Freedom is the will to be responsible for oneself.

NIETZSCHE

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ANARCHIST

Threepence

They Came to Bury Stalin, Not to Praise Him

OF STALIN MYTH

IN Moscow last week Harry Pollitt, secretary of the British Communist Party, delivered his speech of comradely greetings to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

He said: 'In Britain, where a handful of monopolists is ruling over the entire economic life of the country, doubts, confusion and uncertainty exist.' Now apart from the fact that precisely the same words could be used about the Soviet Union, we cannot help wondering if there is any body of people in Britain among whom there can be more doubt, more confusion or more uncertainty than Mr. Pollitt's own Party.

as forthright criticism and indeed condemnation of Stalin, his policies and his practises.

The present-day leaders of the them?

what it likes to its own people and can gag any criticism and opposition that may result. But the C.P. in-

For at this conference, a line has been taken which five years ago was absolutely unthinkable. At last the discernable tendency to allow the memory of Joseph Stalin to fade quietly away has come into the open

Russian Communist Party have now that the bloody-minded old tyrant is dead-found the courage to criticised his works. And for them, this is probably a very good move. But for the parties abroad—what of

The Soviet Government can say

The Bread and

There is a difference in the economic theories of a Gaitskell and a Butler. But it affects the means only; the ends it seems to us are common to the Tories and Labour: to save the capitalist system. Gaitskell believes in greater government control of the economy and a fairer distribution of wealth. The Popular Front government in France tried a similar thing in 1936. The 200 families were prepared to drive the country to bankruptcy rather than give in. So that apart from the fact that Labour's economic programme would not eliminate the crises that are part of capitalism it is doubtful whether even with a majority in Parliament they would be allowed to get away with such measures by the large industrial organisations.

The present government's latest measures are spiteful as well as futile. As for what will be "saved" by the cuts in milk and bread subsidies, it has since been announced in a Government white paper that the wages bill in the British Forces will be increased by £67 millions a year in order to attract more people to make the Services their career! We were told recently by some bureaucrat that the miners were being "coddled". At least they produce coal! Which can hardly be said for the new Army fed on our bread and milk!

say—Britain, has no such power. Khruchchev and Co. may make of it an Aunt Sally, and the British C.P. must just stand and take it.

And how stupid they are made to look! For twenty years the Communists built up the Stalin Myth. Created a picture of a mighty genius, benevolently guiding, infallibly, the destiny of the 'Socialist Sixth of the World'—and through that the common man everywhere.

He was Always Right

The gentle Stalin suffered little children to come unto him, like Jesus. Like God he was slow to anger but how terrible in his judgment of all who sinned against him. Great social thinker in time of peace; great warrior in war; no praise was too lavish, no servility unjustified in the eyes of the Communist Party, led by Harry Pollitt, to do homage to the one man above all others who knew what was best for every worker and peasant in the world.

For twenty years the Party jumped when Stalin jumped Liquidation of the kulaks? O.K. if Stalin says so. Massive purges of the Party and the Red Army? Must be correct if Stalin orders it. A pact with Hitler? Stalin knows what he's doing.

Russia groaned under a tyranny such as the most brutal Czars barely dreamed of. But for the British Communist Party everything was all right, for Stalin was directing affairs and Stalin could do no wrong. And all who dared to criticise were soon unmasked as agents of the workers'

and Negroes in the Southern States of

imperialist enemies.

But last week Harry Pollitt sat in the Kremlin and listened to the present leadership of the Russian Communist Party condemn Stalin's policies and the whole basis of his Big Brother act.

Put in His Place

He heard Khrushchev put Stalin in his place by mentioning him in the same breath as Klement Gottwald and Kyuchi Tokuda, and dismissing all three dead leaders in the same moment's silence. Khrushchev affirmed the principle of 'collective leadership', which was taken up later and steered by Anastas Mikoyan, a First Vice-Premier, who launched into an open attack on the late dictator.

'For nearly 20 years,' said Mikoyan, 'we had in fact no collective leadership. The cult of personality flourished, a cult which had already been condemned by Marx and then by Lenin. And this could not fail to exert an extremely negative influence on the internal situation of the

ANOTHER VICTIM OF THE HIROSHIMA ATOM BOMB

HIROSHIMA, FEBRUARY 17. The Kyodo News Service to-day reported the death of "the fourth victim of the atom bomb this year." He was Sanetoshi Hamashiro, a farmer, who was near the railway station when the atomic bomb was dropped on August 6, 1945.

The news service said he appeared in good health until November, when his gums began to bleed and his white blood cell count dropped. He was sent to hospital and never recovered.—Associated Party and its activities.'

Now that collective leadership has been re-established, however, the Central Committee is in a position to rectify the 'mistakes and shortcomings which had accumulated during the past years.'

At the last Congress, the 19th,

Stalin's much-lauded essay, Economic Problems of Socialism, dominated the Party policy. Then Mikoyan described this essay as 'an inspired work', but at this Congress he has apparently changed his mind, for he now says: 'It can hardly help us and is hardly correct . . . The theory of the absolute stagnation of capitalism is alien to Marxist-Leninism . . . The wealth of ideas of Marxist-Leninism cannot be contained in this limited framework'.

Continued on p. 4

Letter from France

Algeria: Passion & Figures

FVERY day farms cultivated by French settlers blaze in the Constantine area. Every night the military units fall back on the forts or the villages, and the look-outs keep watch over little-known landscapes surrounded by populations of whom they know nothing. More than 200,000 troops from France are trying to maintain the authority of Paris over the three Algerian departments. Three thousand fellaghas, poorly armed and equipped, are holding half the territory. Certain regions belong to the army until sundown and pass under the control of the resistance forces until dawn. The operations map gives only the coastal zones to French authority.

What does this situation mean if not that Algeria knows stability no longer and that the whole of the Moslem populations are heart and soul with the insurgents, since only armed force permits the maintenance of metropolitan power? The official declarations about "the terror" that makes "banditry" prevail over the "peaceful" Berber and Kabyle inhabitants may mislead those who think only in terms of words; they are in flagrant contradiction to daily events.

The trend of development is defined by two phenomena: the Algerian men of straw chosen by the French administration to provide stooges for collaboration are rallying the independence movement en masse; and the French population in the big towns is afraid, adopts an extremist attitude, and calls for repression because it knows that its entire destiny is now at stake.

The fact that the traditional inter-

play between autochthonous political and social forces on the one hand and the institutions and parties of the Europeans who have settled in Algeria on the other hand has broken down illustrates how, in a few years, the situation has been transformed. Until 1950 there was a sort of classical mechanism that controlled relations between the Moslem population and Paris. Among the indigenous Algerians there were two currents, one moderate, which had for its spokesman Ferhat Abbas and which demanded recognition of equal rights between metropolitan French and Moslem French, the other more eager and insisting on dependence, expounded by Messali Hadj, the old leader of the North African Star and an influential militant from the North Africans working in France. Among the metropolitan French there was indeed recognition of the power of the French in Algeria: the government appointed a Resident, who soon became a prisoner of the transmediterranean cliques and interests; if he showed any hankering for independence he did not have to wait long to be isolated, and he finished up by being recalled.

Gerrymandered elections always gave victory to the "francophils"; the administrative machinery was completely in the hands of the settlers; the police placed themselves entirely at the disposal of Continued on p. 3

Milk Budget

FRANCE can boast of having had more governments in the past ten THE reaction to integration of Whites years than the rest of Europe combined. But which country can challenge the British achievements of Four Budgets in America is violent and obvious. No twelve months? As we write the debate less deplorable are the discriminatory on the government's economic policy is measures adopted both officially and by taking place, and the vote will be a "conthe European community in some of the fidence vote" on the government, which British protectorates. The monopoly of is a foregone conclusion since the govviolence against the Black man is not ernment will not take any risks of hangheld exclusively by the Southern States ing itself by removing the Whips. And or the Union of South Africa; the recent we shall proceed from crisis to prosperity history of Kenya, to take one example, and back again with more cuts and an where tacit support was given to brutal occasional sixpence offered to the proacts against the native population, except fessional classes. But when will the in the more obvious widely publicised people hold their own vote of confidence instances, show us that when the British not on this or that government but on constitutional methods fail to dominate, the capitalist system itself? they will turn to the cruder forms of re-

pressive measures. Most people are also inclined to accept the widely held theoretical belief that there is no colour bar in this country. Yet a careful discussion, if indeed a reasonable discussion is possible, with the educated as well as the uneducated, will reveal a basic fear of the Black man, and the conviction that he is somehow different and inferior. This attitude as expressed in practical terms is obvious when we consider that few jobs are open to the coloured man resident in this country. The trade unionist who strikes against the employment of coloured labour with the specious argument that his economic rights are threatened, is saying in effect. that if jobs are scarce, the White man has a greater right to work and, therefore, eat than the Black man. On another level those who say that the Black man is equal to the White, but, we must draw the line at inter marriage, are

> We are often told in growing terms from political platforms how just Britain has been in conceding a degree of self rule to the indigenous peoples of the colonies, but we find on investigation that the concessions have been forced from them by a people no longer willing to be dominated (at least by the White

> merely saying that the 'purity' of the

White man must be preserved.

man).

Where the selected coloured representatives are co-operative with the British Government and likely to be loyal servants there is a greater measure of "selfrule" than in areas where there is less co-operation.

Jim Crow in British Africa

Southern Rhodesia

A few days ago, a member of the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, Mr. Aitken Cade, resigned from his membership of the governing Federal party in the Federal Government because the policies being followed by the Federal party were so liberal (?) racially, and that they must inevitably end in the transfer of political power in the federation from Europeans to Africans. But as if to console Mr. Cade in his fear of too much racial freedom, a few days later when Lord Salisbury was given the Freedom of Salisbury, the Indian and Pakistani diplomatic representatives were given seats in a different part of the hall from those occupied by other representatives. It is reported that some Europeans have come out in vigorous support of Mr. Cade and his policies, but that others have been equally strong in their condemnation of the treatment of the Indian and Pakistani diplomats.

Liberal racial policies are not as obvious in Rhodesia-as Mr. Cade would have us believe. For instance non-Europeans are not permitted by law to occupy houses in European residential areas. In effect the freedom fills Mr. Cade with such indignation is maintained within certain clearly defined limits (as indeed as the freedom enjoyed by us all in this country). The Federal Government has however, allocated two Government-owned houses in a European residential area to the Indian and Pakistani representatives. It is reported that no serious objections to the two families concerned have been made, but that local white residents are likely to protest against the attendance of one at the local Grammar School. The Cen- to the White.

tral African correspondent of the Man-

chester Guardian writes that: "In face of this difficulty the Federal Government has to choose between once more forcing an issue on which a large proportion of the European electorate which elected it feels strongly and retreating, the better to fight at some

future date." It would be foolish to assume, however, that the Federal Government is a forward-looking institution strangled by the prejudices of the European settlers. What we have to remember is that India plays an important part in International politics and the effects of discriminatory measures against her representatives are likely to have repercussions. As long therefore as the two houses are only occupied by diplomatic representatives, the European residents and the Government will no doubt swallow the bitter pill for the time being.

Northern Rhodesia

On the Northern Rhodesian copperbelt the European mineworkers' union has decided to 'permit' Africans to take up certain types of work hitherto exclusively held by Europeans. The proviso being that the union will not undertake to train Africans. It is reported that on two of the mines where Europeans are moving out they are in fact teaching Africans what they require to know, but in other mines the rigid official union policy is being maintained.

In face of these few examples of racial discrimination the general view will no doubt be that the British way is to move towards racial equality constitutionally and without violence, but that the process will take time in order to educate the backward peoples of the colonies to our civilised way of life.

What most people do not seem to understand, is that physical violence is in many ways no more degrading than the more subtle violation of man's dignity which expresses itself in the view coloured child from one of the families that the Black man is after all inferior R.M.

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AGAINST THE LAW, by Peter Wildeblood. Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 16s.

HOMOSEXUALITY & British PROSTITUTION. Medical Association, 2s. 6d.

DETER WILDEBLOOD was one of the defendants in the notorious "Montague Case"; in court he admitted he was a homosexual, was found guilty of committing "serious offences" and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

In his book, from which self-pity is notably absent, he gives an account of his life. His childhood was an average one for a boy of his class (the professional)-full of unnecessary childish fears, dominated by uninterested "nannies", eventually sent to one of those Satanic mills for grinding the spirit, an English boarding school. In spite of his upbringing he emerged into adulthood a lively, intelligent and humane person -and a homosexual. He does not consider that his environment perverted him to homosexuality but rather that he is an invert, i.e. that his condition was genetically determined.

In common with many other homosexuals he managed to hide the fact from most of his friends and acquaintances; this was a necessity if he was to have much success in the "normal" world. As a journalist he did become successful and was the Diplomatic Correspondent of the Daily Mail at the time of his arrest.

The process by which the State exacted its vengeance on three persons-Lord Montague, Major Pitt-Rivers, and Peter Wildeblood-who were alleged to have conducted their sexual life in the way they wished to-was a lengthy and sordid one. It makes unpleasant but salutary reading for those of us who have not suffered from the attentions of the

But even more unsavoury matter is provided by the author's description of

REVIEW

PROBLEM-MAKER THE LAW:

life in our antiquated prisons. It is yet another indictment of what Carlo Levi has called those cages of the human spirit, which are an integral part of our State apparatus.

A fact about prison life at Wormwood Scrubs which occurs again and again in this book is the almost complete lack of understanding shown by authority towards the prisoners' problems. Attempts at rehabilitation are infrequent and when they do occur, ineffective. Naturally the cynicism of authority towards its charges breeds a reciprocal attitude. But perhaps the most harmful cynicism is displayed by those responsible for sending homosexuals to prison. The utter uselessness of confining such people, on the pretext that they will be "deterred", to a segregated community where homosexual practices thrive, is self-evident: and yet it is still done, and the system defended by those who should know better.

THE British Medical Association is a body which should certainly know better, at any rate to the extent to which it represents the views of the medical profession. Yet support for the present legal sanctions against homosexuals (and prostitutes) is apparent throughout their report on Homosexuality and Prostitu-

The fault which virtually makes the report worthless is that it is not a disinterested analysis of the problems from a medical and scientific viewpoint but an apology for the State's methods of dealing with them. One does not expect, for example, moralising on "vice" in the style of John Gordon of the Sunday Express from a group of doctors. Yet we find the following phrases used:

"Doctors have been alive to the moral dangers of illicit sexual activity ever since the days of Hippocrates"; "homosexuality and prostitution [are] activities amounting to social ills"; "the Committee believes that the weakening of personal responsibility with regard to social and national welfare . . . may be one of the causes of the apparent increase in homosexual practices and in prostitution"; [a safeguard against homosexual practices] can be achieved by promoting in the minds, motives, and will of the people a desire for clean and unselfish living"; "the behaviour and appearance of homosexuals congregating blatantly in public houses, streets, and restaurants are an outrage to public deceney", etc.

However, when the report manages to forget about keeping up a high moral tone, some quite useful information emerges. There is, for instance, a summary, invaluable to the layman, of medical opinion on the causes of homosexuality. From this it would appear that the majority agree that the condition of the "essential" homosexual (i.e. one who is incapable of heterosexual acts) has a genetic basis: according to a professor whose findings the report quotes at length, "in the great majority of cases of homosexuality the conditions is not abnormal but an example of a natural and probably inevitable, type of biological variation". And yet it is the actions arising from this "natural" and "probably inevitable" condition that the State penalises and is supported for so doing elsewhere in the report! How is it that a group of doctors can be so inhuman as to approve the punishment of an individual for doing what he cannot help doing?

The evidence concerning the causes of "acquired" homosexuality, would also seem to call for a more humane approach than that approved by the doc-

"Homosexual patients seen by psychiatrists in prisons, or referred by the courts, frequently give histories of strained parental relationships, including marital disharmony, separations, or the absence of one parent in early childhood."

A treatment for such persons suggested by a Senior Prison Medical Officer and quoted with approval in the following paragraph, is a prime example of the sort of superficial remedy suggested throughout the report-

"If homosexuals can be brought into communion (not necessarily literally) with a fixed body of normal [sic] people such as one meets in the Christian community a very great step in overcoming their sense of inadequacy and inferiority will be taken . . . if there is any other solution than belief in Christian doctrine and principles and faith then I do not know it, nor do I find myself able to conceive of one."

An interesting comment on this solution is provided by a footnote appearing an another page-"Homosexuals are often found to be attracted to the atmosphere of churches with its mysticism and

Banned Books

HAIGHT: BANNED BOOKS, R. R. Bowker Co., U.S.A., 36/--

THIS is a second and enlarged edition of a book first published in 1935.

It contains notes on the banning or censoring of a number of books, religious and secular, from 387 B.C. when Plato wished to expurgate the Odyssey, until the present day.

Some interesting entries include: the banning of various versions of the Bible by Christian clergy; until 1930 Defoe's Moll Flanders was banned in the U.S.A.; Anatole France on Zola—"his work is evil and he is one of those unhappy beings of whom one could say that it would be better had he never been born"; Kinsey's Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female was banned, in 1953, by the U.S. Army in Germany; Mickey Mouse was banned in Italy in 1938 and in East Berlin in 1954 (Mickey "was classed as an anti-Red rebel").

An appendix gives notes on the banning of books by Nazis; investigations of the U.S. libraries in 1952-3; horror comics; and important Court decisions on censorship. There is also a useful list of other books on the subject. M.G.W.

ceremony, and it is a curious fact that their consciences are sometimes so blinded that they may participate in religious observance while habitually indulging in homosexual practices".

A N equally contradictory attitude is found in the section on female prostitution; for example, the report states that "It is still true that the prostitute's client is most frequently an unaccompanied male who has taken alcohol and who has probably no intention of seeking a sexual partner until solicited"; while in the next paragraph a very different and more accurate, picture of why a man seeks a prostitutes is given-"the inability . . . to find a sexual partner who is not a prostitute"; "the inability

to find female companionship or any companionship other than that of a prostitute", "certain conditions which make the wife temporarily or permanently an unsuitable or unwilling sexual partner". One would recommend that the Committee, if they are unable to carry out some practical field-work themselves, read the excellent report sponsored by the British Social Biology Council and published under the title Women of the Streets (Seker & Warburg). It is the report of a social worker who really got to know prostitutes and their problems: it is not compiled from the reports of moral welfare workers, prison officers, or police statistics, as the BMA report appears to

Both prostitution and homosexuality are fields in which the law has created more problems than it set out to solve. Could it be that at least part of the answer is to be found in that section of the report that deals with female homosexuality?-"Homosexual practices between women are not illegal . . . female homosexuality has never presented a serious social problem".

M.G.W.

The Relevance of Pareto-3

(Continued from last week)

A NARCHISM is an attempt to question the 'obvious'. According to official ideology certain statements are 'obvious'-"We must vote one or other party to power". "Prisons are necessary for social order". "Britain is right in her relations with other countries". "Christian education produces moral conduct". These statements are of the kind which Pareto calls "non-experimental", that is they owe their strength not to any

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has been observed by those who maintain that their truth is 'obvious', but to the support they lend to certain 'residues' (see below). I hasten to add that many of the statements appearing in the wide literature of anarchism (my own writings included) are doubtless non-experimental. But nevertheless an important function of anarchism is to question what is conventionally 'obvious' in the very basis of social organization. The subjection of statements to the method of scientific analysis advocated by Pareto will not necessarily give us all the answers to every problem, but what it will do is to show up the degree to which such statements are based upon non-logical assumptions. No one aspires to live by logical rules alone; our intuitive judgment and our values have their importance. However, the major source of social ill lies in the attachment of powerful emotions to non-logical systems of belief in politics, religion and other spheres of social action.

This article cannot embrace the enormous scope of Pareto's work even to comment upon it all. It really has two aspects, his methods of analysis and his own theories about society which partly depend upon his own personal value judgments, which is the case with all of us. As a scientist he was open-minded, honest and showed a becoming humility in the face of the enormous problems he tackled. He wrote:

"I determined to begin my Trattato di Sociologia Generale, the sole purpose of which-I say sole and I insist upon the point-is to seek experimental reality, by the application to the social sciences of the methods which have proved themselves in physics, in chemistry, in astronomy, in biology and in other sciences.

No one knows better than I how imperfect this treatise is; but even if it ought soon to be forgotten, I hope that it will have been of some use, as a stone that is part of a great building: that of experimental science."

Turning to his own theories about society, as distinct from his methodology of analysis, we find him deeply pessimistic because of his gloomy realization of the extent of irrationality in most human affairs. He pours scorn upon the rationalist optimists who thought that all the problems of society were being solved by the application of late 19th century belief in progress. His own prejudices and dislikes were violent and eccentric both to conventional morality and to humanist ethics. To the

relation between cause and effect which present writer most of his personal values are pretty obnoxious. He sees society as doomed to be dominated by age-old irrational institutions; the forms of these institutions change but their essential qualities remain. These are the 'residues' mentioned earlier in this article. These 'residues' are manipulated by élites: in general there are two sorts of élites, a conservative élite depending upon ancient traditional values and using naked force to govern society, and an innovating élite which depends more upon new ideas, mass appeal and trickery to obtain and maintain power. These two élites tend to alternate in their dominance of society; when one has been in the saddle for a long period it begins to become decadent and is then thrown out of power by the other élite which has grown to new strength.

Pareto brings forward a great wealth of historical and social data to support his theory of élites, and even though one may not agree with his conclusions, he illuminates aspects of social change which have been neglected by too many writers. He is like Machiavelli in that he does not scruple to put down the whole truth as he sees it emerging from the record of man's history, but unlike Machiavelli he writes for no Prince but simply to explain the vast mystery of the strivings of human society. Like Machiavelli his writings have suffered from the general tendency which other writers have shown to dissociate themselves from such blatant a-moralism. Pareto created no school of sociological thought. In Italy he is now referred to as quite an important academic Economist but his writings on sociological analysis are presumably tarred by the brush of the Fascists who used his writings to give an intellectual veneer to their régime. In America, Pareto's writings have attracted the attention of some scientists since the English translation came out in 1935.

Machiavelli's Prince, which is a masterly study of the use of political power, has no doubt been studied by many despots who sought to strengthen their despotism. It is a pity that it has not had a wider readership among the people on whom the despotism was imposed, for to understand the mechanism of oppression is to understand the ways in which it can be resisted. In the same way Pareto's work lends itself to the student of society as a powerful and original means of gaining insight into complex mechanisms of social change. Most socialists have rejected it because of its destructive analysis of many of their cherished concepts; I suggest that anarchists can derive considerable illumination from it.

50,000 ACRES LOST EACH YEAR

MR. ROBERT CROUCH, Conservative M.P. for Dorset North, who is a farmer, said at a luncheon of the London School of Economics yesterday that responsible people should never forget the need of proper land use, and that greater attention should be given to the choice of building sites.

"A large population living on a small island cannot afford to waste one acre," he said. "Good fertile land is limited. Once it has been taken away from agriculture, it is lost for ever. Developments must take place on land of poor agricultural value. Do you realise that we lose about fifty thousand acres each

Manchester Guardian.

EXHIBITION

MCWILLIAM'S SCULPTURE

E. McWILLIAM'S sculpture, which is on exhibition at the Hanover Gallery, 32, St. George Street, W.1. until March 9th has been, for me, the final reward for a generally unrewarding round of the galleries.

Briefly, at the Prospect Gallery, 13, Duke Street, St. James', Kyffin Williams shows his paintings of Wales—the Welsh countryside with its bleak cottages and mountains. Nothing very distinguished here. Even when one has dug through the sticky crudities of Williams' palette knife technique and come to the real picture, even then there still remains so much which is banal and unworthy. One of the chief drawbacks of the palette knife is that it so often gives the illusion of expertness—so that even the dullest scene will seem to do. A few of these pictures, however, rise far above that level, but the occasional wellthought-out and well-painted mountain pass hardly compensates for so much which is frankly dull and lifeless.

At the Redfern Gallery, 20, Cork Street, W.1. Michael Wishart has a small and interesting show of recent paintings. These are very thinly painted with transparent washes of oil paint, skilfully floated onto large canvasses in carefully chosen areas. In these liquid islands the painter draws the Fish, Plankton, Butterfly or what have you of the picture's title. The strange, nearly convincing charm, of these clever paintings is very strong, but for me, at least, their charm is too silky, too precious, and altogether, too sophisticated. In the same gallery Richard Eurich, R.A. stages, with tremendous skill, a striking demonstration

of academic conservatism of quite incredible accomplishment. There are also some Sutherlands and Ceri Richards; these last two painters are worth looking

And now, to the Hanover. These works by McWilliam are not sculpture of the kind we are accustomed to-the materials he uses are unusual and strange, and yet, such is McWilliam's stature as a sculptor that he has, out of twists of wire and blobs of metal cement, created works of art of a very moving and original kind. This sculpture, full of sensitivity and refinement of emotion, scores most strongly in its power to compel our recognition of the essential quality of its being. Never for a moment is the sense of drama relaxed. Here is a human situation repeatedly stated, each time with a different emphasis, and such is the mastery of this sculptor that never once does he overstate, nor does he allow us to slacken our attention. Each work contains some agony, some joy, some true reflection of our sincerest emotions. With all these knobbly lumps and strange shapes McWilliam has steadily striven towards a texture which possesses an eloquence which no other surface would have yielded. There is nothing accidental—each colony of knobs and ripples is as deliberate in its artistic intention as ever a chisel and hammer could have achieved. It is not just the cleverness of the manipulation of the strange material composition which compels our admiration—that is merely incidental to the creative actit is the almost prophetic insight which McWilliam reasons into these vitally moving work? R.S.

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NOTES ON THE HANGING DEBATE

HAVE nothing to celebrate, have I? But I am not interested. I am more interested in darts." In these words Mr. Albert Pierrepoint the British hangman-in-chief summed up his feelings following the announcement that the House of Commons had, by a majority of 46, declared him redundant (or almost?). And because we prefer to be labelled as reformists rather than friends of the public hangman, we openly celebrated last week's news for anarchists have been intensely interested in the abolition of hanging for generations and rather less interested in darts!

The House of Commons vote is no triumph for politics, democracy or the system of government. Remember, the hangman's rope has supported our system for some 600 years, and barely a 100 years ago executions were still public spectacles. And remember too that the government in 1956 like all its predecessors (including Labour in 1948) "feel that it is their duty to advise the House that capital punishment must be retained".

THE actual debate which lasted six hours (an institution 600 years old voted out in six hours discussion or 120 columns of Hansard! Can the Americans beat that for speed—assuming they forget about the 600 years it took for these six hours to crystallise?)—the debate, we were saying, was a dingdong battle of statistics, personal experiences of ex-Home Secretaries and their Under-Secretaries, and added colour was given by other speakers such as the former judge in India who agreed that statistics on the subject proved nothing but "everyone of us knows inside himself whether violent death is a deterrent to us and whether it will deter us from doing certain things". And this was an excellent opportunity for the learned gentleman to wander off into war-time reminiscences, and for Mr. Silverman to lead him up the garden path:

Sir P. Spens: . . . Of course we have been deterred by bullets and bombs. I am not ashamed to confess that I have been gravely deterred, almost to the length of turning my back and not going forward when I ought to be going forward-

Mr. S. Silverman: But the right hon. and learned Member did not do so.

Sir P. Spens: I did not do so but I did not go forward in the way I would have done if there had not been bullets flying about . . .

But the sensation of the evening was the member who implied that but for the death penalty he would not be addressing them. He recounted how at some critical moment in his life he was intent on committing murder and it was only the vision of the rope that prevented him from carrying out his act.

For cynicism a former Conservative Attorney-General, Sir Lionel Heald was hard to beat. The following exchange took place on the question of the guilt of Evans (who it will be recalled was sent to the gallows on the evidence of the multimurderer Christie):

Sir L. Heald: . . . I was Attorney-General at the time and I prosecuted Christie. I knew all about the case and I think that Evans was Guilty-

Mr. Hale: Guilty of what?

Sir L. Heald: Guilty of murder.

Mr. Hale: Which murder? Sir L. Heald: I will make my speech in my own way if the hon. Gentleman does not mind.

My own view about the matter was

that both Christie and Evans were concerned in that murder and that it was only through a miscarriage of justice on a technical point that Christie was not hanged at that time. However we put that right later.

Mr. S. Silverman: Oh!

But essentially the debate was conducted by both sides with a view to capturing the "marginal votes" and thus we find Mr. Silvermanwho has worked so hard for abolition for many years—declaring in one breath, that the question is not of statistics nor can it be answered by the law books but is "a great moral issue" and in the next, he is wooing Sir Lucas-Tooth with arguments that do not do him justice (though he will perhaps justify his tactic by pointing to the fact that Sir Lucas voted with them!)

THE House of Commons was influenced less by the arguments put forward in the debate than by a noticeable reversal of attitude in certain sections of the Press which until a year ago were violently opposed to Abolition. The News of the World commenting on the results of the voting believes that "the majority of people . . . would have [in a referendum on the question] been willing, in the name of humanity and progress, to vote for suspension during a testing time", a concession to "public opinion" which this Sunday journal would not have

made a few years ago.

How then did all this change come about? We would suggest that recent events have been all in the abolitionists' favour. In spite of the Home Secretary's "considered opinion" that no innocent man has been hanged the Evans case has caused many people to have doubts (including the former Home Secretary Mr. Chuter Ede who at the time refused to reprieve Evans). The execution of Bentley was the result of police evidence, which the Glinski trial, for one, has demonstrated can be pure invention for the purpose of obtaining a conviction, but his execution also confirmed a widely held view that there are no reprieves when a policeman is killed, and the significance of this came home when the Home Secretary recently admitted that three men sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for an attack on a policeman were in fact not guilty. It took two years to establish their innocence. If the policeman had died it is most likely they would have hanged since the Home Secretary makes up his mind in four days on questions of reprieve!

The Campaign against Capital Punishment led by Victor Gollancz therefore came into being at a most opportune moment for it added the weight of a public conscience to a shaken public confidence in the infallibility of British "justice". The growing support for the campaign; the plans for more mass meetings throughout the country; books by Koestler, Gowers and Gardiner; letters to the Press from eminent people in all walks of life as well as the new line adopted by certain newspapers, all indicated that the favourable circumstances would be fully exploited by the advocates of abolition. This probably explains why the Government decided not to wait for Mr. Silverman's Bill to take its course but instead themselves "found the time" to debate the issue now while the public campaign is only beginning rather than later when even the public as a whole might have been convinced! As Mr. Morrison (ex-Home Secretary and former supporter of hanging!) pointed out last week:

"I do not believe that we should be with the general tide of public opinion if we resisted this change, and I would prefer the House freely-and this is the day of freedom-of its own wisdom and of its own decision to face this major change without waiting until, in an undignified way, we are pushed into it . . ."

A BOLITIONISTS have still much to do-assuming that there is no double-crossing by the government over the abolition of the death

Algeria: Passions and Figures

Continued from p. 1

local government circles; and Moslem "connexions" were artificially maintained, profiting materially from their servile obedience.

In the space of a few years the partners have changed, and their opinions have been overtaken by events. The Arab awakening, proclaimed in Cairo and achieved in Damascus, transformed the passivity of the North African masses. French decadence, visible and obvious, encouraged them in their claims. The procrastinations and false promises of the French government wearied the Arab supporters of negotiation. The revolt in Tunisia and the resistance in Morocco showed that boldness paid. Illiteracy itself, the plague of colonialism, became the ally of Algerian nationalism: although the French press was not read by a single fellah or town labourer the Arab radio stations were sending the spoken word to Moslems in the tiniest villages. Arrest, prohibition of residence, and the exile of nationalist leaders drove the autonomists to violent action. By depriving the nationalist chiefs of their freedom and by stalling the Algerian militants who supported co-operation France deprived herself of "worthwhile interlocutors" and found herself suddenly confronted with indignant or rebellious mobs.

At the same time the French colonialist cliques in Algeria felt isolated, for metropolitan public opinion, little interested in overseas problems, did not support a policy of force that would have to be sustained by the dispatch of contingents of soldiers, or recruits. In every sphere, in every sector of society, the breach opened between French delegates from North Africa and metropolitan delegates. Even at trade-union congresses the language of the representatives of civil servants established in Algiers or Oran differed completely from that

of working delegates living in France. The colonialist faction, representing privileges obtained in Algeria, had to bluff and call on the spent forces of the Empire, the French Union, and the Nation in the hope of preserving the old positions with the support of Paris. Until today, that is, for now the Poujade movement is being called in as reinforcements.

Among the Moslems of North Africa there is the consciousness of belonging to a wave that has risen from the colonial peoples and is breaking and subsiding over the old states of Europe. Among the French of Algeria there is panic fear of being massacred, or at the very least of having to quit a land occupied for three or four generations if equality of rights is recognized for all the inhabitants. Such are the two dominant passions that excite Algeria at the moment.

What are the basic elements of the reality? There are nine million Algerians, divided into eight million Moslems and a million Europeans. The Moslem population is growing with extraordinary rapidity: every year 250,000 children are born, and there are five million Moslems under 20. For them there is general misery with an average income of 20,000 frs. a year (the minimum figure in France) and widespread unemployment that drives hundreds of thousands of Algerians to come and work in the metropolis at the hardest and most unhealthy jobs. Among the Europeans a small minority is very rich, but the immense majority have incomes only equal to those of the average Frenchman and appear prosperous only in comparison with the extreme poverty of the autochthons and because they are assured of a livelohood as landowners or as civil servants.

All the drama of Algeria is there, summed up in a few figures—a drama that could only be brought to a satisfactory conclusion by ex-

propriating the big land companies for the benefit of the landless Moslem farmers as the first step. For in the fields of education, irrigation, industrialization, and putting the territory into production everything would still remain to be done.

It is the unleashing of passions, the open violence, and the fact that they have only slight influence on the basic problems that produces the hesitation of men so little suspect of colonialism as Albert Camus (himself born in Algeria), who appeal to all men of whatever origin to agree to get rid of the material and moral exploiters without resorting to war, which strikes indiscriminatingly at those accountable and the innocent alike.

For our part let us realize France's total incapacity to carry out a policy commensurate with Algerian needs. According to the most careful calculations Algeria would require about 400,000 million francs a year to put its house in order humanly and materially—and to a very small extent at that, since the standard of living would thus be raised by three per cent. Now, the appeal made by the Socialist Prime Minister, Guy Mollet, refers to an exceptional loan of 200,000 million francs to Algeria, and we know that the cost of repression is approaching this very sum.

A century of colonization is being paid for at this moment-in blood, and in the pursuit of political systems without greatness and without power. France is no longer in a position to settle its own accounts.

Between an awakening Algeria and the metropolis in decline a third force must intervene with guarantees of Algerian autonomy and the financial and technical means to make it viable. The international labour movement, if it had any existence otherwise than on paper, would have a job to do in this direction.

S. PARANE.

The protagonist of Rebel without a

Cause is Jim Starke (James Dean), a

young man burdened with problem

parents. The father (Jim Backus) is

dominated by his wife and seems to be

incapable of giving a straight answer to

anything. The couple's whole life is

ruled by expediency. Their method of

dealing with trouble is to run away from

it. They have done quite a bit of

moving around in the course of their

running away, and they have now arrived

in California, where they have provided

Jim with what some sociologists, with

an extraordinary talent for begging the

question, would call a "good" home: it

is well furnished (by European standards,

luxurious), clean, and well cared for; and

Jim has his own car. He seems to have

Rebels! Up the

WIHAT appears at first sight to be a new line in criticism has made its appearance in some of the more respectable sheets, whose critics have had frequent occasion lately to tell us of their antipathy to "nasty films about nasty people". The doctrine that the only worthy subjects for serious criticism are cozy little films about nice people with nice manners has not yet been propounded in detail, and I suspect that it never will be. For its origin is purely emotional, and any attempt to rationalize it would at once reveal its inadequacy. The critics who indulge in it are like those people who say "I don't know much about art, but I know what I like", adding under their breath "and I find this stuff embarrassing".

This particular critical canon has been invoked against the latest arrival at the

London Pavilion, Rebel without a Cause, and it is easy to see why. The film treats of a subject that has become an awkward problem for our solid citizens, i.e., "juvenile delinquency". Any honest analysis of the problem inevitably uncovers facts that are a little too unpalatable for our comfortable suburban burgesses, for whom life is simply a matter of fitting themselves into an already existing pattern. That some people might find the pattern incomprehensible and that others might even be unable to discern it at all has not apparently occurred to them.

penalty for murder. What of the

death penalty for Treason, or in the

colonies under Emergency Regula-

tions. (In three years in Kenya

more people have been hanged than

in Britain during the past fifty

years)? And when we have finally

put our own house in order why

not join with men and women of

good-will in other countries to put

an end to the death penalty for

"political crimes" everywhere?

pretty well everything that money can buy. It is the things that money can't Jim's efforts to save him. buy that he is short of. On his first day at college he runs into a delinquent squad, a gang of students who carry around with them an almost palpable atmosphere of menace. He is not looking for trouble, but it inevitably catches up with him. Judy, the girl next door (Natalie Wood), goes around with the gang, and Jim finds Judy interesting.

At college he also meets Plato, a lonely Puerto Rican boy desperately anxious to make at least one friend, who tags along like a stray collie that hopes he has found a new master. Plato (Sal Mineo) has been deserted by his parents, who discharge their obligations to him and society by sending regular maintenance cheques. He sleeps with a pistol under his pillow.

At the planetarium there is a lecture explaining the cosmic insignificance of our planet and its inhabitants, complete with a graphic demonstration of the end of the world. It will end one day, and there is not much point in it anyway.

This is an appropriate time to fall foul of Buzz, the leader of the gang. In this demi-monde toughness is everything, and the worst insult is the imputation of cowardice. In no time at all

Jim has accepted a challenge to a "chicken run". In this modern version of the time-honoured duel the combatants drive stolen cars at top speed over the edge of a cliff, and the first one to jump clear is a coward. Buzz gets his sleeve caught and goes over the edge with his car.

Jim and the girl, who also has problem parents, decide to hide out in a deserted mansion. They are joined by Plato, who brings the news that the gang are after them because they believe that Jim has squealed to the police. This provides one of the best scenes in a very fine film. Here, in their own make-believe world, for a brief period the three become themselves for once.

Then the gang arrive, and Plato, momentarily left alone, opens fire on them. And on the police who are the next to arrive. Finally he gets shot himself-unnecessarily, and in spite of

This is an unusually honest film, admirably free from preaching or moralizing. The acting is of a high order, and the direction is crisp and straightforward. The film is in CinemaScope and WarnerColor, which unfortunately shows no signs of improving. E.P.

BACHELOR HOME

MR. JOHN GOULANDRIS, 28-yearold Greek shipping magnate, is seeking a house in the country. He has been considering buying Mr. Garfield Weston's 1700-acre Oxfordshire estate, Glympton Park.

"I have been to look at Glympton several times," Goulandris tells me. "I have decided not to buy it."

Mr. Goulandris is a bachelor.

Canadian-born Mr. Weston has asked John D. Wood to find a buyer for Glympton. He wants about £170.000 for the place. He bought it in 1953 for £200,000 from the executors of Mr. Alan Good, the industrialist. Glympton is one of the most luxurious estates in the country. Mr. Good spent a lot of money on it; so has Mr. Weston.

Evening Standard.

End of the Stalin Myth

Falsification of History

Mikoyan condemned the re-writing of history under Stalin's direction-specifically in 'The Short History of the Communist Party'. He said that in books regarded until recently as indisputable standard works, there were falsifications: facts were shuffled, and some people were arbitrarily glorified, while others were not mentioned at all . . . Secondary events were raised to undeserved heights and others which were more important were played down. The leading and guiding rôle of the pre-revolutionary Leninist Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party was minimised.

'Several complex and contradictory events of the civil war of 1918-

Joint Advisory Council Inquiring into Restrictive Practices

THE National Joint Advisory Council is to hold an industry-by-industry inquiry into union restrictive practices.

The N.J.A.C. (sometimes known as the 'Parliament for Industry') contains representatives of employers and of trade unions, and the government hopes that it will be able to find agreement through co-operation on ways and means of curbing restrictive practices by the workers.

The present, however, is not a particularly good time for such a move to be made. Mr. Iain Macleod, the Minister for Labour, in announcing the inquiry maintained that insistence by a trade union on a particular practice was often justified by a genuine concern for safety or as a safeguard against excessive strain, but some practices had little place in these days of full employment in what ought to be a streamlined economy.

Unfortunately for Mr. Macleod, recent trends in industry, and Messrs. Butler's and Macmillan's 'anti-inflation' measures added together, look like the beginnings of unemployment or at least a break in full employment and an attack on workers' standards of living.

The layings-off in the motor industry are a serious indication of a crack in Britain's prosperity. There are similar signs in America, whose economy closely affects Britain's And the removal of subsidies on bread and milk, and higher rates for hire purchase (the method by which workers buy their luxuries or expensive necessities), means potential hardship for workers.

Mr. Macleod will find it a hard job to get any relaxation from the workers' side without relaxation of economic pressure from the Government side.

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20,' he said, 'are explained by some historians not by changes in the relation of class forces in different periods of time, but by the alleged treacherous activity of individual Party leaders of that time, who were unjustly declared enemies of the people many years after the events described."

Mikoyan mentioned two such victims of Stalin's: Kossior and Antonov-Ovseyenko, who disappeared in the terrible purges in the Ukraine in the late 'thirties. Ironically enough, it was Khrushchev who conducted that purge, on Stalin's orders, and then took Kossior's place as first secretary in the Ukrainian party.

In going back to 1918, Mikoyan is delving into the shadowy period of Lenin and Trotsky. In disowning Stalin, what will be said of Trotsky? The two Ukrainian leaders already named were denounced as Trotskyists at the time of their trials and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that eventually Trotsky himself will be rehabilitated as one 'unjustly condemned'. It can do little real harm now and will all help the 'new look'.

Not a Word from Harry

Following Mikoyan, even Malenkov, who owed his position to Stalin, wiped his feet on the dead man's memory. And all the time Harry Pollitt sat there and listened, and never once shouted a protest in defence of the genius they had all bowed down to at the last Party congress.

Harry has sung Stalin's praises for 20 years. He suffered demotion from his job in 1939 for failing to understand the progressive and peaceful nature of the pact with Hitler. But he admitted his errors and crawled back, and has been crawling ever since.

Playing safe, the Daily Worker last Monday, the day when the other dailies published reports of Mikoyan's speech, remained absolutely silent on the subject. All its Congress news was devoted to Pollitt's message of goodwill from the workers of Britain.

But eventually, of course, the faithful must be told that their idol had feet of clay. That the mighty genius made some even mightier blunders. The line will come from Moscow and they will swallow it and remain faithful. They swallow everything dished up to them. Most Communists hold their creed in

faith, not in reason any more. Just as good Catholics will swallow the dogma - immaculate conception, bodily assumption and the rest-so will good Communists follow the dogma as pontificated from Moscow. Unthinking and servile.

How Can One Trust Them?

But how any reasoning person can for one moment give his allegiance to such a set-up, which makes a laughting-stock of its supporters, is difficult to understand. For if the Party has been so easily corrupted before—why not again? If it is possible for a tyrant to rise to supreme power and dominate the whole world-wide Communist movement with wrong policies is there not something very wrong with the structure of that movement.

And if the movement can only keep going by building leaders up and then knocking them down-how can the masses of the world be expected to trust such a leadership, when at any given time it may be composed of traitors (Beria), tyrants (Stalin), or incompetents (Malen-

Why should they believe that the present leadership of Khrushchev, Bulganin, Mikoyan, etc., should be any more correct or trustworthy than the traitors already unmasked?

The creation of the Stalin myth brought untold embarrassments to the C.P. Dismantling the Stalin Myth will also bring embarrassment to them. However, let us not shed tears over that. Sycophants and servile crawlers can expect no less.

The Malatesta Club

THE Malatesta Club will open at its new premises on Sunday, March 4th, with a meeting, the details of which will be announced next week.

The new address is 32 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1., where all old members will be welcome as before. The premises are an improvement on the first address, with room for more activity. A full programme will be drawn up and announced as soon as possible.

LETTER Electoral Tactics

DEAR COMRADES,

would like to make a few remarks regarding your comment on French Anarchist Publications in FREEDOM, 21/1/56, especially as to what you say about Le Libertaire.

I do not know whether you receive this paper yourself, or cite the harsh comment from Le Monde Libertaire, in which latter case I would be disappointed at your publishing this criticism from a rival paper, without first controlling it yourself. I too was astonished at the F.C.L.'s taking part in the elections, but still I must call your attention to the very definite stand they take especially in the French colonial question, as a result of which one of their members, Pierre Morain, is in prison already, while others are being persecuted.

Maybe their taking part in the elections was partly caused by the wish to give the Algerians, of which there are a great many in Paris, and already several in the group, a means to raise their voice against the government, and of getting them into their movement.

Although you have every right to criticize, I think you should also mention the things in favour of those you subject to your criticism.

> Fraternally yours, GEORGES IDES.

Haarlem, Holland, Feb. 14.

[We have followed Le Libertaire since it resumed publication in 1945 so our correspondent need not fear that our opinions are based on the comments of Le Monde Libertaire, though we feel these "harsh comments" were fully justified. The F.C.L. is to all intents and purposes a political party-indeed in one issue recently one will find reference to "our party"-and authoritarian in structure and opportunist in approach. And in its anti-colonial campaign it has allied itself with some politically suspect people, including ex-Communists who took a leading part in the counter-revolution in Spain.—Editors].

NOTEBOOK

Tired of Token Strikes?

ROTH Clydeside and Merseyside have been the scene of strike action of various kinds. On the Clyde a number of workers took a half-day off, or finished early, and in Liverpool several hundred held a one-day strike. This sporadic activity is meant to represent token action, in support of a general claim for increased pay, of the order of a flat increase of £2 a week, or else a 15% rise, throughout the engineering and shipbuilding industries.

Over two years ago the engineering unions held a national one-day strike over the same question, and their action was taken throughout the country to imply a resurgence of militancy. It was in fact the first official national strike to have taken place for over twenty years. The question which arises, on looking back at this event is; of what was it a token? In theory it should have shown the employers that the engineering workers, united behind their union, were not prepared to stand any more frustration over the question of wages; that they had demonstrated their readiness to stop work, and were not afraid of the consequences which a stoppage would bring down upon the industry or upon themselves, and therefore the sooner the bosses paid up the better! This kind of attitude was plugged by the Daily Worker, who naturally claimed to be the chief guide and friend of the workers in their struggle. So far there has been no 15% increase, and the militant national action which was threatened by the token strike has hardly been considered. There are of course deeplythought-out plans for re-organising the union, and putting the bureaucracy in a better position, but no plans for a drastic re-organisation of the workers' wages and status. It is the feeling of impatience over this question which has led the workers on the Clyde and Mersey to begin reiterating their threats, in the same way as before. They are meeting with many difficulties, however; the chief one being a lack of response to calls to come out, and it appears most likely that the reason for this is that a large section of workers are getting tired of token strikes which do not signify anything, except perhaps the power of the national organisation over its members. By this time it is also quite probable that the employers have realised that the big unions are only playing at being militant anyway. If tokens constantly fail to produce results, the only thing left is to pass on the direct action.

COMMUNISTS IN OFFICE

In the course of its comments on the proposal to merge all the engineering unions into an amalgamation, dominated by the AEU, FREEDOM's contemporary, the Socialist Leader points out that the capitalist press will of course seize on any sign of Communist activity and denounce the whole plan is a "Red Plot". The writer goes on to say:

"It is true that Mr. Reginald Birch is a Communist, but it does not alter the fact that if he were a Christadelphian teetotaller his record of work in the union

Culture for the Midlands

AST Friday, Independent television opened its first station outside London which is calculated to reach the homes of about six million people in and around Birmingham. The Lord Mayor, in a speech declaring the station open, hoped that I.T.A. would foster the culture and skill of the Midlands, and Sir Kenneth Clark, Chairman of I.T.A., promised the people that the requirements of the minority as well as the majority would be met as far as possible. The programme which followed may not be an example of the culture the Midlands can look forward to in the future, and it is difficult to say whether it was the taste of the majority or minority which was being expressed, but judging from the standard of television programmes generally, views in the Midlands can expect the same drivel enjoyed by the viewers in London. A Manchester Guardian correspondent writes that: "One of the highlights of the even-

ing was a boxing bout between Sammy McCarthy, of London, and Johnny Mann, of Birmingham . . .

"Then we saw the first Midlands advertisement-for Cadbury's which took the form of a charming tour of Bourneville. The news which followed also had the accent on the Midlands-with news of Birmingham's new rate and Wolverhampton's new mayor. After the news we went over to the television studios for the variety I had seen rehearsed earlier; I hardly recognised it, but I recognised what followed alright. It was Robin Hood, and later on 'I Love Lucy'."

for the members entitles him to stand in this election. It could be that the teetotaller part of it, if he were one (which I don't know), might have an adverse effect upon his vote; but it should no more do so than should the fact that he is a Communist."

This is a point of view frequently met among adherents of various left wing groups who find it worth while to be active within their own unions under the present set-up, and was recently echoed by the editor of the Industrial Worker in declining a specifically anarchist article. However, it contains an important weakness, and that is that while in one way the militant socialists are putting aside political differences and supporting candidates for union offices on the grounds that they have been very active workers for their union in the past, they are letting in Communists (or party men of any kind), who will be prepared in the future (which is the important time) to suppress their militancy and personal judgment on the orders of their political superiors. Many anarchists, including anarcho-syndicalists, feel that activity within orthodox unions is a waste of time, and all will certainly agree that the national council of a union is as irrelevant as is Parliament, but to many left-wing members the sincere and active Communist who is nominated for election to a local Trades Council, for instance, presents a problem.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS Every Sunday at 7.30 at

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS Every Thursday at 8.15.

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NEW YORK CITY

Mar. 2. The Hypocrisy of American Sex "Morality".

Mar. 9. The Decay of the American Radical Movement.

Mar. 16. The Stalinists and the Spanish Revolution.

Mar. 23. Religion and Ethics.

Mar. 30. Civil Liberties in the U.S. and in Russia.

The Political and Social Significance of Science Fiction.

Apr. 13. Fascist Trends in America

SOCIAL-SUPPERS ARRANGED BY "CULTURA PROLETARIA" GROUP SATURDAY NIGHTS AT 7.30 February 25th and March 24th.

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