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Threepence

# 40 YEARS OF BOLSHEVISM

THE Communist Parties of the world are this week celebrating the 40th anniversary of the glorious October Revolution.

This revolution was not the one made by the Russian masses to overthrow the corrupt despotism of the Czar; it was the palace revolution made by the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin to establish the Communist Party in power.

are enormous) in a way no State has ever been able to do in the past.

### **Rejection of Ideals**

And it has done this through a complete and cynical rejection in practice of the ideas which gave it birth, while at the same time professing them at home and propagating them abroad. While offering freedom and emancipation of the peoples of other under-developed or colonial countries, the Russian leaders have enslaved their own people. While talking democracy they have practiced autocracy; while talking peace they have built the most massive weapons of war; while denouncing the poverty of the people in the capitalist world they have continually subjugated the wellbeing of their own people to the needs of the State; while posing as the friends of the subjugated peoples of British or French colonies, they have practised an imperialism as ruthless and as exploitative in the countries they dominate.

tapping in England or was used yesterday to excuse McCarthyism in America. Instead of developing the revolutionary concepts which lay behind the downfall of Czarism, and building the security of Russia upon the spread of revolutionary ideas and realities among the people of other States, thereby undermining the abilities of those States to threaten the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks had no faith in the peoples of the world-or even in the love and loyalty a free Russia could have won from them.

## **A Send-off for Harding**

THE replacement of Sir John Harding by Sir Hugh Foot as Governor of Cyprus has been generally regarded as the beginning of another period of Cyprus rule which could create an atmosphere whereupon new policies might be built.

The British Government, in an attempt to forestall any criticism of the change which might be interpreted as weakness, has hastened to point out that Sir John had reached the end of his official appointment and the change in no way implies criticism of his handling of affairs in Cyprus. Indeed, much praise has been given to Harding for the way he dealt with the emergencies. Reports from Cyprus claimed after the announcement that overnight the atmosphere had changed. Sir Hugh Foot is looked upon as a Liberal and a non-military type whose appointment might bring about policies more in keeping with the demands of the Greek Cypriots. These reports came after the news of the change on October 22nd. By the 28th things had taken a most unexpected turn. Colonel Grivas, who may have seen in the new appointment, another factor contributing to the weakening of his own influence circulated leaflets to the effect that the fighters of EOKA would continue the struggle and would "not bend before any suppression until our heroic Island is freed". Sir Hugh Foot's appointment, whatever the Government might say, was probably made public in order to coincide with the anniversary celebrations on October 29th, marking the Greek rejection 17 years ago of Italy's ultimatum which brought them into the war against Germany and Italy. Demonstrations were planned although forbidden by the Government in Cyprus. On the previous day memorial services were held all over the island for Cypriots executed

under the emergency laws or killed by Security forces.

In spite of the ban young people marched in the streets with banners demanding the withdrawal of the British, and pictures of soldiers batoning the crowd reached this country less than a week after the "new era" in British policy was announced. If the Government had not been so stupid the demonstrations may well have proceeded fairly quietly. After all here were people who had fought on the side of the British in the last war commemorating their refusal to accept the ultimatum of a fascist dictator, being treated like criminals by their ex-ally now in full military occupation. It is difficult to say at this stage whether the demonstrators were staging a farewell party for Sir John Harding or heralding the appointment of Sir Hugh Foot.

From the moment when special detachments of the Red Armyspecially brought together for the job by Leon Trotsky-overpowered the guards outside the Winter Palace in Petrograd where the Kerensky Government was sitting, and arrested that Government in the name of the People-from that moment the concern of the leaders of the Communist Party has been the continuance in power of the Communist Party.

#### **Considerations of Power**

No other consideration has governed their actions. The motives which drove the people into revolution eight months before were called upon, used, misused and finally strangled in the course of the realisation of Soviet power. The ideas of the founders of the Party have been submerged in expediencies as the founders themselves have been submerged by ruthless elimination. The inspirations of liberty and equality have been replaced by enforced duties to the State, fears of peoples 'outside' and bourgeois opportunism within a social and political structure giving every encouragement to privilege seekers and power-hungry psychopaths.

The list is almost endless. There is hardly any disagreeable aspect of capitalist society which has not been equalled, if not exceeded, in the development of modern Russia. The excuse has always been the security of the State-the same excuse which is used to-day to justify telephone-

### The Means and the End

They had faith only in State power. This was not so very surprising since, first, they were (still are?) Marxists and thus were wedded to Statism, the path of political power, and secondly, the Bolsheviks came to power through no popular election, with no mandate from the people, but simply through a coup d'état-a seizure of State power. It was their goal and their means.

Thus from the very beginning the die was cast in the totalitarian direction. A party which seizes power cannot allow popular expression of opinion in case it is opposed to the party. This is not to say that there was no popular support for the Bolsheviks at the beginning of their régime. Even opposition partieseven some anarchists-were pre-

### **BEVAN IN AMERICA**

REPORTS of Mr. Bevan's tour of

America tucked away in the inside pages of our newspapers suggest that he is facing his audiences with smooth diplomacy. Occasional criticism is interlaced with quiet praise.

In language which all politicians will understand he advocated the necessity for compromise if the whole world is going to escape total destruction. This will not be read as a desire on Bevan's part to communise the United States since he has advocated the need for a rival bomb. His performance at Brighton assured him a fairly warm welcome in America. His emphasis on the advisability of accepting China into the United Nations is not as revolutionary as it might seem, for sections of American diplomatic circles have been considering a change in policy towards China for over a year now.

In four fantastic decades Russia has been hustled from a semi-feudal, economically backward agricultural country to a modern State with a technology so advanced in some sections that its current achievements are taking the world's breath away.

It has emerged as a foremost power in the world and it calls upon the allegiance of millions of people outside its own boundaries (which Jourselves.

### DR. WILHELM REICH

As we go to Press we learn with deep regret of the death of Dr. Wilhelm Reich.

We know nothing of the circumstances of his untimely death, though we assume it occurred in prison where he was serving a two year sentence.

We shall be publishing an appreciation of Dr. Reich in a subsequent issue of FREEDOM.

We join Dr. Reich's family and friends in America in mourning the loss of a man who contributed so much to a better understanding of

### pared to work with them at the beginning for the sake of consolidating the revolution and preventing the re-emergence of Czarism, through united effort.

But Lenin and his comrades were not long in showing their gratitude for this support by packing the jails and the torture-chambers and keeping the firing squads busy with all those who had ideas to present to the Russian people at variance with

Continued on p. 4

## **Reflections on White Paper**

### The Wise Men and Wire-Tapping

ALL the righteous indignation of one section of the Press, Parliament and the Public last June when it was disclosed that a former Home Secretary (Mr. Lloyd George) at the request of a former Attorney General (Sir Hartley Shawcross) had passed on to a private body (the Bar Council) information about one man (Mr. Marrinan) in the course of tapping another man's (Billy Hill's) telephone . . . was suddenly silenced by the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry. "Royal Commissions", "White (or Blue) Papers", "Committees of Inquiry", these, one feels, are the answers to every Reformist's prayers, the culminating moment in years of lobbying, appeals, letters to the Press, and to the many organisations that spring up with their impressive lists of sponsors and sympathisers. For governments the appointment of Committees to investigate this, or to report on that, is the perfect let-out for past misdeeds, the method by which at the small cost of exiling a Minister to the House of Lords, everybody in the political game (and the dopes on the touchline) agree to let bygones be bygones.

can be certain that the purpose of the Report they produce is to give "expert" authority to the unpleasant measures the government is proposing to adopt! In other words no Government, Tory, Liberal or Labour, will set up the machinery of Inquiry unless it hopes to benefit by it either directly or in the negative way we have outlined. It is the government of the day which decides on the composition of the Committees and the "terms of reference" of their Inquiries. And last, but far from least, the vital evidence is in the hands of the government departments whose actions are the subject of the inquiries. Are we really expected to be so naive as to believe that in the circumstances there can be a thorough and impartial investigation of the real issues at stake?

respectively. It is not surprising, therefore, that their combined wisdom has produced a pedestrian report concerned with legal niceties and the security of the State but which virtually disregards the basic objection: the deep disgust ordinary people have for those activities which subject the individual to the snooping and the prying eyes of officialdom. -You cannot expect these eminent people to see the wood for the trees any more than you can expect dog lovers the world over to recognise "Sputnik II' for the living dog strapped inside it. Thus while the committee declares that "the interception of communications is regarded with general disfavour" it justifies its continuance on the grounds that "all Home Secretaries since 1939 have thought that the power should continue" and what is more, they believed "there had been no case where the liberty of the subject had been invaded to his detriment". For them "general disfavour" is a minor consideration compared with the demands of the security service and the police. The committee holds that it would be "folly to hamper or hinder the security service by withdrawing essential powers" and "not wise, prudent or necessary to take Continued on p. 3

### The Spread of Strontium

Further details of the accumulation of radio-strontium in British soil, milk, and human bones is contained in a report now being published by four members of the be a concentration of a millionth of Atomic Energy Authority's staff at Harwell. The report gives the results of analyses for radiostrontium carried out on samples gathered in 1956 and, in some cases within the last few months.

cal Research Council has said "that immediate consideration would be required."

One "strontium unit" is defined to a millionth of a radio-active unit of strontium for every gram of calcium. By this standard the Medical Research Council has acknowledged that it would be dangerous if the general level of strontium in the bones of a population exceeded 100 s.u., and that "immediate consideration" would be necessary if strontium exceeded 10 s.u. . . . Analyses of the concentrations of strontium in milk, rainwater, and grass have made it possible to say something about the mechanism by which strontium gets into human bones. Apparently the concentration of strontium in air is so small that inhalation cannot possibly account for the measurements obtained. Milk is likely to be a more important source of strontium than rainwater, while flour from some localities appears to contain about the same concentration of strontium (relative to calcium) as milk.

The most startling of the information is that the bones of two children (a year and six months old respectively) who died in the summer of this year were found to contain nearly a quarter of the concentration of strontium above which the Medi-

#### **ROYAL EXEMPTION**

Princess Margaret will not have to pay purchase-tax on a valuable diamond brooch which is being sent to her from Tanganyika, Customs and Excise said yesterday.

It was explained that members of the Royal Family do not have to pay duty or tax although they often do so as an act of grace.

Manchester Guardian,

Where governments appoint Committees on their own initiative, with-2/11/57. | out any outside pressure, then one

THE Committee set up by the Government last June to inquire into telephone tapping was composed of Sir Norman Birkett, Lord Monkton and Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, that is a Lawyerpolitician combination, in which the two lawyers had also dabbled in politics, as well as all three having, at some time, occupied high office in the institutions of the State, one as a judge, the others as Ministers in the Tory and Labour governments

### FREEDUM

### AND IDEAS PEOPLE A Million Private Dreams - 3

THE 'nuclear' family-a man, a woman and their unmarried children, though it is the unit that you and I think of when the family is mentioned, is historically and geographically a rarity among the human race. In most other cultures, different varieties of the 'extended' family unit containing grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins, are much more common. Within the nuclear family itself a number of different bonds may vary in importance-the biological one of mother and child, the father-son bond (important in agricultural societies and aristocracies), the bonds between brothers and sisters, and, the dominant one to-day, that between husband and wife. So weak is the bond between parent and child to-day, writes the anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer, that "a married man or woman who has to share a house with aged parents is generally regarded as an object of pity; 'living with in-laws' is generally thought to threaten the marriage bond and to be a tragedy to be prevented if possible. Nowadays all governments of all parties are committed to building enough houses or flats so that each nuclear family can live on its own". Like many other observers, Mr. Gorer is worried by the changes in the family: "Western society has broken down again into its smallest possible unit. But life to-day is far more complicated than it was for the primitive hunters and food-gatherers; enormous stress and great responsibilities are laid on this single bond, and it often breaks under the strain . . . A woman in western Europe has less freedom in a 'house of her own' than her ancestors ever had in large households; single-handed she has to keep house, market, cook, clothe and look after her children. As in so many other revolutions for freedom, the old constraints which have been destroyed have been replaced by different but possibly greater constraints. All the modern inventions for help in domestic work, for the factory and for entertainment, cannot do away with the sense of loneliness which is the greatest menace to happiness in the cities of western Europe, and which is the almost inevitable result of the transformation of the western family".

2

to support and to refute this conclusion, and to indicate what other factors are at work in changing our family and social lives. The industrial revolution transformed this country into a predominantly town-dwelling nation, and successive social classes have been moving out of town ever since. Around the ancient city centres grew the tightly-packed working-class areas, factories and overcrowded houses mixed; outside the central belt, the prosperous Victorian middleclass suburbs; and beyond these the dormitory areas, the semi-detached houses of the lower-middle-class, bought freehold through a building society, and the municipal housing estates of the middle-class. They are still spreading outwards in what Mr. Ian Nairn calls Subtopia, the municipal houses now semidetached like those of the speculative builder, though usually better-designed, Both the work of Mr. Mogey and his associates in the Oxford Pilot Social Survey, and Messrs. Young and Willmott and their associates of the Institute of Community Studies, are comparisons of life in one of the old central districts and on one of the new estates on the fringe. At Oxford the comparison is between St. Ebbe's, an old central district of obsolescent and in some cases condemned terrace houses in little streets and squares, and Barton, a new municipal estate of semi-detached houses on the fringe of the city. At St. Ebbe's, where many families have lived for several generations, the extended family is still a reality in the form of what Le Play called the stem family, where matrilinear ties are dominant. The reason is simple: the typical St. Ebbe's girl marries a man from elsewhere and brings him back to a house near to her home and her mother. Children there are "reared in a folk tradition intermingled sparingly with advice from the medical clinics; the ideal behaviour for children is wellknown and spanking is often used to enforce conformity". In marriage "both partners keep fairly rigidly to their household roles. Serious friction is handled by avoiding contact and emphasising getting along together rather than any more positive harmony".

THE 'cultural equipment' of St. Ebbe's enables a majority of its population to live "happy and well-adjusted" lives

under conditions of work and housing that would daunt many people. The key to the continuation of this mode of life appears to lie in the solidarity of the family with its immediate kin, that is to say in the continuance of the extended family".

The picture is one of passivity and acceptance. But what of all the personal and social dissatisfactions that arise in any community?

"Tensions which build up within the area of family or kindred can often be discharged once they have become so insistent that they must be recognised, by being projected onto scapegoats; some of the labels for such groups are 'foreigners', 'middle-class', 'snobs','

The people who do not share the accepted values, the 'status-dissenting' are those who have, as it were,

awareness of social structure. Characteristic of St. Ebbe's is assent without anxiety, with no interest and little consciousness of position in the society at large. The signs of a different social outlook in Barton are the emphasis on the individual family and the ability and willingness to form friendships and to join voluntary associations. Barton is not without its stresses which press heavily on particular families. The absence of any commonly accepted set of standards of belief and action also distinguishes Barton from the community of St. Ebbe's. It is in fact not a localised society, nor do its inhabitants feel loyal to an isolating set of social customs. The inhabitants of Barton have lost their ties to a neighbourhood and gained in return citizenship in the wider and freer atmosphere of the varied associational life of a city."

THE authors of Family and Kinship in East London began their study with the intention of finding out what happened to family life when people moved out to a new housing estate, but as the result of discovering, contrary to many assumptions about changes in family structure, that the extended family, far from having disappeared, is very much alive still, they made this their main subject. Their comparison is between Bethnal Green, a famous working-class borough in East London, and 'Greenleigh' which is the name they have given to one of the LCC's post-war estates in Essex, twenty miles away on the Central Line, and inhabited largely by families from Bethnal Green, In Bethnal Green as in St. Ebbe's, the answer to poverty, insecurity and appalling housing conditions has been a network of family ties and loyalties, and when conditions of relative prosperity have been achieved, this closely-knit community has been retained. The key to the system is 'Mum', and as in St. Ebbe's, this is usually the wife's mother, who keeps the family together, helps her daughters to cope with childbirth, illnesses and domestic crises, establishing with the grandchildren those warm and permissive relationships which often exist between the old and the very young. Husbands get drawn into the orbit of their wives' families, sometimes accepting and sometimes rejecting this rival loyalty. "I've nothing against my motherin-law . . . but I'd like to get as far away from her as possible".

there is a much greater reliance on television, and a greater demand for cars and telephones. (Is it because of the isolation or because the better-off Bethnal Greeners move to Greenleigh?) Because you don't know your neighbours so intimately, and there are only external appearances to know or be known by, 'keeping up with the Jones', which is regarded as being too big for your boots at Bethnal Green, is more imperative. People are anxious to 'live up to' Greenleigh, just as they want to live up to Barton. But, as Mr. T. R. Fyvel puts it, "with possessions and fences, a new sense of competitive status and unfriendly isolation has crept in".

Even after living there some time, a lot of people say, "If we could take the house with us, we'd go back like a shot". On the other hand, everybody feels that the environment of the new estate, and the better house, is infinitely to the advantage of their children.

The authors are critical of housing authorities for failing to recognise the importance of the kinship system which is broken up by the policy of rehousing the nuclear family far from its origins. They suggest that more attempt should be made to build in the limited space of Bethnal Green, even at higher densities than are thought desirable, since "the purpose of rehousing is to meet human needs, not as they are judged by others, but as people assess their own". They also suggest (and the evolution of older LCC estates like Becontree shows the importance of this), a change in policy at Greenleigh itself. If it is ever to have the advantages of the proximity of the extended family, there must be provision for the building of more houses for the young people when they in turn marry, and priority for vacant housing must go to the children born on the estate. Messrs. Young and Willmott are by no means as confident as Mr. Mogey in the benefits of the change in family environment and social habits that they record. They evidently see traces of the same lonely isolation that other students of suburban life have recorded. They tend to deplore the loss of certain traditional working-class attitudes and the adoption of lower-middle-class ones. But we must be very wary of that arrogant superiority which scorns the adoption of all those amenities and gadgets taken for granted among the well-to-do, by the very section of society which has been denied them When people move to Greenleigh for so long. The real question is whether the new social pattern makes possible the realisation of a greater and richer variety of private dreams and aspirations than the old. There is a greater theoretical freedom of choice in Barton or Greenleigh, but is this cancelled out by a new kind of conformism? The old community made the most of an unfavourable economic and physical environment. Can it be said that the new neighbourhood and the new way of living makes the most of the new opportunities?

Two recent comparative surveys made in this country,\* provide evidence both

> "At a time of crisis, whether economic, social or personal, everybody tends to become passive and to sit tight, hoping that the storm will pass. In consequence everybody participates in the very minimum of group activities. Only the family, the kindred, workmates, and the well-accepted neighbourhood set of cronies are commonly accepted groups, and the social and personal compulsions to enter and play a part in all of them are very strong. In general these people prefer to belong to an audience where they can be one of a collection of individuals rather than to join a co-operative group".

"broken through the cake of custom which covers the way of thought and the expressed desires of the status-assenting. They are more aware of the forces at work in the societies around them . . . They tend to ask for more from family living and to place less importance on luck or destiny. At the same time they are more aware that any short-coming reflects upon them and that morally they must accept responsibility for many things which never even become conscious problems for the status assenting".

In the new housing estate of Barton, it appears that

"the nuclear family with an internal climate favourable to the free sharing of all household tasks has been preferred over the extended family where mother, married daughter, and children form one set of close ties and the husband is expected to spend as much time with other men in the neighbourhood as at home Beyond the immediate family the greater degree of acceptance of next-door neighbours in the housing estate should be looked at in conjunction with the frequent expressions of distaste for 'the people at the end of the road'. The housing estate had not at the end of five years developed in its families any sense of attachment to the place. For most families the surrounding neighbourhood, apart from the two or three families met face to face, was considered an unfriendly place". All but one of the Barton families felt that their children had improved in health and general happiness since coming to live on the estate. "These Barton but kept them in the house, and rejected the children of the neighbourhood." (By contrast to St. Ebbe's where they were much more tolerant of other people's children). "In Barton, and amongst status-dissenting families in St. Ebbe's, there was a heightened ability to communicate desires and wishes, and a much greater

parents loved their children very much,

everything is different. Not a cinema for miles, no little corner shops or barrows, no day to day meetings in the street, on the doorstep or in the pub, with all those relations and workmates, and no Mum to help out. "When we first came I'd just had the baby and it was all a misery, not knowing anyone. I sat on the stairs and cried my eyes out". Jobs were scattered instead of being down the street, fares made visits to relatives much less frequent, rents were higher. Because of the loneliness

\*FAMILY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD by J. M. Mogey (Oxford University Press, 30s.).

FAMILY AND KINSHIP IN EAST LONDON by Michael Young and Peter Willmott (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 25s.).

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C.W.

### HOUSINGAND NEED

THE Labour Party's bid for popularity at the expense of the Tory Rent Act involves a proposal to put all rented property over a certain value under the control of the local Housing Authorities. On the face of it such a proposal is welcomed by the average man, for the Rent Act enables property owners to demand a higher rent from many classes of tenants and to evict them if they cannot pay the increase. Looking round at the inflating prices of house property in my own prosperous borough I am conscious of the basis of the working-class resentment of the Rent Act. There is however, another side to the question from the point of view of the vast mass of people who are forced economically to live in other people's houses. Unless one has come up against the bureaucracy who administer the housing under the control of the local Council the force of this point of view may not be felt, but I doubt if the Labour Party's proposal has won them an unmixed popularity among tenants. If I find Messrs, Robba & Lyer exceptionally rapacious as estate agents go, and Messrs, Dawdle & Pettifog both dishonest and inefficient, I may still try the office of Messrs. Tiddle & Crump in an attempt to get accommodation on better terms. But what am I to do if I am in the hands of the Council Housing Estates Office who have a monopoly of control over lettings? The permanent officials who deal with the Council's houses, flats and rooms are supposed to be incorruptible and to allocate housing impartially in terms of a policy which is determined both nationally and locally. They are answerable to a committee which is composed of directly and indirectly elected members.

But what if these permanent officials are neither incorruptible nor impartial, and fiddle the housing lists to suit their own convenience?

When one talks of "corruption" in this connection most people think of the passing of a cash bribe to an official to secure a flat. I do not say that this is never done anywhere, but on the whole it is probably unusual as it is hardly worth the while of an official to risk his very secure job and pension for the sake of such small graft. (The police are of course in another category for they have ample coercive machinery to cover up bribery). But the corruption of housing officials and other such officials is subtler than that. The besetting vice of bureaucrats is that their job flatters them by the personal power it gives them over other people's lives. The pettier the bureaucrat the more his little ego is going to be involved in deciding issues of considerable importance to other people. Working-class families may grumble a lot but they do not ordinarily make effective complaints in the right quarters. They tend to believe that council housing is a vast fiddle anyway and that it therefore pays to keep in the good books of the petty officials concerned. If a man does complain to the Housing Committee about the malpractices of the officials, these officials will get their knife into him and inevitably he will find that somehow the worst available housing will be sorted out for him. On the other hand, those who are too humble to make any fuss at all (and this is a sadly large category) may be left to rot in abominable conditions which no-one will seek to remedy for them. The general policy in my own borough is to penalize if pos-

sible anyone who appeals over the heads of the permanent officials to the elected councillors. People do appeal when in desperate straits-but not enough: in general the Housing Officer and his underlings expect to "get away with murder". The exception to this of course is where some local citizen happens to have a real pull with some bigwig on the council and then the Housing Officer runs the danger of getting his knuckles rapped for applying the treatment which is normally approved, to the wrong person. To be a success our bureaucrat must alternately bully and cringe. In theory the Welfare State has abolished the Poor Law and introduced a new spirit into the administration of the public services. In practice, the basic evils of the Poor Law remain even in a time of full employment and economic boom. Workhouses have been abolished by the expedient of calling them by other names, but they still serve their function in housing policy. The following is an illustration of this function. A family of four were put out of a house which the Council wished to demolish, but were offered no alternative accommodation. The woman and her two daughters were told that they could get a bed in the local workhouse (dignified by the impressive title of Luxborough Lodge) and it was intimated to the husband that he might take a refreshing jump in the lake. While waiting in the lobby of this Lodge the woman got talking to an old hag who sat there picking the lice out of her hair. This Sibyl advised her that any young mother would be better sleeping on the Embankment than coming as an inmate to Luxborough Lodge. Acting on this advice she went, not to the Embankment, but to Mrs. Henry Brooke

(wife of the Minister of Housing) and made a FUSS. Somehow the local Housing Officer then discovered that he had accommodation for the family in a Halfway House-temporary accommodation for those in need of a flat. Housing policy on a national level had been challenged by the FUSS. This family was accommodated-temporarily-for 5 years, but the Housing Officer did not forget the nasty fuss they had made. Now they have been moved into a shocking little flat which is too small for them -and Mrs. Henry Brooke is likely to get another earful.

That the advice of the verminous Sibyl was no mere fantasy is attested to by the experience of yet another of my acquaintances who was so ill-advised as to enter a workhouse with her little boy when they were rendered homeless. After a stay of 3 months it was intimated to her that she had outstayed her welcome-but she was never given any sort of housing by the local authority. I do not propose to bore my readers by enumerating further cases, of which I have quite a store (maybe I will publish them, suitably documented in book form -"Housing in the Welfare State") but there is ample evidence of the fact that the methods of the Poor Law officials are still being pursued. There does not seem any good reason to suppose that any change should have taken place. Mr. Bumble still carries his little dignity round with him though now he is robbed of his gaudy uniform and wears a stiff white collar and drives a 10 h.p. car on Council business. Now we may have some sort of sympathy with the Guardians of the Poor in the 19th century when poverty was a vast and ugly reality everywhere and the propertied class maintained their ascendancy behind a spiky fence of repression. That the same spirit of the Poor Law exists to-day Continued on p. 4

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### The Wise Men & Wire Tapping

#### Continued from p. ]

away from the police any weapon or to weaken any power they now possess in their fight against organised crime".

We are even told that this "elaborate [telephone] system" has been "set up by the State". Apart from it not being true (the National Telephone Company was transferred to the Post Office only in 1912-and as C.W. reminded us recently in FREE-DOM, Hull still runs its own telephone exchange!) what a dangerous and ominous argument this is. Shall we be told, if and when MI.5 or the C.I.D. discover that spies and dangerous criminals use public transport for their nefarious purposes, that only law-abiding citizens may travel on the "elaborate transport system" because it "has been set up by the State"? In other words does the compulsory transfer of private enterprise to the State confer new powers of discrimination between individuals beyond the sordid financial one which exists in both private and public enterprise? Let us put it another way. If the function of government is, among other things, the "security of the State", what is there to prevent governments from declaring that in the interests of Security the public services which the State secures from private enterprise shall be withheld from those who are either proved, or suspected of being, other than "law-abiding" citizens?

and not recorded. In a few cases there was no precise record of the usefulness or otherwise of the interception.

Even assuming that in future the Home Office, in accordance with the findings of the three P.C.s (no, Privy Counsellors!) keeps better records, don't sign collective warrants as has hitherto been the custom (which presumably has allowed a few innocents to get caught up with the crooks) and review outstanding warrants every month instead of every three, we are still left with the problem of the arbitrary powers vested in the person of the Secretary of State.

"In practice the principle on which the Secretary of State acts is that the purposes for which communications may be intercepted must be either for the detection of serious crime or for the safeguarding of the security of the State." Since, also, warrants are issued where

Normal methods of investigation have been tried and failed, or must from the nature of things, be unlikely to succeed if tried;

### BOOK REVIEW Mutual Aid and/or The Welfare State

PEOPLE IN NEED by Cyril S. Smith. George Allen & Unwin. 21s.

THIS is a study which was prepared under the aegis of Dulwich College Mission and concerns a large workingclass area in South London in the vicinity of Camberwell. One of the main objects of the study was to investigate the extent to which neighbourhood and family institutions of mutual aid among working-class people have been affected by the provisions of the Welfare State. The general answer which the research gives is "not at all". Such an answer is by now a commonplace to anyone familiar with sociological literature of the last ten years and the day to day facts published by such papers as the Manchester Guardian. What is surprising therefore is that its author makes little reference to other British studies but quotes instead two American studies, by Koos and by Rueben Hill. One table of Koos' from Families in Trouble is certainly worth reproducing as a commentary on the respective status accorded to different agencies by families in time of need.

ing with the establishment of facts, the interpretation of those facts and their implications for social policy, all at one time, instead of giving us a clear presentation of all the facts gathered before proceeding to discuss them in relation to the nation-wide picture and the historical implications. Certainly most of the studies in the tradition of Booth and Rowntree have presented their material more lucidly.

The second section of the book deals with "Services for Youth". What it does not establish is precisely what sort of thing it is that should be provided for "youth". Having read of the work of Youth Clubs, Scouts and the Boys' Brigade, as described by the author, one is inclined to feel more kindly disposed towards the local pin-table saloon which affords a rather more healthy service for the leisure time of the local Teddies and their girls. This book makes it clear that in the Service of Youth, in control of the institutions of local mutual aid. the initiative and organization comes from without. It is pertinent to recall here a finding of Dr. Soddy, that the Youth Services could not continue at all were it not for the time and effort put in by male homosexuals, an enormous number of whom look to boys'

clubs and other such work as a means of emotional outlet. It is reasonable to ask therefore, whether the "need" which the Youth Services meets is that of the young people or of the do-gooders who run the services.

The last section of the book is entitled "Family Welfare" and crams into about twenty pages a discussion of a variety of topics including divorce, the work of the National Marriage Guidance Council, the N.S.P.C.C., Infant Welfare and a rather sketchy sociology of the family. It strays far from the topic of families in need in the area studied.

On the whole this is a disappointing book. Even allowing for the bias of those who sponsored it, we could have been given a far fuller study of the area under review and it would have lost nothing by the omission of much of the discursive reference to all manner of social topics. It tends to fall between two stools, that of being a factual study and rather superficial, because brief, discussion of wide sociological trends to-day. Its main point it establishes quite well, that the Welfare State has had little effect on working-class institutions of mutual aid. G.

The three Wise Men of the Telephone Tapping Inquiry obviously realise that to issue good-conduct certificates to every prospective telephone subscriber would be a complicated business-especially if one does not limit the powers to telephones but to all State-controlled services-but in supporting the continuation of wire-tapping they are advocating the next best thing. Their report, and the government's declared "acceptance of all the recommendations in the main report", is a warning to the public that their "private telephones" are no longer private; that their conversations if they dare talk politics or discuss the art of cracking a crib may be noted for the purpose of tracking them down. Even if we talk a lot of conventional nonsense we may still have uninvited company, since it is only necessary for the security service or the police to invent a dossier of our suspected crimes to obtain the Home Secretary's signature authorising the snooper to tap the wires.

There must be good reason to think that an interception would result in a conviction

it seems fairly obvious that the Home Office has very little solid fact on which to base its decisions and must rely largely on police suspicion. And is there not a lot of evidence to indicate that the police are neither paragons of virtue nor above the charge of vindictiveness and petty spite? The Evans and Glinsky cases gave one an interesting insight into police methods and whatever the outcome in the Brighton case so far as the specific charges are concerned, it surely indicates a state of affairs within the force itself which should make even the most trusting democrat hesitate before giving the police carte blanche to eavesdrop on his private life.

TO our minds there can be no safeguards once you grant individuals power over the lives of others. Even the mildest of men have, once in power, not hesitated to use the instruments of force and coercion even if only to sign the document which empowered another, less fussy person, to actually carry out the dirty work. In the circumstances we cannot trust any man's judgment however much he may assure us of the goodness of his motives. The committee of three do not recognise this in spite of the fact that in reviewing the Marrinan case they on the one hand recognise that Lloyd George and Sir Hartley Shawcross "were wholly governed by considerations of the public interest" yet on the other, declare that the former's decision to accede to the latter's request for the Marrinan telephone intercepts "was a mistaken decision". They also pass over, without comment, that it was Mr. R. L. Jackson, the Assistant Commissioner of Police in charge of the C.I.D. at Scotland Yard who in the first place passed on to Sir Hartley Shawcross information about Mr. Marrinan's association with the notorious Billy Hill, as a result of which Sir Hartley made his application to the Home Secretary. But they do say in their report that they are "satisfied" that all the "officers and officials concerned are scrupulous and conscientious in the use and exercise of the power". Yet here is a case in which in the course of tapping one man's telephone the police obtained incidental information about another man which they communicated to the chairman of the Bar Council, an unofficial body, a kind of lawyers' trade union which subsequently charged Mr. Marrinan with not playing the game according to their rules, of dealing with a client direct instead of through the middleman, a solicitor! And this, we are asked to accept as an assurance of the scrupulous and conscientious way "the snoopers use and exercise the power".

Advice in Emergencies

(Koos Table XI p.54)

Person No. of times consulted consulted Relatives 36 Druggists ..... 31 Bartender Priest 12 ------Labour leader Political leader Clergyman ..... Policeman .....

It seems a pity that in the present study no similar enquiry was made as to the relative status of different agencies of help in Camberwell.

The book is divided into three sections of unequal size concerning (a) economic needs, (b) the leisure-time services for young people, and (c) family welfare. The largest and most important section is the first in which it is demonstrated, as in all similar post-war studies, that the most important social fact of the present era is not the Welfare State but full employment. Without full employment hunger would still stalk the poorer working-class families in spite of the allegedly adequate provisions of social welfare. (The section of the community which is excluded from full employment, the old and worn out, are no strangers to hunger when they lack the private denefits of mutual aid). Out of a time of great productivity brought about by full employment of workers, supplemented by an unprecedented contribution to industry by wives and mothers, the State can afford a liberality unheard of in the days of the Poor Law, but it is still very true that in time of trouble it is the poor that helps the poor and their informal institutions of mutual aid are as necessary to the fabric of society as ever. Contemporary myths that the young now neglect the old and infirm. that parents now show little responsibility towards their children, that everyone looks to the State as a provider rather than to his own efforts-these find no support in this study of social conditions.

### DEMOCRATIC METHODS

### I. Turkish Delight

AS a "democratic" nation opposed to the totalitarian tactics of the Communist countries Britain ignores the methods used by her temporary friends even when they are identical with those which are abhorrent to the western way of thinking.

How much publicity for example was given to the electioneering tactics of the Democratic Party in Turkey recently which was conducted in an atmosphere of suppression to say the least?

Premier Adnan Menderes made sure he would be successful in the elections by muzzling all opposition before voting began: "He approaches the election with confidence as indeed he might, with the radio monopolised, the Press gagged, the Opposition demonstrations tear-gassed, and nonconformist judges sacked."

In addition the opposition claimed that Menderes had altered the election code to keep other parties from forming a coalition and had packed the courts to rubber-stamp the decisions.

With 100,000 dry-cell batteries flown in from Europe he was able to reach rural areas by radio and secure the votes of small farmers who do well out of the government policy of buying their produce at subsidized high prices.

Pointing to the new factories and dams on which he had spent the money Turkey had earned or borrowed from abroad his crowning promise to the electorate without apparent irony was:

THIS is a matter to which the committee gave little attention. Yet it seems to us of major importance, and it is significant in this connection that their investigations revealed "no records of the rejection by the Home Office of applications for warrants". Are we asked to believe that the police and MI.5 applied for warrants only where the evidence they had was so overwhelming? Or is it perhaps more likely that the gentlemen in Whitehall (incidentally it is supposed to be the Home Secretary who alone has the powers to issue warrants, but we see in the report that "there was a quarterly review of outstanding warrants by the Permanent .Under-Secretary", that is by one of the permanent Civil Servants) look upon these applications for wire-tapping warrants as pure routine to be disposed of as quickly as possible. Might not the following remarks in the Report lead one to that conclusion?

A criticism of this section of the book may be made on the grounds of its deal-

Lord Tenby (formerly Mr. Lloyd George) stated in comment on the Committee's very mild disagreement with his action that

### 2. French Revenge

WE have another ally in the French whose horrific exploits in Algeria have been condemned often in these columns. We do not condone the terror and torture indulged in by the other side, but France is a part of the Western way of life and holds the same Christian values as other civilized folk which are supposed to serve as a good example to the rest of the world.

The following report we feel sure would not bring a word of protest from the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Societies in Britain or France who have been so vocal this week over the space flight of one Russian dog, but the deliberate cruelty is horrifying:

Last week a routine French patrol set out from Timomoun to check on a com- it?

"We will be a small America before many more years."

pany located some 30 miles to the northeast. When they got to the area, they found the company's eight French officers and noncoms sprawled in their tents, their throats cut from ear to ear. The remaining 53 Shamba corpsmen had taken off across the desert with 180 camels.

A squadron of French fighter planes promptly set out in pursuit. From the air, the tribesmen were easy to spot in the bare sands. Machine guns chattering, the planes made pass after pass. They did not stop until every camel was dead. "Without their camels," said a French spokesman at headquarters, "the surviving Shamba, if there are any, will die of thirst in the desert."

Of course it is bestial to cut people's throats, but is it any more virtuous to leave them in the desert to die of thirst, and to boast about

In some cases part of the consultations between the Home Office and the authority seeking a warrant had been oral,

It is true that the Marrinan case can be pointed to as the exception of that, all are concerned with prethat proves the rule. It is an excep- venting or of exposing the abuses of tion that has come to light; an ex- power by those in power. Few of ception which no safeguards on them, however, are concerned with paper can prevent from happening power itself. Yet without it there again and again. After all has not would be no abusing of it!

They were exceptional circumstances and I did something which had not been done by myself or my predecessors. At that time I thought I was justified, and still think so. The only consideration I had in mind was the administration of justice, and that sort of thing is vital in the interests of this country."

By his remarks he makes it clear that in the event he would do the same again. "Exceptional circumstances" are always the justification for the "abuse of power"; every dictator, every government in time of war or periodic "economic crises" has used these arguments to justify the most horrible repression, and/or ruthless curtailment of elementary human freedom.

All the well-meaning reformers, civil-libertarians, societies for the protection of this and for the defence

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### FREEDO M

### HOUSING AND NEED

Poor Law, is due to psychological forces rather than economic. When a large part of the national expenditure is allocated for subsidized housing there is no reason at all for the council tenant to be regarded as the recipient of "a favour" nor the petty officials concerned with housing to be regarded as the dispensers of patronage, yet such is the position to-day. Democracy is a sham at the local level no less than at the national because, among other reasons. the elected representatives generally do not know what they are talking about and are only too happy to leave the permanent officials to run things their own way. The bureaucrats, although they are largely prevented from feathering their own nests in a pecuniary sense by the whole structure of officialdom, are nevertheless devoted to the raising of the status and the strengthening of the power of officialdom at the expense of the

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Continuer from p. 2

when we have in theory abolished the community. This is a very real menace to the community since the administration of things becomes in fact the government of men. The Welfare State can become not only the means by which the citizen is enabled to partake of certain basic essentials-food, housing, employment, education-but a means by which he may have to submit to certain impertinent invasions of his private life in order to enjoy the basic essentials. If essential services such as housing are to be allocated according to "need" who is to determine "need"? Answer, the man in the stiff white collar who is the spiritual descendant of Mr. Bumble.

> That the Tories have pointed out some of these essential features of bureaucratic administration in order to make political capital out of them, does not make them any the less true. For the Tories the community must remain divided into two nations, the moneyed class who are free of bureaucratic restrictions

because they can afford to pay their way in life, and the sub-standard citizens who must expect to go through life touching their caps, to somebody or other. A Tory town council has no criticism of bureaucratic bullying provided that the right people are bullied.

The Socialist attitude to this, whether Marxist or Fabian, is to pretend that the problem has no real existence. By concentrating on the economic problems of society they deny the existence of the psychological problems. We have inherited our Poor Law mentality just as the industrial Poor Law was inherited from the previous form of society which depended on paternalism in local government. By shirking the issue of corruption of the administrator by the office he fills. Socialist thought is essentially retrogressive and leads back to an earlier paternalistic form of society from which the bourgeois revolutions promised an emancipation. The general programme of allocation of scarce resources according to need, is one to which all political parties now pay lip service-we have never had so many ideological comrades as in this matter! But we are still stuck at the point of debating what is need and who determines it? Do we prefer to pay a rapacious landlord just as much rent as the market will stand and exercise some choice in how and where we shall live, or do we prefer a pegged rent and a flat which the Housing Officer in his wisdom has decided is the pigeon hole where we are to be most conveniently placed? The answer to this question which any person gives must be relative. Like Hume's Economic Man we all balance our private budgets of relative satisfactions and some of our decisions must seem utterly irrational to our neighbour. In general however, the anarchist is more likely to favour the maximization of choice, and in this he is against the Socialist current which does not take cognisance of the fact that the instruments which society has to administer public resources are in many cases corrupted by the history of their evolution. As to how "need" should be assessed and ministered to in the Free Society, that is a debate which has occupied social philosophers for many centuries and must still engage the attention of our contemporary thinkers. But if you want to know how it is dealt with in contemporary society, try approaching a hospital clinic about your health and the council offices about your housing needs. You will receive a lesson in how the differing histories of two public services have led to utterly different attitudes towards those in need. At the hospital clinic they will not even be rude to you. G.

### Skiffle at the Malatesta

TAST Saturday saw the first invasion (by invitation) of the Malatesta Club, London, by a skiffle group. The announcement of this capitulation to decadent bourgeois-capitalist escapism was greeted with enthusiasm by some of the younger comrades but with growls of disapproval from most of the older ones-especially those who are not members and resent being asked to pay towards the expenses of the Club and who think that true revolutionary activity consists in sitting all night over a glass of lemon tea (bought by somebody else) and saying what a disappointing lot the younger generation is

These old fogies apart (who didn't come down to see for themselves anyway -largely because of the entrance fee), the organisers have every reason to congratulate themselves on the first effort. The attendance was not large but a number of new faces were to be seen and expenses were covered. And certainly the atmosphere was greatly enlivened by

the Club a roaring success is a little more support from the anarchists of London.

In this respect it is rather a shamethat entertainment has had to be imported from outside the movement. That is, as far as instrumentalists are concerned. Plays have been written and produced, at intervals, and occasional spoken and sung entertainment has come forth, but so far the anarchists around the club have not been able to producea single resident guitarist. Are there no anarchist guitarists in London? Or is it that any competent player can make himself a few pounds in the coffee bars and so is not interested in playing for nothing for the comrades?

It seems a pity that a movement like ours cannot produce its own music. But presumably anarchists all have something more important to do with their time.

And to those comrades and readers who are jazz purists and from their tower of 'trad' look down on such aberrations as skiffle we have only one question, why don't they provide the Malatesta with something better? All information can be obtained from the Entertainment Director, Bob Green, The Malatesta Club, 32 Percy Street, London, W.1.

### LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 'A Subtle Sense of Wacky'

#### DEAR COMRADES,

I see from Milward Casey's letter that I did not express myself very clearly in the opening paragraphs of my article. Of course "one should expect something more than a decorative wall panel from manipulators of paint". If one hangs a painting on one's wall, one wants it to be worth looking at closely, capable of arousing and sustaining interest, expressive\_of oneself (as well as the artist) in a way the wallpaper cannot be. My complaint was that many manipulators of paint give no thought at all to the possibility of their work being hung on anyone's wall. Their purpose is to communicate . . . what? largely that they are clever manipulators of paint . . . to whom? they never consider it; their stuff sells anyhow.

I agree that the purpose of visual art in general, words in general, music in general, is "to communicate, or express oneself, to others." But most specific works of art have some specific purpose, some intended use. A piece of writing for instance, may be meant to entertain readers of novels, readers of magazines, or theatre audiences, or to give information to specialists, newspaper readers or children. A musical composition is meant to be performed, often in particular circumstances. A work of visual art may purpose to brighten a home or factory, induce devotion in a church, provoke laughter in a newspaper reader, make food more appetizing or draw attention to a piece of writing. The more capable an artist, in any field, the more useful his work is likely to be.

might in a saner society have made great contributions to the beauty of the world, devote their energies instead, first to "achieving recognition" as painters, and then to churning out scribbles and daubs for sale to collections.

I think art museums have their uses, and indeed use them frequently myself. It is wonderful that art which has outlived its original purpose, like the church paintings of the High Renaissance and the descriptive records of the old Dutch masters, can still serve in a museum to delight the eyes and minds of visitors, and to help artists and historians; and collections of contemporary art would be useful to specialists even if (as I think desirable) the best of contemporary work were in daily use among ordinary people. But there can be few things more futile, few things more indicative of cultural decadence, than a painting made for sale to a collection of paintings made for sale to collections.

D.R.

the skiffle and jive.

The Atlanta Skiffle Group consisted of four players-two guitars, a washboard, and a double bass. It is perhaps an indication that skiffle is maturing that the original tea-chest-broomstick-andstring bass has been replaced by a pukka proper instrument. Anyway, they swung along very nicely with the old favourites and were much appreciated by the audience.

The reaction of the latter probably differed from that in most skiffle dives, since at the Malatesta, that kind of music on a Saturday night is for dancing, not for listening. Generally, in skiffle cellars, the audience likes to perch itself on rows of benches, merely to listen. But at the Malatesta, audience participation is always a feature of any entertainment (sometimes contributions from the audience are wittier than those from the entertainers!) and we like to be played for, not at.

More skiffle groups are lined up, and from now until further notice, skiffle will be a regular feature at the Malatesta, Saturday night. This will still leave Fridays for tea and sympathy, or at least chess and argument, and, of course, Sunday evenings, untouched, for the London Anarchist Group meetings. Thursdays will continue as discussion evenings run by the International Anarchist Centre,

P.S.

### MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Every Sunday at 7.30 at THE MALATESTA CLUB. 32 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.1. **LECTURE - DISCUSSIONS** NOV. 10-Arthur Uloth on THE ANARCHIST UTOPIA NOV. 17-Francis Tonks on VOLUNTARY WORK CAMPS NOV. 24 - F. A. Ridley on **GUY FAWKES-THE MAN AND** HIS TIMES DEC. 1-Axel Hoch on AM I MY BROTHER'S EATER? DEC. 8-Bob Green on

But there are some artists (mostly painters and sculptors) who do not attempt or intend to make their products useful, who think "usefulness" undignified and unartistic, who yet hope to be well paid in money and esteem, who, as I said, "work with no particular purpose in mind, beyond a vague idea that their stuff might be bought by some public or private museum and admired by people who have gone specially to see it." And such is the number of public and private museums available, such theignorance and snobbery of their owners, that it is possible to make a very good living out of such useless work. I believe many very talented artists, who

### Why Power **Complexes**?

DEAR FRIENDS.

A "Letter to somebody" (FREEDOM, Oct. 26.)-with variation in contentprinted each week, would give new readers of FREEDOM an understanding of the position of Anarchists but there are points which need further explanation.

Sid. Parker does not say why man has invariably chosen the way of power. The Power Complex, the desire to be one up over the next guy, which affects people in all walks of life, is something which needs close study. I raised this problem in a letter to FREEDOM some time ago and nobody yet has come forward with an answer. How much is the nature of power ingrained in human beings; is it a fundamental part of the human makeup? There is sufficient evidence of it in the lower animals as shown by the herd instinct; the fight for supermacy, the law of the jungle, in toto.

It seems pointless to argue over this matter purely from the economic and social angle without trying to under-

Wednesdays are admirably filled by Bonar Thompson speaking, and on Mondays and Tuesdays the Club is occupied by other organisations.

There is thus always some activity going on. All that is required to make

### 40 Years of Bolshevism

#### Continued from p 1

the Bolsheviks. Although before he died Lenin expressed doubts as to the suitability of Stalin to be his successor, there is no possible contradiction of the fact that it was Lenin himself who laid the foundations of tyranny upon which Stalin had only to build.

#### **Kronstadt and Makhno**

The bloody repression of the workers, soldiers and sailors of Kronstadt took place specifically on Lenin's orders. They had dared to challenge his right to introduce unequal and privileged rationing (by which many of them would have benefitted themselves) and to suppress free discussion and election among all bodies of thought. Lenin gave the order 'Shoot them down like partridges' and Trotsky's Red Army carried it out.

parts of the Ukraine and promises of no revolutionary activity in Germany-which undoubtedly helped in the suppression of the Munich Commune of 1921, just as the political tactics of 1936 helped Hitler to power-this was the work of Lenin and Trotsky, beginning to play the rôle of statesmen in the game of power politics. Compare Stalin later in the non-aggression pact with Hitler in 1939.

#### All of a Piece

Compare Stalin's purges of the Army, 1937, with Trotsky's attacks on Makhno, 1919. Compare Hungary, 1956, with Kronstadt 1921. Compare Khrushchev 1957, with

#### SOME SHIBBOLETHS OF ANARCHISM.

Questions, Discussion and Admission all free.

### \* Malatesta Club \*

SWARAJ HOUSE, **32 PERCY STREET,** TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.I.

#### ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. London Anarchist Group Meetings (see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. BONAR THOMPSON speaks

NOV. 13-The glories of Socialism, etc. NOV. 20-"THE WORK OF BONAR THOMPSON" ON TAPE RECORD-INGS. A new selection from D.C.'s collection of Thompson records. Guaranteed brilliant.

#### **INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CENTRE MEETINGS** Discussion Meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m.

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stand the basic character of man,

ong ago before Governments and her economic and social institutions beme organised units of power, symptoms the power complex were in evidence. ne only has to read the works on prestoric man, who by all accounts was eally suited to live freely, to see that ploitation, crimes against propertyen if it was only purloining a dinosaur's in-domination of man over man was Il the natural order of things. As I ked before and will ask again, is there evidence of a flourishing Anarchist ciety past or present? Or has man een exploited over the centuries because doesn't mind it so long as he isn't ploited too much (physical reaction to thority has become increasingly rare in is Welfare State). Perhaps the sheep stinct is uppermost in homo sapiens ithout complaint as long as he is not orn too often and gets grass to chew. erhaps individualism, rebellion against authority, is something blessed (?) only by the few.

I have never understood why boys brought up in freedem have gladly submitted to military authority viz. Summer-

The betrayal, crushing and hounding to exile of Nestor Makhno, the Ukrainian anarchist whose peasant militias rid the Ukraine of counterrevolutionary forces and made possible the creation of free communes was the work of Lenin and Trotsky. The Brest-Litovsk pact, making 'peace' with the Kaiser in return for

hill School pupils. Neill didn't give me a satisfactory answer-can anybody?

Thousands know of the methods of exploitation laid down by S. E. Parker, yet they meekly accept. Whether this, with certain exceptions, is something that is generally alien to man's nature has not yet been properly explained.

PETER LEE.

Sheffield, Nov. 1.

Stalin, 1937.

The corruption, the terror, the tyranny, is endemic in the ideology. Economically, Russia has progressed. She is to-day a first-class world power with modern technology the equal to any. That her potential for wealth is not transformed into the reality of plenty for her people is only one more indication of her similarity with other capitalist countries. The Muscovite of to-day looks up at Sputniks I and II and rubs his chin, scrubby through the shortage of razor-blades, just as the Londoner hears the distant echo of Britain's H-Bombs as he fingers in his pocket the notice from the landlord putting up his rent beyond his means. The State of the USSR has progressed from semi-feudalism to capitalism in forty years. From the lofty viewpoint of the economic historian this is rapid progress indeed.

But for the people, whose hearts were so high with hope, in 1917 ...?

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