

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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"We put too much faith in systems, and too little in men."

—DISRAELI.

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Threepence

## A Solution for Juvenile Delinquency?

FOR an anonymous writer in the *Police Chronicle*, who is believed to be a "police officer of high rank",

"The idealists who fought so vigorously to make life easier for criminals and more dangerous for law-abiding citizens with the Criminal Justice Act of 1948 have some sad things to answer for..."

According to the writer "the cult of violence" is increasing in Britain, and he presumably attributes that increase in crimes of violence to the Criminal Justice Act of 1948. We can only think that he has in mind the abolition of flogging, for so far as prison sentences are concerned it would seem that judges are showing very little idealism in the terms of imprisonment they pass, and the crowded prisons and Borstals are witness to this policy. Sentences of preventive detention are being passed in increasing numbers as a result of the 1948 Act. Even the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Goddard, renowned for his vicious tongue and prison sentences was reported as saying in the Appeal Court that

"It was remarkable how prone Quarter Sessions were to sentence men to eight years' preventive detention. It might be because the Court had said that was a minimum except for old people. In a case of this sort a man should often be given a longer sentence, and not necessarily preventive detention. If this continued the preventative detention establishments would be filled with people who might be serving ordinary imprisonment. The Appellant might just as well have been given ordinary imprisonment."

But to return to the *Police Chronicle*. The writer is of the opinion that the trend towards an increase in violent crime will continue "as more children grow up without discipline at home or school and are constantly indoctrinated with sadism from the films, television, Strip cartoons, etc."

And he concludes that "one cannot help wondering how much longer it must go on before we are forced to adopt a more realistic policy". What is "a realistic policy" from the police point of view? Is it perhaps the reintroduction of flogging or even hanging for certain lesser crimes than murder? After all,

heavy prison sentences do not seem to have had much effect. But then has hanging deterred murderers, or the retention of flogging for assaults in prison prevented prisoners from attacking warders?

THE problem of juvenile delinquency and violent crime will obviously not be eradicated by legalised violence. The roots of the problem go much deeper, and common to all countries including the "police states". Only last week a correspondent in the *Manchester Guardian* was writing about the concern in Russia over the growing crime wave there, and the increased attention being given to the problem by the press which has now found official expression in a conference on juvenile delinquency and hooliganism held a fortnight ago in Moscow.

The conference heard a speech by Mr. Kruglov, the Minister of Internal Affairs, who is in charge of the militia (police), who gave thanks to voluntary "youth brigades for co-operation with the militia," which have been helping to fight the crime wave. It is sometimes difficult to imagine that crime could be rampant in what has been popularly described as a "police state." The Soviet police authorities, however, have been far less efficient in suppressing "social" crimes than "political" ones. *Trud*, for instance, recently described the activities of two youths who had terrorised the Moscow district of Molchanovka, by robbing and beating up its citizens in the streets. Although the militia was aware of their activities, it was unable to bring them to book, because they were never caught red-handed.

It is an interesting commentary on the ways of Soviet justice that lack of proof can save a criminal. This is not, however, a principle that has had much application to "political" offenders, and there is now a campaign in the press to change the rules of evidence as applied to "social" criminals, too. But those that are caught often suffer the supreme penalty. According to *Izvestia*, a thief who inflicted mortal wounds on a man who was trying to catch him has been executed by shooting, which is the accepted

Soviet method of execution. However, a 15-year-old boy, who also committed murder, was sentenced only to ten years of imprisonment, according to a report in the *Liternaya Gazeta*.

Reports of crimes of this kind by youths, which appear from time to time in the Soviet press, often mention the social standing of their parents. This is done in order to drive home the lesson that the new members of the Soviet upper middle class should devote more attention to the upbringing of their children. There have been frequent complaints in the press that the high earnings of such parents allow teen-agers to live lives of luxury and irresponsibility, and that this in turn drives them to crime.

It's all very well to blame the parents and the schools. But when will it be realised that in a world in which we are being daily reminded that governments are introducing more and more lethal weapons in their armoury of "peace"; a world which functions through violence or the threat of violence; a world in which the youth are conscripted at 18 and taught the use of lethal weapons and the A.B.C. of gangsterism (which is what "unarmed combat" training is), then is it surprising that violence will play an ever increasing rôle in civilian life?

## Progress of a Deficit

In next week's issue we shall publish the usual financial statement completed to the end of 1955. This will show a very heavy deficit on this year's publishing. We hope that some readers will not wait until next week to see the figures but will do something here and now. FREEDOM urgently needs funds and new readers!

## Letter from France

### Complete Pauperization and Greater Leisure

TO look events in the face and to be content with realities: these appear to be two sensible rules that the immense majority of men might well follow. But they do nothing of the sort, and with tireless perseverance polemics rebound not on the interpretation of facts but on partisan formulas. The Communists are past masters at this game, and their influence comes in great measure from their ability to pose the simplest problems in a complicated form. They gravely inform us that true freedom is that now current in those countries where concentration camps abound, where a single party directs everything, and where scientific research is controlled by a political office.

To-day they are astride a new war-horse: the complete pauperization of the working class under capitalist régimes. And we see economists, sociologists, "left" intellectuals, and militant workers racking their brains to find out whether this discovery is the result of a superior method of economic-social analysis or whether it is simply a slogan specially concocted for the occasion. We may say that this lucky find of that eminent intellectual Maurice Thorez does not greatly interest the workers themselves and that it takes all the discipline of a monolithic organization to make the activists swallow this new pap. It is, in fact, somewhat difficult for the man in the street to admit that he is living less well than his fellow of a century or twenty years ago. It is also difficult to make him believe that all his struggles and all his efforts to improve his working conditions, his wages, and his way of life have been useless. All the more so since the metal workers of the Paris region have just obtained three weeks' paid holiday a year, plus several small new benefits, all of which hardly fits in with the theses of the Communist Party and the CGT.

HARDENED Press correspondents were shaken in Cyprus last week when a young British major, after being awarded the George Medal for gallantry, made an emotional appeal against the hatred, fear and distrust that governs Cyprus to-day.

Major Brian Coombe collected his gong when he ran into a Cypriot ambush. His driver was killed and in fighting his way out he captured two Cypriots, wounded a third and killed a fourth. The dead man turned out to be a cousin of Archbishop Makarios and one of the leaders of EOKA, the Cypriot terrorist organisation.

Naturally the Cypriots treated the dead man as a martyred hero. The British authorities made an attempt to ban any demonstration at his funeral, but his supporters fooled them by staging a decoy funeral, at which more than the permitted number of followers staged a demonstration. This successfully drew off the troops and police, while the real funeral procession followed the real coffin through side streets to the cemetery.

At a Press conference, after his award of the G.M., Major Coombe attempted to prevent either himself or the dead Cypriot leader being played up as national heroes. He said: "I killed a Cypriot and in Cypriot eyes the impression must be growing that we British are jubilant."

"But there is already too much death, pain and tears in Cyprus—and too much hate."

"My appeal is not to let this hate and distrust deepen by allowing each side to honour its heroes."

"Don't let this division grow between the peace-loving and unwarlike citizens of Cyprus and the equally peaceful and unwarlike people of Britain."

## CYPRUS

### The Major Tries to Understand

"As part of my duty as a citizen, I attempted to bring murderers to justice and as a result one frightened, pathetic young Cypriot was killed. The tragedy is that the poor, misguided people of Cyprus should feel compelled to honour this man—but an even bigger tragedy is that an attempt at just retribution should be held up as a deed of national heroism."

We cannot doubt the sincerity of Major Coombe, who clearly felt deeply what he was saying. What we question, however, is whether the poor misguidedness is all on one side. The major did not seem to question his "duty as a citizen", nor that it should result in his killing a frightened, pathetic young citizen of another country.

When he does go as far as that, perhaps he will recognise that the most valuable contribution he could make to washing away the tears of Cyprus is ceasing to support their cause—the imposition on a people of an authority they do not want.

### While Another is Just Plain Stupid

AT the same time as Major Coombe was trying to understand the situation in which he is so tragically involved, another British major was acting in the stupid manner which is more typical of their kind.

This idiot staged a mock execution, inside the Crusader Castle at Kyrenia, of three Cypriot schoolboys who had been detained for stoning British soldiers. He went through the motions of having the boys shot by a firing squad, no doubt with the intention of teaching them a lesson.

For this piece of thoughtless cruelty the major has been severely reprimanded, but no disciplinary action has been taken against him, and nothing has been entered in his records. He has been dealt with on what soldiers call the "old boy basis".

Just what damage his stupid prank has done to the minds of the three youngsters unfortunate enough to fall into his hands, we shall probably never know. This, however, was not the reason for the Army's disapproval. More likely they disapproved because it provided the Cypriots with one more reason to hate the British.

## Short Takes

### Marilyn Monroe's Form

DURING a recent discussion in the House of Lords about our absurd immigration regulations Lord Amulree wanted to know the purpose of the forms travellers have to fill in. He said, "I know people have filled in false names and false professions, those of murderers and criminals sometimes, but nothing ever happens."

Lord Mancroft agreed, adding "I was shown one signed 'Marilyn Monroe' and stating that she had 10,000 lb. of hashish." Nevertheless he maintained that the forms did serve a useful purpose.

Well, they show which travellers have a sense of humour, but I was not aware that this is a qualification for entry to these islands.

### Life In The Welfare State

"I'm tired of working 12 hours a day with only half an hour break. I think I'll join a union".—*Fleet Street canteen worker.*

### Wild, Wild Women

When 12 men were brought before him charged with offences under the Gaming Act, Col. Batt, the Thames magistrate, explained to them: "The superintendent probably wouldn't run you in if the stakes were moderate and you kept reasonable hours, but you play there late, and your wives complain, you know."

This is British justice at its best. Our betting laws are held in such contempt that nobody wants to enforce them—unless indignant wives want their erring husbands to come home.

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## ISRAEL'S OFFER

A STATEMENT was issued by the Israeli Foreign Office last week which indicates that Israel proposes to call a conference in order to try and restore peace with Egypt. Under the terms of the armistice in 1948, both Israel and Egypt agreed to attend if the other called for such talks. In fact the news had already leaked out in Washington, about a week before, when the Israeli ambassador Mr. Abba Eban presented a peace plan to U.S. Secretary of State, Foster Dulles.

It would seem that the Israeli Government does not feel exactly the same way about the Arab problem as some of the correspondents to FREEDOM. These supporters of the Jewish State have said that the only way out for Israel is to fight whilst she is sufficiently strong to have some chance of winning. It is a welcome surprise, therefore, to discover that the Government does not entirely agree with our correspondents, and proposes to make at least one more effort towards the achievement of peace through discussion. It is hardly possible to tell how seriously this aim will be pursued, but superficially the peace plan in itself seems to be a reasonable basis from which to start, in terms of the possibilities presented by the existing situation.

The following is an extract from the *News Chronicle* which states that according to Israeli sources in Washington the plan is this:

1.—Direct peace talks between Israeli and Arab envoys.

Israel has always been ready for these. So far the Arabs have refused.

2.—Mutual adjustments of the present armistice lines, but no negotiations on the basis of the 1947 partition line.

Sir Anthony Eden, in his Guildhall speech last month, called for a compromise between the armistice and the partition lines.

3.—Israel will grant transit rights, by land and air, for commerce between Egypt and the Lebanon and—across the Negev (southern Palestine)—between Egypt and Jordan.

She will not, however, agree to any extra territorial corridor across the Negev.

4.—Israel will expect similar transit facilities in the Arab States.

5.—Jordan, which is land-locked, would be given free port rights at Haifa.

This offer, not only to Jordan but to Syria, has already been made semi-officially—by radio. Now it is official.

6.—Israel, while ruling out the return of the 900,000 Arab refugees to their Palestine homes would be willing to pay compensation, and would accept the U.S. offer of a loan to provide the compensation.

Hitherto Israel has made compensation for the refugees conditional on the Arabs ending their economic blockade of Israel. While still demanding an end to the blockade she no longer links it with the refugee problem.

7.—Israel accepts the Jordan River development plan of Mr. Eric Johnston for sharing the waters of the Jordan and Yarmuk with the Arabs.

Israel considers this an important concession, since more than half the water would go to the Arabs.

8.—Maintenance of the status quo in divided Jerusalem.

Israel, like Jordan, continues to oppose the internationalisation of the Holy City.

# India: Social Implications of the Bhoodan Movement

SEVERAL times during the past year we have commented on the achievements of the Bhoodan Movement, or Land Gifts Mission in India, which has grown up around Vinoba Bhave and Jaiprakash Narayan. (See 'Land through Love' and 'Revolution through Love' in our issues of Feb. 5th, July 9th and 16th).

In an article in the October issue of Sarvodaya, the monthly journal of the Bhoodan Movement, under the title 'Bhoodan—the Social Revolution', J. B. Kripalani writes about the social significance of the movement. We reprint below the second half of this article.

★

## A New Experiment in Sociology

LET us assess the implications of this new experiment in sociology. This assessment would become difficult if attention is concentrated on the origin of the movement, the name and method it employs. It originated to solve the land problem for the landless. Its name, Bhoodan, so far as its origin and immediate objective are concerned, is appropriate. 'Bhoo' (Bhoomi) means land and 'Dan' means charity. But if the idea behind the movement is merely an equitable redistribution of land, the movement, however good in its immediate results, has no seeds of growth and expansion. It cannot therefore be a new and revolutionary experiment in sociology even though it may temporarily solve the land problem of India without violence or without legislation. If land is received as charity, that is nothing new. Many people give charity with one hand and take more with the other through exploitation. They merely give a part of their often ill-begotten wealth to either ease their conscience or to look socially respectable. Sometimes they give a little to enjoy the rest in peace. However, whatever may be the origin of the movement, its name and immediate objective, the movement as explained repeatedly by Vinobaji is of wider implications. It is aimed at the ultimate reconstruction of the Indian village so that every villager has equal or near-equal opportunities to live a free and full life.

Sri Vinoba proposes to give five acres of land to every landless family. Can this provide the villagers with opportuni-

ties to live a free and full life? Supposing that it did in the immediate, will it do in the next generation? In the next generation the land will dwindle down to one acre per family. But even if by a miracle it remained a five-acre piece, does it give opportunities to the villager to lead a full, free and civilized life?

## Re-construction of the Village

HISTORICALLY, no high civilization had ever been built on mere agriculture. Beyond his food, everything that a civilized person needs, his clothes, house, medical assistance and education, need industry. Education means science, philosophy, literature and the fine arts. All these depend upon industry. Even advanced agriculture needs industry. Also man lives in society. The associations, political, economic, social, religious, cultural, etc., that he creates for living together, depend upon industry. Therefore, though Sri Vinoba lays emphasis on land to-day, what he contemplates is something more comprehensive. As he has often said, Bhoodan is not merely a

programme of collecting and redistributing land on equitable basis but the first step towards a social revolution that will reconstruct the Indian village and, through it from below, the whole of Indian society on an equalitarian basis. If we want truly to assess the movement we shall have to do it in this, its most comprehensive perspective.

## The Two-fold Process

THE word *Dan*, as Vinoba uses it on ancient authority, does not as popularly understood mean charity but equitable redistribution. (*Danam Samvibhagah*). He often tells the donors of land that they are performing no act of charity but merely of restitution. Therefore, taking the movement in its larger perspective, it is what Gandhiji called a scheme of *Sarvodaya*, the uplift of all. For this, following his Master, Vinobaji wants the simultaneous reform of the individual and society. The ancient sages said: "Reform yourself and the world will be reformed." Gandhiji said: "Reform yourself in the process of reforming the world". The two-fold pro-

cess must go on simultaneously, each helping the other, an integrated movement of the individual and society. Whatever shape you want to give to society, begin with the conversion of the heart and cultivate the necessary habit of mind through appropriate action. Gandhiji always called the movement for the independence of India that he had initiated through Satyagraha as one of self-purification. That too is the idea of Vinobaji. Like Gandhiji, he wants individual life to be integrated with social life on the basis of the moral law as embodied in truth and universal love.

## Revaluation of Values

VIEWED in this larger perspective, the Bhoodan movement is revolutionary. A revolution principally and fundamentally is a revaluation of values, a change in people's ideas of what is right and wrong, virtue and sin, desirable and undesirable, significant and ordinary, beautiful and ugly. But in a revolution the new values must fulfil themselves in changed social, economic, political and other arrangements and institutions. A

revolution whether social, economic, political or religious, does not merely formulate values, but on the basis of the new values it seeks to transform life, individual and collective.

The reconstruction that Vinobaji following Gandhiji's thought strives for, is to be worked through State action. Vinobaji does not propose to work his comprehensive social revolution through class antagonism, hatred, violence, insurrection or civil and international wars, or even through the legal powers of the State, but through rousing public opinion and by mobilising the human instincts of fellow feeling and co-operation.

The moral values of truth and non-violence in the sense of active love of the neighbour (and in this world who is not a neighbour?) are to be institutionalised. Socially active love implies, within the borders of the country a common and equal citizenship, eliminating all preferences based upon religion, caste or class. Internationally it means that humanity is one, without national and racial distinction. In the economic field, like his Master, Vinobaji wants the revival of the Indian village and that not through agriculture alone but agriculture co-ordinated with industry. Heretofore, at least in the West, the word 'industrialisation' has predominantly meant urbanisation. Civilised conduct stands for urban or urbane conduct. 'Rural' often means uncultured. This concept of civilisation and culture is sought to be corrected by Sarvodaya. The villager, according to Vinobaji's conception of the future, must have all the opportunities of civilised and cultured life, without deserting his village.

## A new Kind of Industrial Revolution

IF he has to have this, the village must not merely produce its food but must be so industrialised as to produce all the primary requirements of its life within its own borders and near enough in the surrounding rural areas. The modern man thinks of industrialisation only in terms of what is called the Industrial Revolution in the West. This was urban industrialisation by means of centralised and mechanised mills and factories in private hands. The only difference that Western Communism and Socialism make is to put the State in place of the private capitalist. The broad conception of industrialisation is the same in both the cases. Here, that conception of industrialisation is fundamentally changed. Village industry shall be so decentralised as neither to need the individual or the State as the capitalist. Every worker owns his simple instruments of production. Every village house is a factory using such mechanical power as can conveniently help the worker's hands and take away the tedium of work and if need be for increased

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## A Plea for New Directions

The following extracts are from a talk by Czeslaw Milosz, printed in The Listener for December 15th:

For many of our contemporaries—if not for the majority—systems in which they are living appear neither as 'neutral' nor as praiseworthy. Perhaps this is the characteristic feature of our times. But if people do not invoke against a prevailing system some other system which already exists, then they are labelled as dreamers and accused of taking refuge in 'pure morality'. Yet these people represent the only positive and hopeful current of thought in our time.

Those who reject the false dilemma between 'free enterprise' and the bureaucratic collectivism of Russia are alone capable of preparing the road for the true science of social affairs of the future.

The satirical poets of Warsaw in the last two years have taken as their favourite subject the theme of a man who has become used to say nothing but 'yes' and who is suddenly confronted with the necessity to show courage. Forced to give his own opinion, he is seized with terror. This kind of humour tells us much about the nature of the present slight liberalisation [in the Russian-dominated countries]. The 'thaw' is not the outcome of 'pressure by the masses'. It is simply that the will of the rulers has encountered the boredom and apathy of the governed. In order that a social system shall function effectively, there must be a certain measure of emotional identification of the citizens with the powers that be. Faced with a dangerous apathy, the authorities allowed, as a first step, certain privileges to writers and artists in order to bring a little colour into the social scene.

There are, of course, inherent dangers in such a relaxation of controls. People

begin to be aware of the essentially conventional character of the prevailing orthodoxy; its supposed absolute necessity loses its ontological moustachios. The coward admits, in the privacy of his heart, that he has been trembling not before a law of historical development but before the will of other human beings. In the normal course of events the doubt which plagues the individual placed before an established order . . . is summed up in the question 'Why pick on me? Why should I resist when all the others are complying?' 'The thaw' gives rise to a re-birth of the feeling of personal dignity, for it seems to justify the courage of the few who have stood out against authority. At the same time the administrators profit from it: the temperature of solidarity rises, because for a moment people become aware of the possible.

Centralisation and hierarchical organisation are so powerful that they can permit certain freedoms to the elite. The criterion of the genuineness of this easing of restrictions must be the degree of freedom which it accords to the right to tell the truth; a privilege which in itself presupposes a free exchange of opinions, and the spontaneous emergence of ideas from free discussion.

[In the Russian-dominated countries] people live within the strict confinement of a world of lies and phantoms. Their explorations of freedom are rather on the scale of the adventures of a child that has been permitted by its mother to take a run in the garden. Nevertheless the 'thaw' does introduce a positive element of new thinking.

The last few years have been marked in western Europe and in America by the growth of anti-historical tendencies, by a flight into the isolation of one's own private world.

Television, detested by the intellectuals,

## BOOK REVIEW

### FREE SCRIBBLING

*Scribbling, Drawing, Painting*, by Wolfgang Grözinger. Faber. 15s.

A. S. NEILL'S ideas on education are well known to readers of this paper. Neill's emphasis is on freedom for the child to develop his abilities without continual correction from adults intent on training him. Neill has been demonstrating at Summerhill for many years that his ideas and methods work; yet the support he has had from other educationists has been slight. But in Dr Grözinger's book we do find an encouraging degree of confirmation of his ideas.

*Scribbling, Drawing, Painting* (originally published in Germany) shows that the scribbling of the child's early years is not only a form of Self-expression but primarily a vital stage in the child's progress in drawing. Interference by adults who fail to understand that the scribbling is not an attempt to portray "nature", and insist on showing the child how to draw a house, a car, a man, or what-have-you, has the effect of short-circuiting a stage in the growth of imagination. Scribbles are more a statement about the child than about reality: they are

the means of "expressing, or rather, impressing, movement and rhythm on the paper by means of a tool, whereby something comes into existence that was not there before and which opens up all sorts of possibilities . . . [scribbling] is, to use a technical term, a motor experience".

To judge a child's drawing by a pre-conceived notion of what is good or what is not, and accordingly to direct him is just as reprehensible as "moulding" in other matters. This is not to imply that every drawing should be ecstatically applauded, but rather that adults should continually respect the growth of the child's ability.

The book is copiously illustrated with children's drawings and paintings and provides an analysis of and guide to the play of children who "do pictures". In the words of Herbert Read who writes the Preface—"This book is a plea for humility in the presence of the mystery of 'becoming', that process of human development which has its own up-welling powers and indwelling laws, to be encouraged and protected by the parent's and teacher's sympathy and understanding." M.G.W.

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## EXHIBITION

### SUNDAY PAINTERS

THERE is, at the North Finchley Library, Ravensdale Avenue, London, N.12, an exhibition of paintings by unprofessional artists. It remains open until 7th January, 1956, and is to be seen from 9.30 a.m.—8 p.m. on Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, and from 9.30 a.m.—6 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays.

Of the exhibition there is much to praise—this kind of creative activity is generally the least pretentious; these works are so clearly the evening or weekend hobby of people who are, during the rest of the week, engaged in varying occupations, nearly always completely removed from any kind of artistic expression. These are examples—good ones—of creative leisure at a time when there is so much mere "looking" laid on for the harassed individual, living and working in a highly mechanised society. That this work is attempted at all is in itself an unconscious rejection of so much that is artificial and false. It is, at first glance, a healthy refusal to sink into a trance-like apathy before a T.V. or cinema screen. It is also a very conscious effort to overcome certain personal negative attitudes on the part of these amateur artists. For these people almost invariably protest that they can't paint or draw. Their attitude towards their work is essentially a humble or a diffident one. They seldom think of themselves as doing much more than trying to make a not too hopeless blob. They form small groups and are generally housed in an evening institute with an art instructor employed by the county council. They are indeed, non-professional, in a very complete sense. There is scarcely any similarity between their kind of pictorial vision and that striven for by most members of amateur art societies, who seem so anxious to paint academically and see their highest ambition as an acceptance at the Royal Academy's Summer Exhibition. No—

this kind of painting is not a mere futile imitation of a passing fashion, nor is it an attempt to impress with an empty technique; it is a straightforward rejection or a social lacune, on one plane, and on another it is an attempt, on the part of the individual, to re-integrate himself into a more creative community. I never fail to enjoy work of this kind. It would be unwise to read too much into painting of this sort; it is not an expression of unrest or revolt—its practitioners would be amazed and even horrified perhaps, if this were to be suggested to them. And yet, it does contain a direct constructive response to a social need, and generally I have found these people quietly receptive of new social ideas, even when such ideas are wholly foreign to their normal ways of thought. Unfortunately, there is a real dearth of good responsible instructors. So many artists unable to earn enough money during the day turn to evening teaching as a means of supplementing their incomes and not because they want to teach adults, and this indifference becomes at once apparent in a rapidly vanishing group, and in the resultant lifeless work. The lack of understanding by the instructors of the nature of this urge on the part of these amateurs is very fundamental, and goes a long way to demonstrate the curiously isolated position that most painters are in today. They generally cannot appreciate the situation that an amateur is in when the latter first joins a class—they cannot see the act in its social significance for they themselves are already isolated from the group by the mere fact of their indifference. A good, lively, energetic instructor usually achieves a high standard of valuable work—work which must have a positive social effect.

This exhibition has been organised by the Society for Education through Art, and will visit many of the London libraries during the New Year. R.S.

## The Omega Bombshell

A BRITISH inventor, Mr. Granville Bradshaw has designed an engine to power cars, motor cycles and, it is submitted, even railways and ships of the future. This wonder engine is half the size and half the weight of the conventional one; yet it develops four times the power. It will work on any liquid fuel, and will give from 30 to 40 per cent. more miles to the gallon. It has only nine moving parts compared with 250 for a conventional six-cylinder engine and as a result has an exceptionally "long life". Indeed it is claimed that such an engine need only be overhauled every 200,000 miles!

It is not as motor enthusiasts that we list the claims of Mr. Bradshaw's engine, and we shudder at the thought that he claims he can produce the fastest car in the world! What interests us is to speculate on the fate of this "revolutionary" invention.

IN the first place, at international level there is considerable interest among the car manufacturing firms (as well as from countries which import all their cars and have an eye on starting up brand new factories tooled for producing this simple wonder of an engine.) Mr. Bradshaw has already received offers from Holland, France, America and Australia, as well as having had discussions with British technicians some of whom have already made offers on behalf of their firms. The inventor declared: "I could sell it to-morrow to France or to Germany but I want it made here" (another report the following day by the same newspaper, the *News Chronicle* substitutes for "but I want it made here" "But I am determined to help this country", which sounds even more patriotic!)

If one of the existing car manufacturing groups buy Mr. Bradshaw invention the question then arises: will they develop the engine or will they suppress it? This is not a hypothetical question if one pauses to consider the interests that will be affected by the production of the Omega engine. Its manufacture will involve the use of less materials and less labour; certain parts common to the conventional engines are entirely eliminated with the result that some industries engaged wholly on the production of these parts will be put out of business. The Omega engine uses less fuel—a serious blow to the Oil interests; its exceptionally long life means that less engines need be produced; the fact that it can run 200,000 miles between overhauls will make serious inroads into the large industry of maintenance engineers and spare part manufacturers. In other words this engine if put into general production threatens a large number of industries and trades with redundancy and unemployment.

FOR these reasons one suspects that either Mr. Bradshaw will be offered a very large sum of money for his engine with the understanding that it will not be produced commercially or, he will still be offered a large sum of money and his engine will be produced commercially but on a small scale and sold at a large price, so that only motorists in the Rolls Royce or Bentley "class" will be able to afford an Omega car! We shall be very surprised if the conventional engine is ousted by Omega in the next ten years, unless the invention is bought-up by a group of financiers outside the car ring with the express inten-

## The E. German Uprising

THE EAST GERMAN RISING, Stefan Brant. Thames & Hudson, pp. 202.

THIS is a plain account of the events which led up to the rising in East Germany two and a half years ago, and of the rising itself. The author's political sympathies are those of the old German Social Democrat Party, but he does not attempt any close reasoned analysis of historical causes, nor draw any particular conclusions. The result is a simple narrative which puts before the reader without fuss or rhetoric the situation which the population of East Germany found itself, what sparks lit the revolutionary fires, and what occurred during the brief hours of the popular rising.

The first chapters describe the pattern of events which have become familiar in every western country occupied by Russian troops since the war. The Communist "alliances" with other political parties, and their subsequent absorption or liquidation; the campaigns against "enemies" within and without, with all the apparatus of show trials, but always against a background of secret police, security prisons and concentration camps, and economic means of ruining any individuals who showed any opposition or criticism. Where East Germany differs from the Central European countries, with the possible exception of Czechoslovakia, is in possessing a literate urban population; and it does seem from the attitude of the workers during the rising that the East Germans were very far from being convinced by the seven years of Soviet indoctrination and terror that had followed the twelve years of Nazi dictatorship. Everywhere they showed especial hatred for the German agents of Russian domination; the government of Ulbricht, the People's Police, the prosecutors and judges of the People's Courts.

The rising of June 17 seems to be the only example of a Soviet dominated people taking advantage of temporary weakening of central power during the weeks following the death of Stalin in

the spring of 1953. But this weakening was due much more to the desperate economic plight to which the Communist administration had reduced the country, and which had forced the government to make a number of retreats both political and economic during the weeks immediately preceding the rising. For some reason which is not clear they refused to relax the pressure on industrial workers to work harder for less wages. On May 14 the Communist Party's Central Committee adopted a resolution recommending the Government to "secure a general raising of working norms, by an average of ten per cent. by June 1", and this drive touched off a wave of resentment among factory workers all over the Eastern Zone.

Ironically for the Communists it was the building workers on the Stalin Allee show building project in Berlin who downed tools and began a protest march on June 16 which was quickly joined by other workers from all over Berlin. A general strike followed on the next day. The events in Berlin were fairly fully reported in *FREEDOM* of July 25, 1953. Stefan Brant's account does not differ in any material particular from *FREEDOM*'s, but what his book does bring out—which was not so clear at the time—is the widespread nature of the rising. Not merely was it confined to Berlin, but there was hardly a town or district in East Germany which did not participate. Brant prints a map showing the towns involved and the extent both of their participation and of the means used to suppress it.

The book contains many photographs mostly taken from Berlin. One shows two youths stoning a pair of Soviet tanks, and serves to epitomize the spirit of a revolt of an unarmed populace against a powerfully policed dictatorship, propped by considerable foreign military power. Brant makes no attempt to consider what the German people might have done to achieve success in their obvious desire to expel the German Communists and the Russian occupying forces. Like most observers he regards it as a forlorn attempt which was not without useful results in compelling con-

## Letter from France

Continued from p. 1

with their hands or lived on a wage and whether their fathers have told them what their lives used to be like.

Every working-class effort, vindicated by the study of comparisons worked out by militants between wages before and after the war, has contributed to the improvement in the wage-earners benefit at least in part from technical progress. The employers cheated by stressing the benefits granted outside wages properly so-called (social security, old-age pensions, etc.). It has been relatively easy to show that the total volume of wages had not fluctuated in comparison with 1938 and that working-class demands were therefore normal and logical. But between that and telling the workers that they are living less well than in 1930 or 1910 or 1890 there is all the difference between the serious and the farcical.

To speak of the complete pauperization of the working class comes down to saying that there is nothing to be done, nothing to demand, no purpose in daily or long-term struggles, and that we must await—the seizure of power by the Communist Party. This is to refuse to act about real problems and to rely on the Red Army. The officials of the Communist Party and the CGT are perhaps of this opinion, but the workers, even those affiliated to the CGT, do not share it. And the Renault agreements, the provincial agreements, and the Paris metal industry agreements have received the approbation of the great majority of wage-earners. The Communist trade-union leadership, although handicapped by its faithfulness to Communist doctrine, has come round to recognizing that these were in fact a working-class victory.

From one extreme to the other the lie is the same. If the provincial strikes, undertaken to allow workers in indus-

trial centres to catch up with the higher wages of their colleagues in the Paris region, were in fact an example of direct struggle, it is not true to say that the latest agreements signed by the free unions in greater Paris are the outcome of a fight. What happened was that the employers in the metal industry (whose order books are full), wanted to make sure of their production programme by granting various benefits to their staffs so as to avoid any agitation and stoppage of work.

What is true is that the three weeks' paid holiday have satisfied the workers. What is true is that the forty-hour week, gained in 1936 and buried by the coalition government—which included Communists—at the Liberation, now only exists on paper or in a few rare firms. In the metal industry and in the building trade overtime is taken for granted. The working week is of fifty or sixty hours. That is the result of the last ten years of collaboration with the government, political strikes, and the extinction of all working-class morale. What is true is that wages differ from one firm to another, from one workshop to another. What is true is that basic wages are rounded off and increased, at times doubled, by a complicated game of bonuses. It is a picture of a trade-union movement that thinks in terms of firms and grades.

But then, you will say, why has Thorez issued his slogan of complete pauperization? The answer is to be found neither in the study of the French situation nor in the works of Karl Marx. It is to be found, as always, in a Soviet instruction. The latest manual of political economy to appear in the USSR, signed by ten "eminent" Russian economists, declares: "In the twentieth century the real wages of workers in England, the United States, France, and Italy and in the other capitalist countries are at a lower level than in the middle of the nineteenth century." It is even stipulated that "in France and Italy the real wages of the workers in 1952 were less than half those obtaining before the war . . ."

It is not the voice of Thorez that we are listening to: it is his master's voice. No doubt his master has to explain to the Russian workers that if their lot is miserable that of their brothers living under capitalist régimes is even blacker.

S. PARANE.

## 'The Vicious Circle of Gas Rings'

ONE manifestation of our present cockeyed set up is the modern "bed-sitter". It is a refined commercial term advertised daily in the "best" newspapers, used to disguise what is in reality a sparsely furnished bedroom-cum-living room, devoid of the essential amenities and a disgrace to the twentieth century. And unfortunately that doesn't mean very much.

But nevertheless to-day in the centre of the world so to speak, exist a formidable number of unfortunate victims of the various housing policies. People who have had to resort to the dubious services of landlords and landladies.

The poor unfortunates who have to tolerate these conditions are in effect "single celled amoeba". Their whole activities and conducted in a small room. Eating, sleeping, washing and cooking. Not a very hygienic environment for a start. And on the whole the complete cooking equipment is usually a small gas-ring and all the ingenuity one can muster. Is it any wonder to-day that thousands of young people, who try to achieve some degree of independence end up chronically ill as a result of malnutrition? The only thing one can cook on a gas ring is an egg or a kipper, and for a hot nourishing meal the in-

mates of these monastic institutions need to resort to the café round the corner. And a sign of the times to-day is to give as little as you can for as much as you can get. And the landladies of England are certainly good sign-writers. The high rents they receive for single furnished rooms often exceed the actual rent of the whole house. And the furniture (if it can be called that in most cases), is of absolutely no consequence when it comes to assessing the value of the room. But the most distressing feature conspicuous by its absence is the cooker.

If a room is going to be termed a home for a single person then it should be complete. Single people have to pay quite enough for rents and other expenses incurred during the day without having to spend any extra on meals outside of their rooms. If amenities were made available, such as a small cooker instead of the diabolical contraption known as the single gas ring, and were to be a necessary feature of these rooms then at least half the trouble could be melted away. For company is an important part in the lonely spinster's or bachelor's existence, and the inability to cook a meal in their room makes it impracticable to invite friends.

Of course, the State will encourage people to marry and raise a family, knowing that the dependent family is the backbone of any State. When a man has a wife and a couple of bawling children to support, a television and radio to pay for he is less inclined to be a radical or revolutionary and will keep his nose to the grindstone and not be too keen to go on strike. And every effort is made to ensure that single people only remain single for as long as they can hold out. No council would consider letting one of their flats to a single person. And that is one of the things we need to change. This lunatic set of values is incomprehensible though obviously logical to the moralists who talk about the sanctity of the family. So let us resolve to do something about this immediate situation. And as we have been told by the Tories that our standards of living will be doubled in twenty-five years, don't let it mean that we shall have two gas rings instead of one.

ANARCHIST.

MONTY.

## The Bhoodan Movement

Continued from p. 2

production. If it is to be so, the mechanical power that the villager can use must be of a nature to suit these requirements. There is electricity which can be broken up in small units and transmitted at long distances. Whatever industry cannot be broken up or decentralised because of the requirements of modern life, must be socially owned by independent and autonomous corporations representative of the interests concerned, labour, management, the consumer and the State. This will be a new kind of industrial revolution which will avoid the evils of over-mechanisation and centralisation, and urbanisation.

### A Revolution in Politics

ALONG with this revolution in economic organisation, Sarvodaya aims at bringing about a revolution in the political field. Every step in centralisation curtails the liberty of the individual and his capacity to manage his own affairs, in favour of the expert and the bureaucrat. In politics, this centralisation even in democracy has gone so far as to make the State all-powerful. The power of the individual voter, the master in democracy has been reduced to less than the millionth of the power of the State. This reduced power the so-called free citizen of modern democracies enjoys periodically, after four or five years, at the time of the general elections. Even then, the only choice left to him is to choose between two or three sets of rulers. Elections over, the citizen in a centralised democracy is almost as powerless as under a totalitarian régime. If democracy, in the sense of the people managing their own affairs is to prevail, this great power of the State must be decentralised or broken up. "Power" as Lord Acton rightly said "has the tendency to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely". Humanity must get this power in digestible doses. Free India of Gandhiji's conception, which is also Sri Vinoba's conception, is to consist of semi-independent rural republics that will manage all their local affairs, including education, police and the administration of justice. The Indian Union must look after the over-all unity and prosperity of the State. It is wrong to think that the strength of State lies

merely in its central government. Vigorous local self-government adds to the strength of the centre. Gandhiji often said that in his conception of free India the capital of the country will not be in Delhi but in every village. That is every village must have opportunities as good as Delhi for cultured and civilized living. The Bhoodan idea is thus the Sarvodaya idea of Gandhiji with temporary emphasis on the equitable redistribution of land which by slow degrees should belong, as of old, to village communities, cultivated on a co-operative basis. It is, therefore, that Sri Vinoba, wherever he is offered accepts a whole village as gift. He aims at co-operative farming. But it must be voluntary and not imposed on the villages by force as has been done in Bolshevik Russia. Whole villages would also give opportunities to work out the new conception of social reconstruction as conceived in Sarvodaya.

Thus not only does the Bhoodan movement imply new values of truth and non-violence applied both to individual and collective group life but new institutions through which the new values and the new spirit are to work. Only thus conceived is the Bhoodan movement revolutionary in its aims and the methods it employs to bring about social change.

J. B. KRIPALANI.

## What the Butler Said

Then . . .

It's only a wartime measure,  
This horrible purchase tax.  
And when peace comes again  
Like the sun after rain  
It will give us inordinate pleasure  
To lift this big load from your backs.

. . . and Now

Yes, we know for ten years we've had peace.

But, you see, we are terribly clever:  
Whether Labour or Tory,  
We've told the same story;  
So you might as well know, you poor geese,

This tax will be with you forever.  
ANARCHO-COLUMNIST.

# Anarchism and Israel

INSTEAD of a point-by-point refutation of Philip Sansom's letter (FREEDOM 4/12/55) on the subject of Israel, I should like to amplify the views I expressed in my previous letter (27/11/55). Before doing so, however, I would point out that Mr. Sansom seems to be in some confusion as to the basic facts of the situation (since when have there been any Arab refugees on Israel territory?), and apparently the slightest subtlety is lost on him, e.g. because the word "alleged" is implicit, but not explicit, in the last paragraph of my letter, he imagines a contradiction to be present.

To proceed to more important matters, it is a fallacy to believe that a consistent attitude based on a single moral principle will result in less suffering and loss of life than making concessions to expediency. Even Gandhi admitted that a peaceful Japanese occupation of India would have cost more lives than the Allied military campaign to prevent an occupation. An anti-militarist approach to Israel's problem was recently tried by an Israeli who crossed into No-Man's Land on the Israel-Jordan frontier, unarmed, and carrying a large white flag, with the intention of seeking out King Hussein of Jordan, to persuade him to negotiate with Israel. Before many minutes had passed, he was shot by Arab Legion sentries. His body and the flag were later returned to Israel, via U.N. Apparently the purists would like to see the entire Israeli nation adopt a similar approach. But apart from this obviously suicidal policy, what else have they to suggest? If they cannot face the obvious fact that there are times when a community cannot dissolve itself as a Power without destroying itself completely, then they cannot be expected to see reason on any subject.

The argument that the State of Israel should not have been established in the first place is irrelevant. Up to the present, over one and a half million Jews have settled in Israel. The data of the problem is that they are there. I am merely trying to point out that they have a right to defend themselves against would-be exterminators. Even if they were faced with such insuperable odds

as to doom them from the start, their struggle would still be worth while. As with the defenders of the Paris Commune in 1871, as with the fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1942, so with Israel in a conflict with the Arab States: a fight to the finish. Those who fail to see the necessity of going down fighting in such extreme cases presumably enjoy martyrdom. It is fortunate that those who are so constituted have been, are, and probably always will be an insignificant minority.

I venture to doubt whether many Israelis are worried concerning the problems which would be raised by an Israeli victory in a possible war. It would of course be impossible, as P.S.

points out, for Israel to occupy the Arab States. But this is not necessary. Frontier revisions would be carried out, greatly strengthening her defences, and an occupation of Suez, Cairo, and the Nile delta would suffice to impose terms on Egypt. As for the possibility of an Arab war of revenge a few years later, that is a chance which must be taken.

If P.S. really believes that one should never make any concessions to expediency, he should commit suicide immediately, unless he can find a way of living which does not involve paying purchase tax, rent, and contributing, directly or indirectly to the profits of a multitude of capitalist enterprises.

B. GELSTEIN.

## A Reply: The Crisis in Israel

THERE seems little scope for discussion if one side ignores the arguments of the other and merely reiterates an argument irrespective of what has been said. But I feel rather like taking the same attitude myself since there seems so little common ground between Mr. Gelstein and myself.

However, since he has managed to confuse my attitude, not by dealing with it but by misrepresenting it, there are one or two points that must be answered.

In the first place he is introducing a completely irrelevant line of argument by asserting that it is a fallacy that a consistent attitude means less suffering than the expediencies he is prepared to embrace. My argument originally was simply that the expediency of war—and that's some expediency, after all—will not solve Israel's problems. Whatever will solve it, whether principles are involved or not, war will not bring the solution and I showed why and I'm not surprised that Mr. Gelstein chooses not to deal with the points.

Although he does say that he doubts whether many Israelis were concerned about the problems that would follow an Israeli victory. So they are to be led into a war without concerning themselves about the result; they are to accept blindly the arguments that B.G. accepts that it is fight or go under, without realising that it almost certainly will mean fight and go under. While the smooth way in which he talks of the occupation of Suez, Cairo and the Nile Delta, which would suffice to impose terms on Egypt, is breath-taking in its cold-blooded superficiality.

For how many Jews would be slaughtered in this adventure? We will not discuss the Arab dead since Mr. Gelstein clearly does not consider their plight, but in this matter it would seem that I am more concerned about Jewish lives than he is. I don't want to see Jews destroyed in this futile struggle—and it will be futile in the only terms in which expediency claims superiority: that of solving immediate problems. For B.G. glibly talks of the 'chance to be taken' of Arab revenge later. Easy to say, but it means taking chances with the lives of future generations of Israelis.

What it really boils down to is that Mr. Gelstein is prepared to see thousands of Jews slaughtered in an attempt to secure the survival of the State of Israel, and he gives this probability a romantic gloss by speaking of 'going down fighting', while at the same time maintaining that it is I (or the 'purists' to whom he refers) who presumably enjoy martyrdom.

May I assure him that I enjoy so little the thought of martyrdom that I don't even enjoy the thought of other people's martyrdom in the way that he seems to, even to the point of seeing it and approving it where it didn't exist.

I refer here to the Warsaw uprising, which was not in 1942 but two years later (unless there was one in '42 of which I have not heard). But the significant rising in Warsaw was in the winter of '44-'45, when the Russian army was driving the Germans back across Poland and approaching the gates of the city. It has been established that there was an exchange of information between Resistance leaders in Warsaw and the Russian commanders giving the former to understand that the Russians were coming straight on.

The Poles rose against the Germans, expecting Russian aid within a couple of days. Instead of advancing, however, the Russians halted and rested while the Germans slaughtered the Polish Resistance, and when the uprising was completely crushed, then the Russians advanced. It saved the Russians having to deal with an armed and militant Polish Resistance themselves. But the point for our present discussion is that the Poles did not rise until they thought they had every chance of success through Russian liberation. And no-one was

more surprised than they when they were betrayed by the Russian commanders and left roasting.

In other words they did not rise against insuperable odds knowing they were doomed from the start. For five years they sat tight and not until they thought the odds were in their favour did they make a move.

By trying to quote Gandhi, Mr. Gelstein shows a similar confusion. When Gandhi made the statement B.G. attributes to him he was already committed to support the war, and he was therefore in the position of having to justify his support of the British Imperialists whom he had been supposedly fighting all his life. I could help Mr. Gelstein find many examples of political chicanery to support his argument. We could even quote the example of Hitler, who only wanted to 'strengthen his defences' by annexing Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Poland. When that landed him in war, he only had to occupy Paris to impose terms on the French, and then again greatly strengthen his defences by frontier revisions to the west coasts of Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway and then by going East. Oh it's a great game if you don't weaken. But who are the martyrs—those who resist the game, or those who play it for the benefit of their masters?

One of Mr. Gelstein's phrases is particularly depressing. He says 'It is fortunate that [we] have been, are and probably always will be, an insignificant minority'. Was it fortunate that anarchists were an insignificant minority in Germany in 1933? Is it fortunate that we are ditto in Egypt to-day? Had we not been such a minority in Russia 1917-21 there would not be a Russian government selling arms to Egypt to-day.

But isn't it fortunate, Mr. Gelstein, that the data of the problem is that there is a Russian government, unhampered by ineffectual purists? That there was a Third Reich able to carry out a realistic programme of national defence? And aren't the Jews fortunate to have a strong man at the head of their National State, who is quite ready to throw the whole Israeli nation against insuperable odds so that the whole of their community can go down fighting.

How fortunate that the present structure of world society has not been, is not being, and probably never will be, replaced by something saner and safer for all the peoples of the world!

London.

P.S.

# EDUCATION & CHARACTER

IF I have to teach algebra I can expect to succeed in giving my pupils an idea of quadratic equations with two unknown quantities. Even the slowest-witted child will understand it so well that he will amuse himself by solving equations at night when he cannot fall asleep. . . . But if I am concerned with the education of character, everything becomes problematic. I try to explain to my pupils that envy is despicable, and at once I feel the secret resistance of those who are poorer than their comrades. I try to explain that it is wicked to bully the weak, and at once I see a suppressed smile on the lips of the strong. I try to explain that lying destroys life, and something frightful happens: the worst habitual liar of the class produces a brilliant essay on the destructive power of lying. I have made the fatal mistake of giving instruction in ethics, and what I have said is accepted as current coin of knowledge; nothing of it is transformed into character-building substance.

But the difficulty lies still deeper. In all teaching of a subject I can announce my intention of teaching as openly as I please, and this does not interfere with the results. After all, pupils do want, for the most part, to learn something, even if not overmuch, so that a tacit agreement becomes possible. But as soon as my pupils notice that I want to educate their characters I am resisted precisely by those who show most signs of genuine independent character: they will not let themselves be educated, or rather, they do not like the idea that

somebody wants to educate them. And those, too, who are seriously labouring over the question of good and evil, rebel when one dictates to them as though it were some long-established truth, what is good and what is bad; and they rebel just because they have experienced over and over again how hard it is to find the right way. Does it follow that one should keep silent about one's intention of educating character, and act by ruse and subterfuge? No; I have just said that the difficulty lies deeper. It is not enough to see that education of character is not introduced into a lesson in class; neither may one conceal it in cleverly arranged intervals. Education cannot tolerate such politic action.

Even if the pupil does not notice the hidden motive it will have its negative effect on the actions of the teacher himself by depriving him of the directness which is his strength. Only in his whole being, in all his spontaneity can the educator truly affect the whole being of his pupil. For educating characters you do not need a moral genius, but you do need a man who is wholly alive and able to communicate himself directly to his fellow beings. His aliveness streams out to them and effects them most strongly and purely when he has no thought of affecting them.

—MARTIN BUBER:  
*Between Man and Man.*

## 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)

**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.

INSANITAS presents:  
**SONS AND LOVERS**  
or HE IS RISEN

A Nativity Play for the Sacred Season.  
SATURDAY 31st DECEMBER at 9 p.m.

THE Malatesta Club is looking for new premises. The notice on the present premises expires on Christmas Day, owing to the plans of the owners of the building, the Post Office, for demolition and expansion.

However, since search by the members over the past few months has not been rewarding, there seems to be no alternative but to stay on at the present address until the bulldozers arrive.

The Club will therefore remain open as usual for as long as possible, but visitors, and all users, will do so at their own risk.

An announcement will of course be made as soon as a new address is found.

## FREEDOM PRESS

- VOLINE :**  
*Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed)* cloth 12s. 6d.
- E. A. GUTKIND :**  
*The Expanding Environment* 8s. 6d.
- V. RICHARDS :**  
*Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* 6s.
- MARIE-LOUISE BERNERI :**  
*Neither East nor West* cloth 10s. 6d., paper 7s. 6d.  
*Workers in Stalin's Russia* 1s.
- ALEX COMFORT :**  
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*Art and the Evolution of Man* 4s.  
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*Poetry and Anarchism* cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d.  
*The Philosophy of Anarchism* boards 2s. 6d., paper 1s.  
*The Education of Free Men* 1s.
- JOHN HEWETSON :**  
*Sexual Freedom for the Young* 6d.  
*Ill-Health, Poverty and the State* cloth 2s. 6d., paper 1s.

- M. BAKUNIN :**  
*Marxism, Freedom and the State.* cloth 5s.
- PETER KROPOTKIN :**  
*The State: Its Historic Role* 1s.  
*The Wage System* 3d.  
*Revolutionary Government* 3d.  
*Organised Vengeance Called Justice* 2d.
- GEORGE WOODCOCK :**  
*Anarchy or Chaos* 2s. 6d.  
*New Life to the Land* 6d.  
*Homes orhovels?* 6d.  
*Railways and Society* 3d.  
*What is Anarchism?* 1d.  
*The Basis of Communal Living* 1s.
- PHILIP SANSOM :**  
*Syndicalism—The Workers' Next Step* 1s.
- ★  
**K. J. KENAFICK :**  
*Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx* paper 6s.
- ★  
**Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications :**  
*Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A Tribute* cloth 5s.  
*Journey Through Utopia* cloth 16s. (U.S.A. \$2.50)
- 27, Red Lion Street,  
London, W.C.1.**

## CRAFT & COMMUNITY IN COVENTRY

THE problem of age in industry has been tackled by at least one firm in Coventry which employs quite a number of old and crippled people, and a special bus service is laid on for them. The work is connected with the making of gauges, tools and instruments used in engineering.

I had the pleasure of teaching several old craftsmen (who were over 65), the technique of working in thousandths of an inch instead of the half-inches they were accustomed to. This work is almost always done sitting down and calls for just the qualities of patience, care and attention to detail that comes with maturity.

Certain unskilled men (and women) who are teachable have also been fitted in. Coventry has a tradition of craftsmanship going right back into the great age of communal skill, and a few examples—buildings, metalwork and tapestries—still survive. The Coventry watch-makers had their workshops at the top of their houses (still there) and individual and communal skill was highly developed. Peter Kropotkin studied the same mode of working among the Swiss watchmakers and developed his anarchist ideas accordingly.

From the craftsmen's organisation in Coventry came the first factory-made sewing machines, and then bicycles, Cars, jets and airplanes have followed. But—the tendency to form gangs and groups still survives and is an accepted feature in even the largest and most sordid capitalist concern. Craftsmanship is still the basis of large scale industry and no amount of 'organisation' can eliminate it.

The official trade union leadership is largely a rubber-stamp machine which registers 'officially' the fact already accomplished—that the ordinary workers have wrested reasonably good conditions and pay from their employers. The wrestling has been done mainly in the factory and has taken years to accomplish, and the old craftsmen have been the vehicle of the tradition and are valued for that as well as for the new work they have learned to do. Certain scoffers have been told: 'These old fellows can learn your engineering, but you cannot make their watches—cannot even repair them.'

Coventry. MIDLANDER.