he was still at the Slade, and at the more recent ones executed forty years later. There is the same assurance, the same positive belief in the validity of the things painted. Quarrel as we might with Spencer's particular peculiarities—his curious treatment of the human body, distorting it at times into a repellent misshapeness—quite unlike the distortions of Picasso which never make one feel uneasy in the medically diagnostic sense—his obsessive interest in the most prosaic of marks with which he patterns large areas of his pictures—and therewith achieves the strange wonderful richness of texture which is so characteristic of his art!—and the often tired whimsicality of some of the compositions which can become very irritating. But there is so much which is on a higher level of thought and feeling that we pass on to more exciting things. The landscapes are of an Englishness which is utterly devastating, they are so sober, so correct and so respectable that at first we are very nearly put off, but they all have that fascination which accurate description always possesses, especially when it is done with passion. And it is Stanley Spencer's passionate love of his home, of the village of Cookham and of its life which is so powerfully evident here. Together with this retrospective exhibition at the Tate which continues until 18th December—and which is free—there is at the Arts Council Gallery in St. James Square an exhibition of Spencer's drawings which closes on 3rd December. R.S.

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## THEATRE

### A POET'S PLAY

"KOMUSO" at the Arts Theatre Club is a play written by the late Robert Nichols the poet. It was found among his papers in his room at Cambridge, after his death in 1944. It is hard to understand why it has taken all these years for it to be produced in the theatre especially in these days of scenic austerity, for the play has only one set and twelve characters. Possibly its delicate texture and unhappy ending have stood in the way of a commercial production. It has the genuine poet's touch and is psychologically in advance of its time. The last act is the strongest and by far the most interesting (a rare thing in a first play), and the sensitive handling of its principal theme leads me to believe that we have lost in Robert Nichols a playwright of importance.

The play is set in a treaty port in Southern Japan, a place with which Robert Nichols was familiar having spent some time at the Imperial University of Tokyo where he held the chair in English. The whole of the action takes place in the living-room of the house of Doctor Ballentine. The house was formerly a Buddhist temple and is haunted by the ghosts of its previous inhabitants, their tragedy being familiar in the neighbourhood but unknown to its present tenants.

Doctor Ballentine is a dedicated man entirely absorbed in his combat against disease, he is cold and austere and looks upon sex as something to be suffered along with other inconveniences of marriage. He is in fact a victim of his mother's domination unable to release himself from her memory even after her death. His wife, a woman of good but impoverished family who met him after taking up a post of governess abroad was entirely wished on to him by his mother who knew full well that she was triumphantly his sole possessor. Naturally the wife is frustrated and unfulfilled though she tries to give him both love and loyalty.

There is the usual entourage of drink-sodden colonials with time and the oppressive heat both heavily upon them. There is the spinster lady missionary keeping up a bright bantering kindly façade, the artist manqué, whose future as a great painter is ruined by a scoundrel back home, who now ekes out a miserable exile managing a warehouse and drinking himself to death. He has the soul of a poet and the wit of a philosopher. Mrs. Ballentine to him is the feminine ideal, the concept of beauty, the unattainable. Though he is jealous and possessive about her he has sunk too low in degradation to even think of real intimacy between them. It is a spiritual possession and worship from afar, and not, alas, what she so agonizingly needs! There is also a woman called Celestine Albaret, frowned upon among her English neighbours because she dabbles in the occult. She is also entirely frustrated, an erstwhile actress whose life and art were ruined by her first lover's refusal to let her bear his child even though he married her.

This theme, of sexual love, as something apart, opposed almost to its natural fulfilment of motherhood is the thread on which the entire play balances delicately. It even finds its echo in the story of the two lovers who formerly inhabited the house, their union ending with the woman's suicide.

It is inevitable that when the opportunity arises Mrs. Ballentine gives herself completely to the first man who really wants her, finding ecstasy in her complete surrender and cherishing the idea of a child from the union. But, the husband, though coldly forgiving her, will not entertain the idea of this child or any other, and there is a very moving scene between them in which she charges him with the one really unforgivable crime, namely to enter knowingly into a marriage without love. The lover, though he is painted as a slick facile seducer of women, comes back and is

the anomalous positions of lesbianism is most apparent. The British law, which penalises male homosexual practice but not female, is only a reflection of what has gone before. The Jewish law prescribed death by stoning as the punishment for sodomy but regarded lesbianism as a "mere obscenity", disqualifying a woman from marrying a priest. The same is true of the penalties given in the medieval "Penitentials": one such prescribes a "discipline" of from seven to fifteen years for sodomy but only three years for lesbianism. And a similar pattern is discernable throughout legislation down to our own day. What is the explanation for this peculiar and unjust state of affairs? Dr. Bailey has some ingenious suggestions to make: sodomy has been widely regarded as "using a man like a woman", a "perversion" intolerable in its implications to any society organised in accordance with the theory that woman is essentially subordinate to man", consequently male homosexual practices are regarded with much greater repugnance than female; he also suggests that the superstitious reverence accorded to semen, the so-called seed of life, has been a prime cause for the persecution of the homosexual practices of males "while more or less ignoring those of females, since the latter, involving no 'waste' of the precious fluid, could be dismissed as mere feminine lewdness."

Dr. Bailey's aim, through his historical analysis of the factors which have gone to make up the opinions of our society's "responsible" leaders, is to persuade such people to reconsider their attitude to the whole question of homosexuality. Within the limiting framework of the Christian ethic he shows up, by implication, the inadequacy and irrationality of many strongly-held opinions on the subject: and his own position as a priest impels him to indulge in some discreet white-washing of the medieval Church (so frequently condemned for intolerance in sexual matters)—he points out that there is little evidence that the terrible penalties for homosexual offences (burial alive was one) were often carried out—but the existence of such laws and penalties is sufficient evidence to most people that their intentions were put into effect. He also makes rather heavy weather of some historical errors committed by Havelock-Ellis in *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* and by Rattray Taylor in his *Sex in History*. But these criticisms are of minor importance in the light of Dr. Bailey's excellent work in clearing the thickets of prejudice and fallacy to a clearer view of the issues involved in the question of homosexuality. For the history of the growth of prejudice alone, the book is of value and Dr. Bailey's informed and tolerant approach increases it. M.G.W.

even prepared to take her away with him, but not prepared to have the child. Neither man has understood her need, and neither will face their responsibility to her. Thus she is driven to take her own life, the same fate that befell her predecessor in the same place some years before.

Though the theme may be commonplace the story is most delicately poised. It is full of truth, compassion and understanding of human needs. It is never ordinary or banal.

Unfortunately the treatment it has been subjected to by acting and production has almost bludgeoned the truth out of existence. Mr. Guy Verney, who is alleged to have preserved the play and guarded it for posterity, has presented it in a way which can only be described as third-rate weekly repertory at its most strident. Even the set by Paul Mayo, who is generally sensitive, has suffered from this banal influence. It is fussy and vulgar without a hint of mysticism.

The note is set wrongly from the start by Miss Marie Burke as Celestine the erstwhile actress. She plays it as a musical-comedy gypsy with jerkiness, a phoney foreign accent and no hint of dignity or underlying tragedy. Michael Warre as the drunken artist has laid on theatricality as thickly as his make-up. He gallumphs about the stage looking like a cross between a John Barrymore and Herbert Lomas! Miss Blackman as the wife is inoffensive but negligible. She fails to delve beneath the surface of the character by as much as an inch though the cleavage in her dress is of such depth that it rivets our attention to the exclusion of anything else. Only Peter Copley, as the husband, alone, among the principals, has found the inner truth of his part. He plays it most movingly and with great dignity. His performance, a real jewel among paste is one for which I shall always be grateful. D.



## IN SEARCH OF FREEDOM

ELSEWHERE in this issue we publish an article from an American correspondent ("A Living Anarchy") in which he colourfully describes our work as the usual "endless outpourings of intellectual verbiage", and classifies us as the "thinkers" as distinct from the "doers" in which latter category he of course places himself. We feel some readers may share a smile with us at this classification, seeing that our correspondent, on his own admission, seems to have spent an awful lot of time thinking out the problem of living, besides "travelling the globe considering the best locations". But these are minor points (insofar as they are a criticism of the editors personally, though they do touch on the much more important question that *worthwhile* action must be preceded by thought, a view we very strongly hold, and on which we believe the success or failure of any social revolution hinges).

The main question posed by our correspondent however is whether the anarchist (or the revolutionary socialist for that matter), will be more effective in influencing his fellows by a practical demonstration of "the art of living" than if he advocates the free society from within, perhaps "working at some tread-mill occupation each day to support inflated gadgetry like everyone else". That one should even consider this a question worthy of discussion may appear "intellectual" to our American correspondent, or to "G", if we have understood the specialised language of his quotations from Stirner (in his series on *The Relevance of Stirner*).

★

THE very acceptance of a philosophy of freedom makes the anarchist both more free and less free than his fellow beings, because at the same time he is aware of his own strength (and is therefore able to resist the pressures of society to conform, to think and to live like the Joneses), and also deeply conscious of the injustice, the misery and unhappiness that surround him. The advocates of anarchist communities, consciously or unconsciously, seek to resolve this dilemma by shutting themselves off as far as possible from the miseries of society as it is, in creating islands of economic and emotional self-sufficiency. (Note the locations chosen by our correspondent: the Pyrenees, "sections of Norway, Sweden and Switzerland"—presumably the mountainous parts!—the Scottish Highlands... the Sierra Nevada foothills).

We all tend to rationalise our pipe dreams (and the writer of this column is no exception). But our correspondent tells us that these "communes", lost in enchanting beauty spots, and in which the physical task of survival will undoubtedly occupy a large part of the day, will have "a most significant" influence on "the neighbouring populace... A living demonstration of anarchy would be worth tons of propaganda literature". This we cannot accept. One cannot physically withdraw from society and at the same time influence it any more than one can make the self the centre of all thought and activity and hope to understand, and help solve, the problems of others.

★

OUR revolutionary Robinson Crusoes want to have their cake and eat it. The "significance" of their experience can only be transmitted (incidentally, by typewriter!) to the outside world through such channels as FREEDOM, which man-

THE Congress for Cultural Freedom held its fifth international conference in September in Milan with the title "The Future of Freedom". Prof. Michael Polyani, one of the conveners of the conference said in his closing speech:

"The project of this conference was first mooted about two years ago and I can still clearly remember what we then hoped it would achieve... I confess that after this meeting I can hardly recognise myself as the person who entertained these prospects. For I took it for granted at the time that the decisive problems of our age were those raised in Europe by Europeans. That we had only to resist victoriously and finally to overcome the explosive forces of Moscow's Leninism, to regain the peaceful leadership of the world which had temporarily slipped from our hands. But the interventions made at this meeting by Asiatic, African, and South American delegates have made me realise that this perspective was altogether distorted. The proud people of the ancient lands who are now coming into their own in Asia and Africa, are not awaiting the decision of our European conflicts... I confess it was the first time that the exhilarating perspective was opened up to me of this immense area of new companionship. Yet for all that, this encounter has brought us new cares. We were brought up against the poverty of the areas held by the new Asiatic and African nations, and the instability of their public life. And having pondered these immense problems, the conference could do little more than pass on in silence. The only result was to give us a new sense of proportion, in which our European conflicts could be seen as a fragment, rather than the whole of the European scene."

Perhaps Professor Polyani was being excessively deprecative about his outlook a couple of years ago, but the naïve attitude that he declared had been his was certainly one of the defects of the Congress for Cultural Freedom at its inception—in its earliest discussions at its Berlin conference it was being pushed by Arthur Koestler and James Burnham into the rôle of a cold war weapon fighting for the fickle souls of the European professional intelligentsia. If its vision has been enlarged by the Milan Conference, so much the better, even if in a crowded week with over fifty papers before them this distinguished collection of writers, economists, university lecturers and politicians left with their heads too buzzing with ideas to come to any conclusions.

So many topics were discussed in the conference's eleven sessions that it would be best here to mention only the two groups of papers which must have contributed most to Professor Polyani's enlightenment, the session on "Economic Progress in the Under-developed Countries and the Rivalry of Communist and Democratic Methods", and that on "The Role of Nationalism in Fostering and Imperilling Free Societies".

★

THE conference had been given earlier two papers on the same subject presenting absolutely opposite views, both coming from economists from Oxford. They were "The Soviet crisis: Myths and Realities of the Soviet production increase" by Mr. Colin Clark, and "What is to be done about the success of Soviet industry?" by Mr. Peter Wiles. Mr. Clark (who was not present at the conference), had already published his views in *Encounter* (August 1955); he estimates that the over-all rate of growth of the Soviet economy at 4½ per cent. per year, and thinks that this figure cannot be kept up long because there would not be enough people left in agriculture to produce food—already there were signs that Russian agriculture was short of manpower at the busy season. Mr. Wiles argued that the rate of growth of Soviet industry was now higher "than any free country at the period of its maximum development". In industrial production it was, he estimated, 12 per cent. between 1949 and 1954, compared with 5 per cent.

ages to exist because some readers support it financially and its editors and contributors earn their livings as best they can in "tread-mill occupations".

Either one reduces the social problem to individual terms, in which case we suggest that one must either seek to make a fortune or choose one of our correspondent's mountain sites. (In either case, curiously enough, the prospect is the life of a hermit, with the difference that in the former case one can live in the lap of luxury). Or one sees it as stemming from the individual, yes, but larger, and more significant than one's Self. It is a question of achieving a proper sense of proportion; the awareness that the individual is everything and nothing!

## THE CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM DISCUSSES

### Economic Development

in the United States in its best years. His figure for the overall rate of growth for industry and agriculture was 6 per cent. annually. Mr. Wiles is still carrying on his argument—in a radio talk, "The Economic Race With Communism" (*The Listener* 20/10/55), and in a polemic "La Trahison du Clark" (*Encounter*, Nov. 55).

But what is the purpose of this fierce argument? Is it personal (brilliant young statistician—who can read Russian—outstrips pioneer student of economic growth and national income)? Does Mr. Wiles mean, as he seemed to imply, that the West should emulate some aspects of Soviet industrial policy? What is the "race" for, for world economic supremacy, for strategic dominance in heavy industry, to "prove" to the peoples the superiority of the capitalist or communist systems? It seems as though the statistical evidence of American and Soviet economic growth is being used to persuade the political leaders of the under-developed countries, that they should adopt one or the other systems in order to hasten their achievement of economic independence and prosperity, and that it is thought that they are drawn towards the Soviet system because it "got things done", despite the appalling human cost, "famines, enforced migration, low wages for ordinary workers, strict suppression of bargaining on behalf of the workers by trade unions, and the ultimate sanction of concentration camps." One of Mr. Wiles' critics in the subsequent controversy, Mr. Frank Jackson, a trade unionist, describes the social implication of his thesis as "Never mind about how the cake is divided; just make us a bigger

one out of the kindness of our hearts we might give you a few more crumbs". This, Mr. Jackson declares

"is the age-old cry of the defenders of privilege, whether they be the old-fashioned capitalist class of the west or the new ruling bureaucracy of the Soviet Union, and it is to this argument that he is giving his blessing. Fortunately our trade unions, despite all their faults, are capable of seeing the danger and recognising where the interests of their members lie. This new version of the Bolshevik bogey will not divert them from the struggle to create a sane and just society, in which the criterion of progress will not be mere economic growth, but the satisfaction of human needs".

★

THE session of the conference which followed heard a cleverly argued paper by M. Bertrand de Jouvenal, approaching the same theme from a different and more useful angle, under the title, "Some Fundamental Similarities Between the Soviet and Capitalist Economic Systems". He described a number of striking parallels in the social and economic effects of industrialisation in America in the period of its greatest economic expansion and in Russia in the thirty-eight years since the revolution. There is at least one feature he said, "which one can recognise as common both to the Soviet system and to the capitalist system in the years before 1914, namely the absolute priority accorded to the increase of production, as against the demands of human relationships". He produced a wealth of statistical comparison and declared that the facts he presented,

"must lead any independent observer to the conclusion that the so-called 'Communist' system in Soviet Russia is to a far lesser extent a welfare economy than is the Western economic system, which is called 'Capitalist'. This fact in itself does not demonstrate any corresponding difference in intention among those who dominate the two systems. One may say that the Soviet leaders are not concerned with building up their economy into a weapon of power politics and that their policy is solely inspired by the desire to establish an economic structure which will in future years provide a major increase in the supply of goods for their citizens. One may also claim that the capitalists in authority in the American system have no regard whatever for the conditions of the workers, and that the persistent rise in the latter's living standards has been due simply to extraneous circumstances and to the pressure exerted by the trade unions. One may impute whatever motives one chooses; the most noble to the Soviet leaders and the most evil to the capitalist managers, but it will still remain true that objectively the American economy is a welfare system and the Russian economy is a system primarily for the development of capital assets.

"Marx regarded economic history in the industrial countries as divided into two clearly distinguishable phases. The first phase was that of *capital accumulation* which implies the 'exploitation of the worker'. The moving spirit of this phase is that of capitalism. Once the structure of capital equipment has been set up, the moment has come to distribute to the workers the full fruits of their labours, and this change cannot be carried out without a change in the régime: it requires the introduction of communism. This conception embodies the idea that capital development is at some time 'completed' which seems strange and somehow opposed to the idea of perpetual progress. But without going into the question as to how far these distinc-

Continued on p. 4

## COMMENT

### The Price of Nationalism

THE tragedy of nationalism is that while it would appear to provide at least one effective method of uniting a people in its struggle to be free from foreign domination, it is at the same time responsible for sowing the seeds of a new discord and future struggles no less bitter and socially exhausting. That this is so is probably due to the fact that these movements are organised from above, by the elite that aspires to take power once the "invaders" have been driven out, and are therefore movements with little or no deep social and revolutionary content. For the mass of the people the change when it comes is a change of masters, rarely a change of status. From an economic point of view it might result in a more rapid improvement in conditions. (It would seem for instance that in India in spite of a continuation of the former economic and political structure, the development of the country's resources is proceeding at a faster rate than during British occupation).

But the train of bitterness, of reprisals and misery that follow in the wake of these nationalist movements should be the subject of second thoughts for their ardent supporters among progressively-minded people.

#### 76 Sudanese to be Executed

A B.U.P. report from Khartoum (14/11/55) states that:

"Sir Knox Helm, the Governor-General of the Sudan, has confirmed the death sentences on 76 Southern Sudanese for crimes committed during the mutiny in the town of Yei in August. The office of the Chief Justice of the Sudan announces that the authorities in Equatoria Province have been ordered to carry out the execution.

The sentences are the sequel to the revolt in the Southern Sudan in August this year. It began on August 7 when three companies of the Equatoria Corps of the Sudan Defence Force, stationed in Torit, refused orders from their officers for their transfer to the north. Three officers were killed in the first clash. Groups of tribesmen launched attacks, apparently timed to coincide with the mutiny on several official buildings, and the mutiny eventually collapsed on August 29. Later reports indicated that it was, in fact, a revolt rather than a mutiny. *The Southerners were making a*

*bid against the increasing authority that the northern sections of the country were wielding over them.*—British United Press. (Our italics).

#### Reprisals in Buganda

In spite of an appeal by the Kabaka deprecating recent acts of violence against those who allegedly had not worked for his return from exile, demonstrations and reprisals, incited by campaigns in the vernacular press, are reported from Kampala:

"The African papers, and particularly those supporting the National Congress, have been whipping up hatred by publishing accounts of tortures formerly administered to traitors and to cowards in battle. Where the chiefs have not been subjected to physical violence, steady pressure has been exerted to make them resign. Criticism by the moderates has not yet been expressed." The Chief Minister, who is ultimately responsible, broadcast an appeal that cases against chiefs should be brought to the courts. He has also toured the affected districts. (Observer).

"Police used tear-gas to-day to disperse about six hundred Africans who threatened to attack a chief's home at Ngogwe, Buganda, after demanding his dismissal for alleged disloyalty to the Kabaka. The Riot Act was read by a British official to the crowd when it assembled. Fifty-three policemen, led by two British officers, charged the crowd, then had to use tear-gas as the Africans advanced. Five men were arrested." (Reuter).

"Members of the Lukiko (Parliament) to-day bitterly attacked the Kabaka and the Chief Minister for their handling of current unrest in Buganda. They claimed that the situation had been allowed to deteriorate while the Buganda Government took no steps to alleviate the position. "If we have made mistakes, take administrative action against us. Don't leave us to the mercy of the mob." cried one member." (A.P. & Reuter).

#### Cyprus Rioting

The violence in Cyprus against the authorities is the only language governments understand and respect, and will probably produce some positive results (the British government's offer of £38 million to develop the island and raise the standard of living at this stage is surely an admission of weakness, quite apart from being tactless, because it presupposes that the nationalist

movement can be bought). But the fact remains that the union-with-Greece movement divides the island into two hostile groups, the not insignificant Turkish minority feeling that such a move would mean for them jumping from the frying pan into the fire (which is what it seems to us that union-with-Greece means for the Greek-Cypriots anyway!). And they therefore support the occupying power. The future seems bleak indeed for the people of Cyprus whoever wins.

#### Moroccan Atrocities

Some of the chickens of Moroccan nationalism are coming home to roost. The return of the "rightful" sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef has resulted in outbreaks of violence against the supporters of the French puppet sultan Ben Arafa.

In a dispatch from Rabat, John Gale of *The Observer*, describes the acts of violence that are now taking place, as "violence of perhaps greater significance than the terrorism which erupts daily in Casablanca and other areas of the country".

★

THE list could be extended and in great detail. We have not mentioned Kenya where already many more Kikuyu have been killed by the Mau Mau (and *vice versa*) than whites; in Persia where the followers of the ex-premier Moussadiq have been paying the price of finding themselves on the wrong side (and the wounding of the present premier by a young peasant who "decided to begin a fight against infidels" will undoubtedly be used as an excuse for more violence).

Nationalist movements, as we see it, appeal to all the bottled up frustrations of a people, use all the slogans of "freedom" and "patriotism", but basically appeal to the lowest passions. Those who suffer apart from the "mobs", who are always knocked down whoever is on top, are the scapegoats. The fundamental mistake of nationalist movements is that they fight and die for a change of rulers, whereas the lesson they should learn from their experience and history is that all rulers are evil!

NEMO.



## READERS' VIEWPOINTS

# A Living Anarchy or Anarcho-Decentralism

IT is not often that FREEDOM editors or correspondents delve into the really pertinent problems of a living anarchy. The usual endless outpourings of intellectual verbiage, on the formation of an Anarchist Society—come the workers' revolt, becomes at times a wasted reading effort. You can talk about the Anarchist Society until Kingdom Come—but talk will not bring that living pattern one centimetre nearer to existence!

To get closer to this problem, I would first of all separate the Thinkers from the Doers. Expect nothing from the former but theories and arguments; but give the Doer the right tools and direction, and you will have your Anarchist Society in short order.

The next steps are to find out exactly what this direction is, what sort of means are necessary to achieve it, where the best place would be to develop it, and what form this anarchist society will take when completed. In other words, we must consider (1) an anarchist pattern of activity; (2) means of achievement; (3) place to develop, and (4) the final form of the development. The following is a consideration of these aspects:

An anarchist pattern of activity is a pattern for Freedom. Here's another complaint that I forgot to register against most FREEDOM writers: Of all the eloquent dissertation on the importance of individual freedom, I have yet to read about the achievement of freedom in the writers' own, personal life. Chances are he works at some tread-mill occupation each day to support inflated gadgetry like everyone else. Securing personal freedom is a difficult but entirely possible task—even in our authoritarian civilization.

Then too, an anarchist pattern is a communal pattern. The development of this "super-family" aspect is the most difficult of all, for it involves the evolution of others.

Finally, I look upon an anarchist pattern as being aesthetic in nature. That is to say, it is a life of wholesome self-expression. An anarchist society would then be a physically pleasing society.

Now the question naturally arises: How do we achieve this harmonious environment for super-family freedom? The problem of Means. I wrestled with it for several years, and have only recently come up with some workable solutions. First we have some basic needs which must be satisfied; mainly, food, clothing and shelter. All other needs are social and can be satisfied in

the super-family relationship. As an architect, my first preoccupation has been with the housing need. It is certainly obvious that anyone who buys a subdivision tract-house, on a 30 year mortgage plan cannot achieve any semblance of personal freedom, security or independence. Or, how can anyone indebted to some landlord really call himself a free man?

The Means—tools and techniques—for securing basic needs and amenities for an anarchist pattern of living are entirely within the reach of anyone with the will to employ them. Why pay rent or profit and interest for a place to live when it is possible to build a much more satisfying shelter from direct effort out of rammed earth or rock or some waste material? Why be dependent upon coal and gas and industrialized products when you can heat water, and your house itself with solar energy, and cook on a solar stove? Why consume devitalized, processed, commercially fertilized, expensive foodstuffs when it is possible to raise fresh vegetables and fruit in your own garden and sun-heated pit the year round? Why, indeed, buy expensive leather toms when it is possible to make attractive sandals?

Now I'm not proposing to go primitive—though there is much that we can learn from primitive peoples. I don't even suggest reverting to our own culture's traditional solutions, (the Paleo-technique); but neither do I say that our modern (Neo-technique) age has developed answers for living the free life. The new approach which I suggest is best thought of as Bio-technique. It is a "natural" solution in its utilization of natural forces, energy, and material.

Finding the proper place is another big problem. I've travelled the globe—considering best locations for demonstration anarchist communes. I found cultural barriers in the Pacific Islands, in Central America and Mexico. There are as well many serious climatic objections to the tropics. My choice on the European continent would be the Pyrenees in France, sections of Sweden, Norway, or Switzerland. In the British Isles I would choose the Scottish Highlands. In Canada, North of Vancouver in British Columbia. In the United States I found four ideal sections: In the Northwest, near Lake Coeur d'Alene; Northeast, in Vermont and New Hampshire; Southeast, the Blue Ridge section of North Carolina. And in the arid Southwest, where I chose

to develop, the Sierra Nevada foothills in California.

There are many factors which determine a good place besides its physical attractiveness: land costs, soil type, available building resources, natural power resources (sun, water, wind), socio-economic status of adjoining communities, altitude, growing season, etc.

But this much is certain: You will never find an anarchist society in our megalopolitan madhouses—nor in suburban mediocrity. To live a free life one must get out of the cities and suburbs. Cities as evil influences are the same the world over, as governments are corrupt instruments of power no matter who or what party is in control. The overgrown city and the government: they are mutually compatible.

Now we come to the completed development—brief as this sketch has been in presenting this form. On the super-family homestead a group of free individuals produce for direct consumption—or trade directly with neighbouring homesteads in the outlying community. They engage in arts and crafts perhaps, for what little commerce with the outside world that is necessary. They are economically secure because they are economically self-sufficient. They enjoy freedom in work, and as a result are able to create an entirely more satisfying and aesthetically pleasing environment. The influence that this free commune would at this time have on the neighbouring populace would be most significant. A living demonstration of anarchy would be worth tons of propaganda literature.

And in the outlying districts you have on the whole excellent reconversion material. I was amazed to find so many "natural" anarchists in isolated mountain regions. They resent every manner of legal coercion. (The hill-billies operating their proverbial whiskey-stills, and warding off the revenue men in any expedient

# The Crisis in Israel

THE editorial of the November 12 issue of FREEDOM applied the traditional anti-militarist attitude of anarchism to the present situation in the Middle East. It suggested that Israel should disarm unilaterally, and use the resources thereby saved for the purpose of absorbing Arab refugees into their community.

This view seems to me to be profoundly mistaken. Though I admit that war and the State are inseparable, and that to struggle against one implies struggling against the other, it does not follow that this dual struggle takes precedence over all others at all times. Israel is fighting for its existence as a community as well as a State, and if the destruction of the community will be the result of subjugation or occupation by the Arabs, as would certainly be the case, then war, no matter how great the risk of defeat, is the only course of action possible.

The position of Israel cannot be compared with that of the West and a possible third world war. In the latter case, the evils of the war itself would almost certainly exceed the evils of Russian occupation, whereas an Arab occupation

of Israel, peaceful or otherwise, would result in mass slaughter of Jews, and the forcing of the survivors into conditions similar to those at present enjoyed by the Arab refugees. And since the Israel-Arab hostility has been engendered neither by Israeli power politics nor by conflicting economic interests, but by the resentment of the Arab rulers at having an enlightened and flourishing community in their midst, there is every reason for giving moral and material support for Israel.

This temporary support of military action which present conditions necessitate is a clear-cut example of the fact that in order to take any effective action it is necessary at times to collaborate with people with whom one disagrees on many important matters, even if these are related to the matter at issue. Stuart Hampshire, in a recent article in *Encounter*, has stated the position admirably:—

"Anyone who takes the freedom of the individual as his criterion of political decision... will align himself with that group of interests which can most effectively resist the concentration of power likely to obstruct or prevent the extending of equal liberty within society. This enemy will always be changing, as one preponderating group succeeds another; and it is always easy for him to miscalculate the direction from which the greatest threat to the most essential liberties comes."

This type of expediency has much more to recommend it than the sterile purism of those who seek the solution to all problems in terms of a few universally applicable principles.

London.

B. GELSTEIN.

## 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)

NOV. 27—Philip Holgate on  
SCIENCE AND FREEDOM

DEC. 4—Arlo Tatum on  
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL  
COHESION

DEC. 11—To be Announced.

DEC. 18—Annie de Witt on  
ANARCHISM IN HOLLAND

DEC. 25—No meeting.

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  
Street.

### The Malatesta Club

155 HIGH HOLBORN,  
LONDON, W.C.1.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP  
Informal Discussions Every Thursday,  
at 8.15 p.m.

Saturday, 26th Nov., at 9 p.m.

POSTER COMPETITION: Theme:  
"HOW TO LOSE FRIENDS AND BE  
INFLUENCED BY PEOPLE".

Thursday, 1st Dec., at 8.30.  
Discussion by Philip Holgate,  
A Vexing Problem for Anarchists,  
"WHAT IS INTELLIGENCE?"

Saturday, 3rd Dec., at 9 p.m.  
Bonar Thompson reads from his own  
published works:  
"THE WORLD OF BONAR  
THOMPSON".

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## Congress of Cultural Freedom

Continued from p. 3

ive phases are really so clearly separated as Marx imagined, and accepting the idea of the two phases, one can say, in Marxist terms, that it is the capitalist economy of the U.S.A. which has reached the second phase, and the communist economy of the U.S.S.R. which still remains in the first phase. One may even ask whether it might not be said of the U.S.S.R. what Marx said of England, namely that the concentration of the proletariat in industrial communities in which they can see no prospect of an improvement in their living standards is a forerunner of crisis in the régime. This critical social problem is clearly one which will have to be faced in the U.S.S.R."

In his concluding remarks M. de Jouvenal returned to the conception we have already mentioned, of capitalism and Communism, rivalling each other in a bid for the support of the underdeveloped countries, and he saw this rivalry as a matter of giving different names to the same thing:

"These considerations are of special importance when we are dealing with underdeveloped countries, where there is a particular need for large-scale investments. These investments (in so far as they are not drawn from abroad), will in all cases have to be carried out at the expense of the share of wages in the annual wealth increment. But under a capitalist economy this increase in the proportion of wealth which is not distributed for consumption by the workers will appear from the national income statistics to represent an increase in the share of profits, and will consequently be open to attack as a measure of capitalist exploitation even though in substance it will be the same policy as is pursued in Communist countries. We have here a tremendous psychological advantage in the political sphere for the communist system, which it would be pointless to try to conceal. The advantage derives from the fact that the communist systems are able to give the phenomenon of capital accumulation another name, and another statistical designation, than that which prevails under a private profit system: the reality behind it remains of course the same."

MR. CONSTANTIN DOXIADIS and Mr. G. D. Parikh both read papers under the title "Economic Progress of Under-Developed Countries and the Rivalry Between Democratic and Totalitarian Methods". It is a problem, Mr. Parikh declared, which directly affects about three-fifths of the human race. "It is hardly possible to exaggerate its magnitude... the way it is tackled may largely determine the shape of the

## To Catch a Thief

BY a mere accident of fate, the Royal Command film "To Catch a Thief", coincided with the disclosure in Parliament of the "goings on" of the Monopolies Commission.

It would appear that in order to catch a thief you must set one against him. Thieves, crooks, confidence tricksters and business-men understand each other and have a fraternal regard for each other's business methods; they know and understand the manner in which each of them operates. And it would also appear that among the many 'reputable' members of this fraternity who occupy seats in the varied government departments, there are a number of shady characters.

For the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Peter Thorneycroft has made the startling disclosure (under pressure of course), that one of the members of the Monopolies Commission also runs a monopoly himself. When questioned on this by Labour M.P.s, Mr. Thorneycroft admitted that "he knew of the situation" and "that it met with his express approval", and "it was with his approval that the said member continued his association with the commission". He said further "that no useful purpose would be served by staffing the commission with men who had "no knowledge of restrictive practices". In effect he implies that the members of the commission know all about "cornering the markets", "fiddling", "blackmarketing", "creating shortages" and all the other dirty practices operated every day by clean businessmen.

Nobody can deny the logic of Mr. Thorneycroft. If a crook had reformed and joined Scotland Yard as a sleuth, he would surely have a head start in the sordid channels of the underworld. But the member in question had not reformed. For in the disclosure it came out that he is still the managing director of a company which controlled a monopoly ring.

So if you want to catch a thief—set one against him. But don't put him on a monopoly commission. Unless of course he be your brother-in-law.

MONTY.

### DEBATE

"THAT LAWYERS HAVE A  
VESTED INTEREST IN CRIME"

Proposer: PHILIP SANSON

Opposer: A LAWYER

Under the auspices of the Union Society  
of London,  
to be held at Grays Inn (Common Room),  
near Chancery Lane Station,  
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